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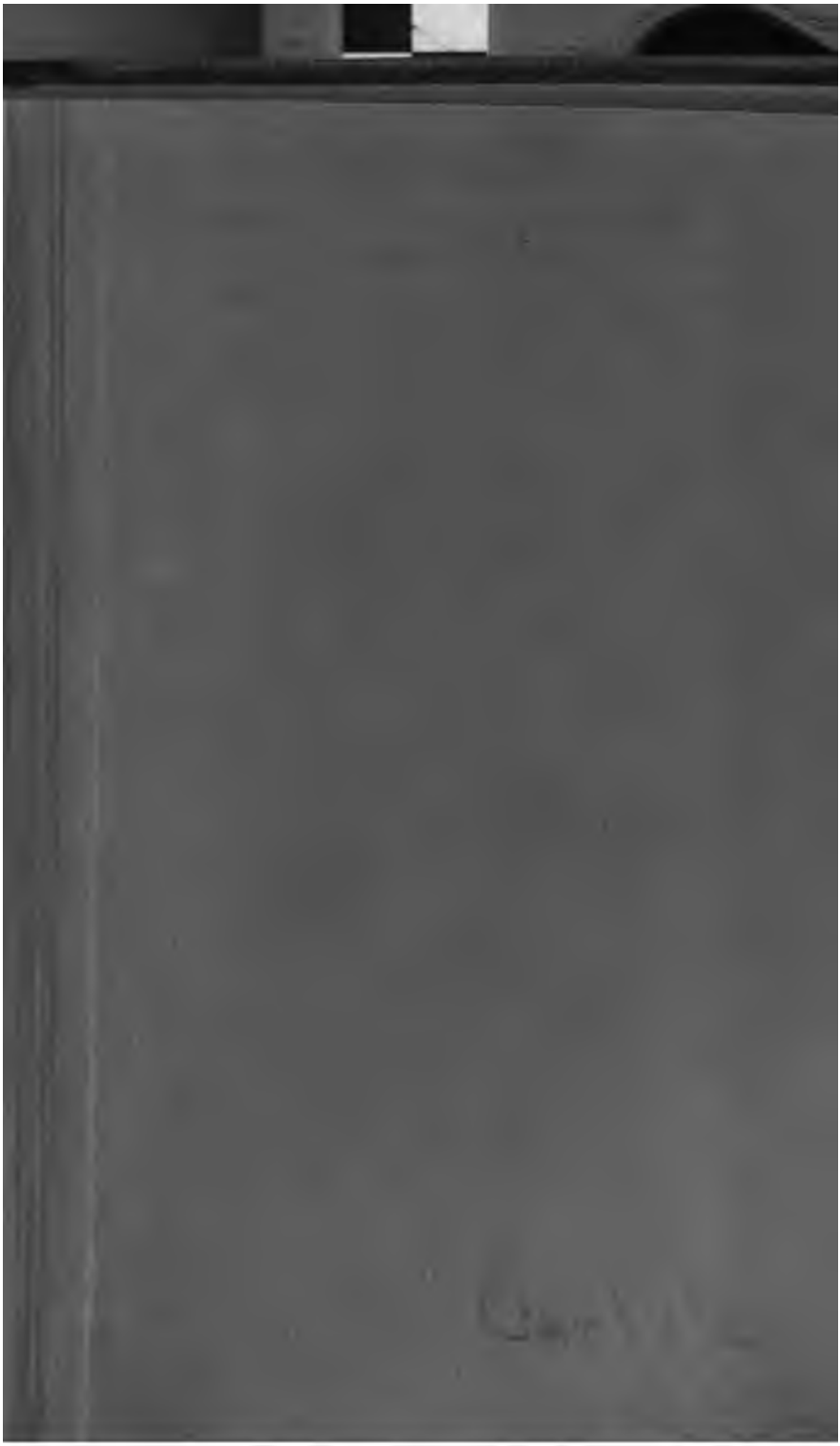
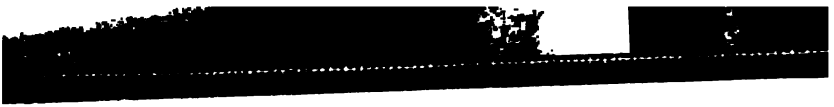
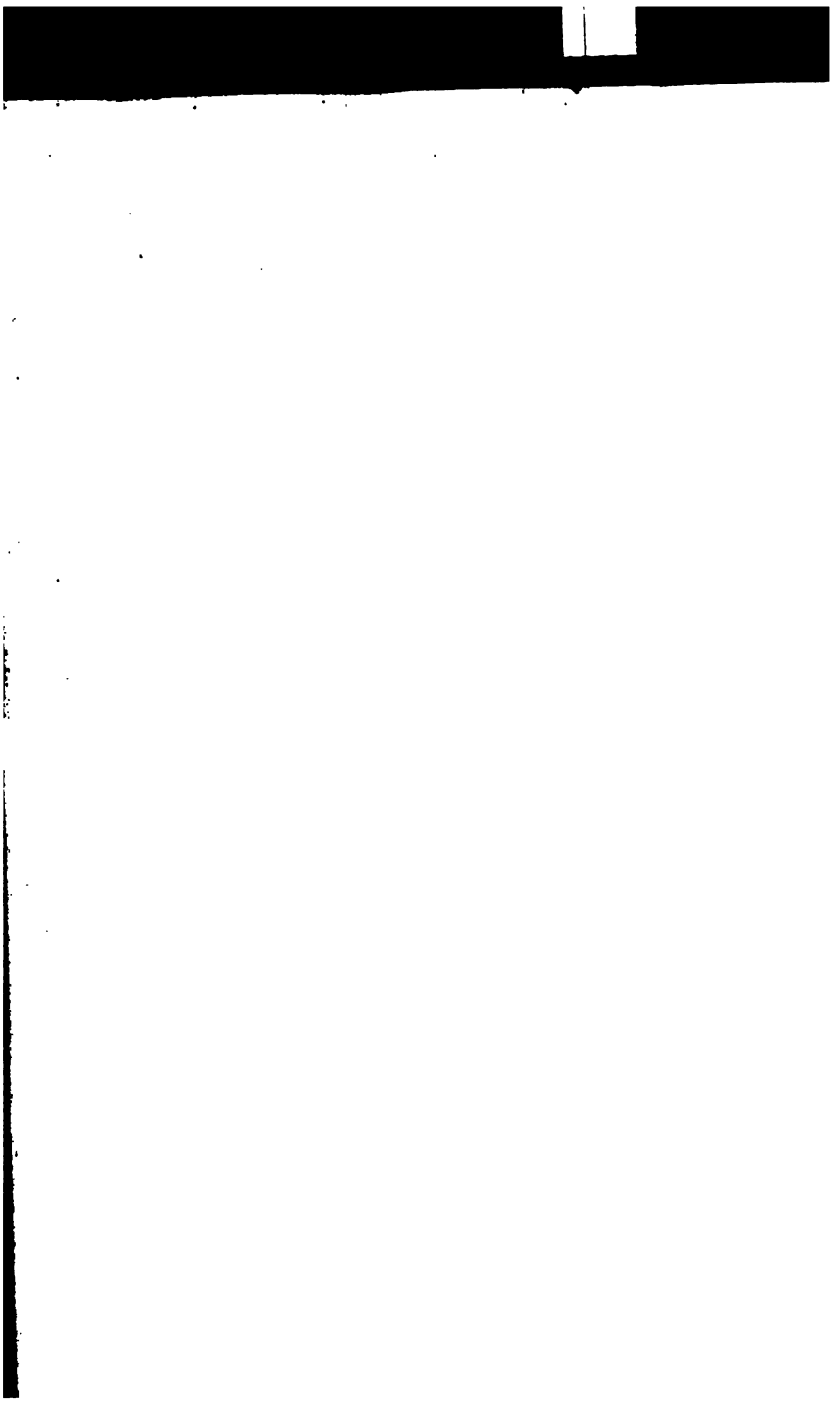
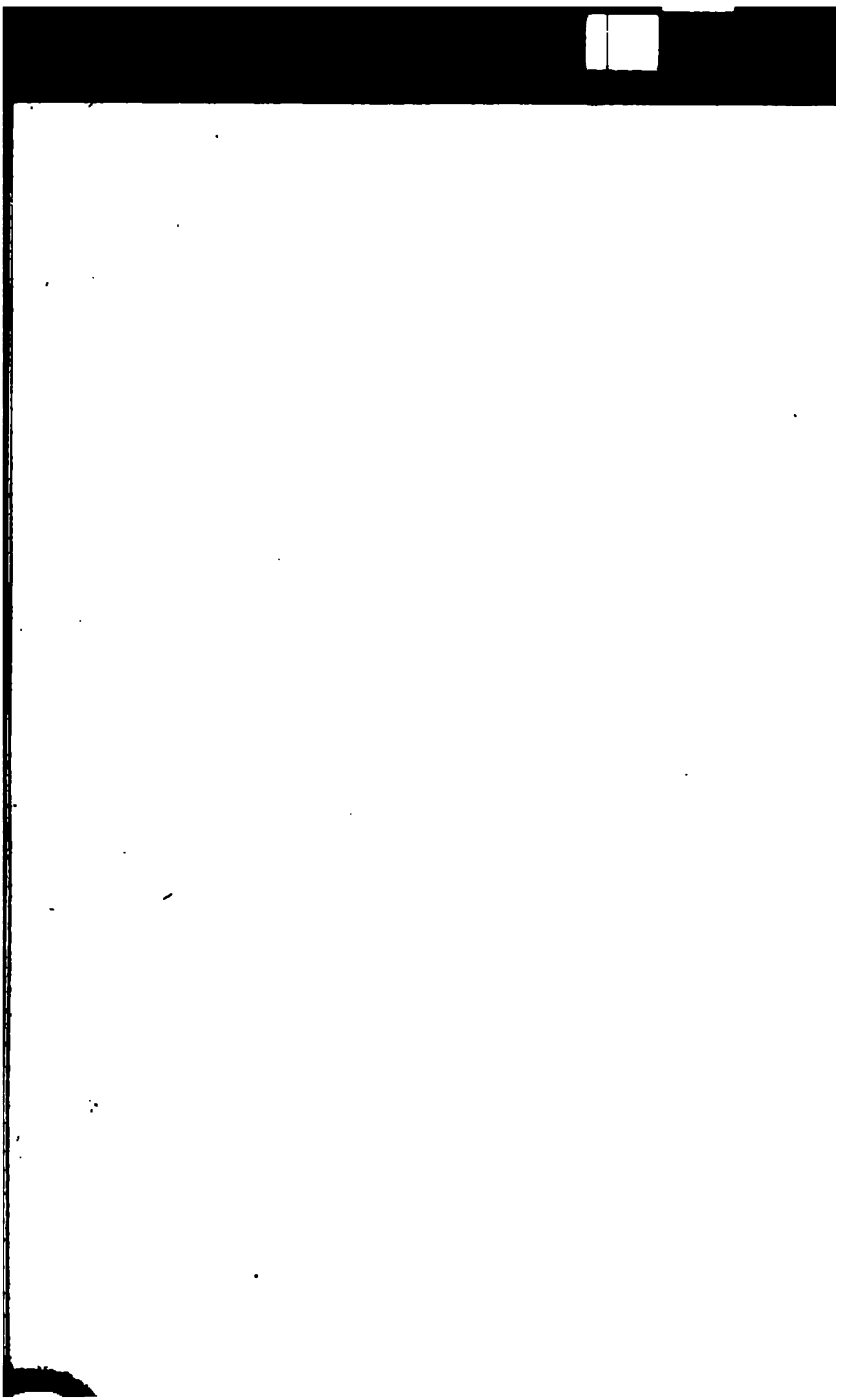








CROMWELL REFUSING THE CROWN.

FRONTISPIECE—Carlyle, Vol. Eight.

THE WORKS

OF

THOMAS CARLYLE

(*COMPLETE*)

OLIVER CROMWELL'S

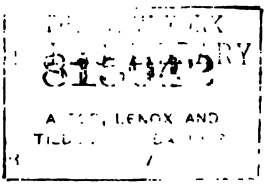
LETTERS AND SPEECHES

WITH ELUCIDATIONS

ILLUSTRATED

Volume Eight

NEW YORK
PETER FENELON COLLIER, PUBLISHER
1897



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WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

1650–1651.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

THE Scotch People, the first beginners of this grand Puritan Revolt, which we may define as an attempt to bring the Divine Law of the Bible into actual practice in men's affairs on the Earth, are still one and all resolute for that object; but they are getting into sad difficulties as to realizing it. Not easy to realize such a thing: besides true will, there need heroic gifts, the highest that Heaven gives, for realizing it! Gifts which have not been vouchsafed the Scotch People at present. The letter of their Covenant presses heavy on these men; traditions, formulas, dead letters of many things press heavy on them. On the whole, they too are but what we call Pedants in conduct, not Poets: the sheepskin record failing them, and old use-and-wont ending, they cannot farther; they look into a sea of troubles, shoreless, starless, on which there seems no navigation possible.

The faults or misfortunes of the Scotch People, in their Puritan business, are many: but properly their grand fault is this, That they have produced for it no sufficiently heroic man among them. No man that has an eye to see beyond the letter and the rubric; to discern, across many consecrated rubrics of the Past, the inarticulate divineness too of the Present and the Future, and dare all perils in the faith of that! With Oliver Cromwell born a Scotchman: with a Hero King and a unanimous Hero Nation at his back, it might have been far

otherwise. With Oliver born Scotch, one sees not but the whole world might have become Puritans; might have struggled, yet a long while, to fashion itself according to that divine Hebrew Gospel, — to the exclusion of other Gospels not Hebrew, which also are divine, and will have their share of fulfilment here! — But of such issue there is no danger. Instead of inspired Olivers, glowing with direct insight and noble daring, we have Argyles, Loudons, and narrow, more or less opaque persons of the Pedant species. Committees of Estates, Committees of Kirks, much tied up in formulas, both of them: a bigoted Theocracy *without* the Inspiration; which is a very hopeless phenomenon indeed! The Scotch People are all willing, eager of heart; asking, Whitherward? But the Leaders stand aghast at the new forms of danger; and in a vehement discrepant manner some calling, Halt! others calling, Backward! others, Forward! — huge confusion ensues. Confusion which will need an Oliver to repress it; to bind it up in tight manacles, if not otherwise; and say, "There, sit there and consider thyself a little!" —

The meaning of the Scotch Covenant was, That God's divine Law of the Bible should be put in practice in these Nations; verily *it*, and not the Four Surplices at Allhallowtide, or any Formula of cloth or sheepskin here or elsewhere which merely pretended to be it. But then the Covenant says expressly, there is to be a Stuart King in the business: we cannot do without our Stuart King! Given a divine Law of the Bible on one hand, and a Stuart King, Charles First or Charles Second, on the other: alas, did History ever present a more irreducible case of equations in this world? I pity the poor Scotch Pedant Governors; still more the poor Scotch People, who had no other to follow! Nay, as for that, the People did get through, in the end; such was their indomitable pious constancy, and other worth and fortune: and Presbytery became a Fact among them, to the whole length possible for it: not without endless results. But for the poor Governors this irreducible case proved, as it were, fatal! They have never since, *if we will look* narrowly at it, governed Scotland, or even well *known that they* were there to attempt governing it. Once

they lay on Dunse Hill, "each Earl with his regiment of Tenants round him," "*For Christ's Crown and Covenant;*" and never since had they any noble National act which it was given them to do. Growing desperate of Christ's Crown and Covenant, they, in the next generation when our *Annus Mirabilis* arrived, hurried up to Court, looking out for other Crowns and Covenants; deserted Scotland and her Cause, somewhat basely; took to *booing* and *booing* for Causes of their own, unhappy mortals; — and Scotland and all Causes that were Scotland's have had to go on very much without *them* ever since! Which is a very fatal issue indeed, as I reckon; — and the time for settlement of accounts about it, which could not fail always, and seems now fast drawing nigh, looks very ominous to me. For in fact there is no creature more fatal than your Pedant; safe as he esteems himself, the terriblest issues spring from him. Human crimes are many: but the crime of being deaf to the God's Voice, of being blind to all but parchments and antiquarian rubrics when the Divine Handwriting is abroad on the sky, — certainly there is no crime which the Supreme Powers do more terribly avenge!

But leaving all that, — the poor Scotch Governors, we remark, in that old crisis of theirs, have come upon the desperate expedient of getting Charles Second to adopt the Covenant the best he can. Whereby our parchment formula is indeed saved; but the divine fact has gone terribly to the wall! The Scotch Governors hope otherwise. By treaties at Jersey, treaties at Breda, they and the hard Law of Want together have constrained this poor young Stuart to their detested Covenant; as the Frenchman said, they have "compelled him to adopt it voluntarily." A fearful crime, thinks Oliver, and think we. How dare you enact such mummery under High Heaven! exclaims he. You will prosecute Malignants; and, with the aid of some poor varnish, transparent even to yourselves, you adopt into your bosom the Chief Malignant? My soul come not into your secret; mine honor be not united unto you! —

In fact, his new Sacred Majesty is actually under way for the Scotch court; will become a Covenanted King there. Of *himself* a likely enough young man; — very unfortunate he

too. Satisfactorily descended from the Steward of Scotland and Elizabeth Muir of Caldwell (whom some have called an improper female [1]); satisfactory in this respect, but in others most unsatisfactory. A somewhat loose young man; has Buckingham, Wilmot and Company, at one hand of him, and painful Mr. Livingston and Presbyterian ruling-elders at the other; is hastening now, as a Covenanted King, towards such a Theocracy as we described. Perhaps the most anomalous phenomenon ever produced by Nature and Art working together in this World! — He had sent Montrose before him, poor young man, to try if war and force could effect nothing; whom instantly the Scotch Nation took, and tragically hanged.[2] They now, winking hard at that transaction, proffer the poor young man their Covenant; compel him to sign it voluntarily, and be Covenanted King over them.

The result of all which for the English Commonwealth cannot be doubtful. What Declarations, Papers, Protocols, passed on the occasion, — numerous, flying thick between Edinburgh and London in late months, — shall remain unknown to us. The Commonwealth has brought Cromwell home from Ireland, and got forces ready for him: that is the practical outcome of it. The Scotch also have got forces ready; will either invade us, or (which we decide to be preferable) be invaded by us.[3] Cromwell must now take up the Scotch coil of troubles, as he did the Irish, and deal with that too. Fairfax, as we heard, was unwilling to go; Cromwell, urging the Council of State to second him, would fain persuade Fairfax; gets him still nominated Commander-in-Chief; but cannot persuade him; — will himself have to be Commander-in-Chief, and go.

In Whitlocke and Ludlow [4] there is record of earnest intercessions, solemn conference held with Fairfax in Whitehall, duly prefaced by prayer to Heaven; intended on Cromwell's

[1] Horse-loads of Jacobite, Anti-Jacobite Pamphlets; Goodall, Father Innes, &c. &c. How it was settled, I do not recollect.

[2] Details of the business, in Balfour, iv. 9–22.

[3] *Commons Journals*, 26th June, 1650.

[4] Whitlocke, pp. 444–446 (25th June, 1650); Ludlow, i. 317

part to persuade Fairfax that it is his duty again to accept the chief command, and lead us into Scotland. Fairfax, urged by his Wife, a Vere of the fighting Veres, and given to Presbyterianism, dare not and will not go; — sends "Mr. Rushworth, his Secretary," on the morrow, to give up his Commission,[1] that Cromwell himself may be named General-in-Chief. In this preliminary business, says Ludlow, "Cromwell acted his part so to the life that I really thought he wished Fairfax to go." Wooden-headed that I was, I had reason to alter that notion by and by!

Wooden Ludlow gives note of another very singular interview he himself had with Cromwell, "a little after," in those same days or hours. Cromwell whispered him in the House; they agreed "to meet that afternoon in the Council of State" in Whitehall, and there withdraw into a private room to have a little talk together. Oliver had cast his eye on Ludlow as a fit man for Ireland, to go and second Ireton there; he took him, as by appointment, into a private room, "the Queen's Guard-chamber" to wit; and there very largely expressed himself. He testified the great value he had for me, Ludlow; combated my objections to Ireland; spake somewhat against Lawyers, what a tortuous ungodly jungle English Law was spake of the good that might be done by a good and brave man; — spake of the great Providences of God now abroad on the Earth; in particular "talked for almost an hour upon the Hundred-and-tenth Psalm;" which to me, in my solid wooden head, seemed extremely singular![2]

Modern readers, not in the case of Ludlow, will find this fact illustrative of Oliver. Before setting out on the Scotch Expedition, and just on the eve of doing it, we too will read that Psalm of Hebrew David's, which had become English Oliver's: we will fancy in our minds, not without reflections and emotions, the largest soul in England looking at this God's World with prophet's earnestness through that Hebrew Word, — two Divine Phenomena accurately correspondent for Oliver; the one accurately the prophetic symbol and articulate interpretation of the other. As if the Silences had at length

[1] *Commons Journals*, ubi supra. [2] Ludlow, i. 310.

found utterance, and this was their Voice from out of old Eternity:—

"The Lord said unto my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool. The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power; in the beauties of holiness, from the womb of the morning: thou hast the dew of thy youth. The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek. The Lord, at thy right hand, shall strike through Kings in the day of his wrath. He shall judge among the Heathen; he shall fill the places with the dead bodies; he shall wound the heads over many countries. He shall drink of the brook in the way: therefore shall he lift up the head."

In such spirit goes Oliver Cromwell to the Wars. "A god-intoxicated man," as Novalis elsewhere phrases it. I have asked myself, If anywhere in Modern European History, or even in ancient Asiatic, there was found a man practising this mean World's affairs with a heart more filled by the Idea of the Highest? Bathed in the Eternal Splendors,—it is so he walks our dim Earth: this man is one of few. He is projected with a terrible force out of the Eternities, and in the Times and their arenas there is nothing that can withstand him. It is great;—to us it is tragic; a thing that should strike us dumb! My brave one, thy old noble Prophecy *is* divine; older than Hebrew David; old as the Origin of Man;—and shall, though in wider ways than thou supposest, be fulfilled!—

LETTERS CXXXIII.-CXXXVIII.

Hooke and his small business, in rapid public times, will not detain us. Humphrey Hooke, Alderman of Bristol, was elected to the Long Parliament for that City in 1640; but being found to have had concern in "Monopolies," was, like

a number of others, expelled, and sent home again under a cloud. The "service" he did at Bristol Storm, though somewhat needing "concealment," ought to rehabilitate him a little in the charity, at least in the pity, of the Well-affected mind. At all events, the conditions made with him must be kept; — and we doubt not were.

LETTER CXXXIII.

[*To the Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons: These.*]

"LONDON, 20th June, 1650.

"MR. SPEAKER, — When we lay before Bristol in the Year 1645, we considered the season of the year, the strength of the place, and of what importance the reducement thereof would be to the good of the Commonwealth, and accordingly applied ourselves to all possible means for the accomplishment of the same; which received its answerable effect. At which time, for something considerable done in order to that end, by Humphrey Hooke, Alderman of that place, — which, for many reasons, is desired to be concealed, — his Excellency the Lord General Fairfax and myself gave him an Engagement under our hands and seals, That he should be secured and protected, by the authority of the Parliament, in the enjoyment of his life, liberty and estate, as freely as in former times, and as any other person under the obedience of the Parliament; notwithstanding any past acts of hostility, or other thing done by him, in opposition to the Parliament or assistance of the Enemy. Which Engagement, with a Certificate of divers godly persons of that City concerning the performance of his part thereof, is ready to be produced.

"I understand, that lately an Order is issued out to sequester him, whereby he is called to Composition. I thought it meet therefore to give the honorable Parliament this account, that he may be preserved from anything of that nature. For the performance of which, in order to the good of the

Commonwealth, we stand engaged in our faith and honor. I leave it to you; and remain, Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

On *Wednesday, 26th June*, 1650, the Act appointing "That Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, be constituted Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces raised or to be raised by authority of Parliament within the Commonwealth of England,"[2] was passed. "Whereupon," says Whitlocke, "great ceremonies and congratulations of the new General were made to him from all sorts of people; and he went on roundly with his business." Roundly, rapidly; for in three days more, on Saturday, the 29th, "the Lord General Cromwell went out of London towards the North: and the news of him marching northward much startled the Scots."[3]

He has Lambert for Major-General, Cousin Whalley for Commissary-General; and among his Colonels are Overton, whom we knew at Hull; Pride, whom we have seen in Westminster Hall; and a taciturn man, much given to chewing tobacco, whom we have transiently seen in various places, Colonel George Monk by name.[4] An excellent officer; listens to what you say, answers often by a splash of brown juice merely, but punctually does what is doable of it. Pudding-headed Hodgson the Yorkshire Captain is also there; from whom perhaps we may glean a rough lucent-point or two. The Army, as my Lord General attracts it gradually from the right and left on his march northward, amounts at Tweedside to some sixteen thousand horse and foot.[5] Rushworth goes with him as Secretary; historical John; having now done with Fairfax: — but, alas, his Papers for this Period are all lost to us: it was not safe to print them with the others; and they are lost! The *Historical Collections*, with their infinite rubbish

[1] Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 222).

[2] *Commons Journals*, in die.

[3] Whitlocke, pp. 446, 447.

[4] *Life of Monk*, by Gumble, his Chaplain.

[5] Train, 690; horse, 5,415; foot, 10,249; *in toto*, 16,354 (*Cromwelliana*, p. 65).

and their modicum of jewels, cease at the Trial of the King; leaving us, fallen into far worse hands, to repent of our impatience, and regret the useful John!

The following Letters, without commentary, which stingy space will not permit, must note the Lord General's progress for us as they can; and illuminate with here and there a rude gleam of direct light at first-hand, an old scene very obsolete, confused, unexplored and dim for us.

LETTER CXXXIV.

DOROTHY CROMWELL, we are happy to find, has a "little brat;" — but the poor little thing must have died soon: in Noble's inexact lists there is no trace of its ever having lived. The Lord General has got into Northumberland. He has a good excuse for being "silent this way," — the way of Letters.

"For my very loving Brother Richard Mayor, Esquire, at his House at Hursley: These.

"ALNWICK, 17th July, 1650.

"DEAR BROTHER, — The exceeding crowd of business I had at London is the best excuse I can make for my silence this way. Indeed, Sir, my heart beareth me witness I want no affection to you or yours; you are all often in my poor prayers.

"I should be glad to hear how the little Brat doth. I could chide both Father and Mother for their neglects of me: I know my Son is idle, but I had better thoughts of Doll. I doubt now her Husband hath spoiled her; pray tell her so from me. If I had as good leisure as they, I should write sometimes. If my Daughter be breeding, I will excuse her; but not for her nursery! The Lord bless them. I hope you give my Son good counsel; I believe he needs it. He is in the dangerous time of his age; and it's a very vain world.

Oh, how good it is to close with Christ betimes;—there is nothing else worth the looking after. I beseech you call upon him,—I hope you will discharge my duty and your own love: you see how I am employed. I need pity. I know what I feel. Great place and business in the world is not worth the looking after; I should have no comfort in mine but that my hope is in the Lord's presence. I have not sought these things; truly I have been called unto them by the Lord; and therefore am not without some assurance that He will enable His poor worm and weak servant to do His will, and to fulfil my generation. In this I desire your prayers. Desiring to be lovingly remembered to my dear Sister, to our Son and Daughter, to my Cousin Ann and the good Family, I rest,

"Your very affectionate brother,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

On *Monday, 22d July*, the Army, after due rendezvousing and reviewing, passed through Berwick; and encamped at Mordington across the Border, where a fresh stay of two days is still necessary. Scotland is bare of resources for us. That night "the Scotch beacons were all set on fire; the men fled, and drove away their cattle." Mr. Bret, his Excellency's Trumpeter, returns from Edinburgh without symptom of pacification. "The Clergy represent us to the people as if we were monsters of the world." "Army of Sectaries and Blasphemers," is the received term for us among the Scots.[2]

Already on the march hitherward, and now by Mr. Bret in an official way, have due Manifestoes been promulgated: Declaration *To all that are Saints and Partakers of the Faith of God's Elect in Scotland*, and Proclamation *To the People of Scotland* in general. Asking of the mistaken *People*, in mild terms, Did you not see us, and try us, what kind of men we were, when we came among you two years ago? Did you find us plunderers, murderers, monsters of the world? "Whose ox have we stolen?" To the mistaken *Saints of God in Scotland*, again, the Declaration testifies and argues, in a grand

[1] *Harris, p. 513*: one of the Pusey stock.

[2] *Balfour, iv. 97, 100, &c.*: "Cromwell the Blasphemer" (*ib. 88*).

earnest way, That in Charles Stuart and his party there can be no salvation; that *we* seek the real substance of the Covenant, which it is perilous to desert for the mere outer form thereof; — on the whole, that we are not sectaries and blasphemers; and that it goes against our heart to hurt a hair of any sincere servant of God. — Very earnest Documents; signed by John Rushworth in the name of General and Officers; often printed and reprinted.[1] They bear Oliver's sense in every feature of them; but are not distinctly of his composition: wherefore, as space grows more and more precious, and Oliver's sense will elsewhere sufficiently appear, we omit them.

"The Scots," says Whitlocke,[2] "are all gone with their goods towards Edinburgh, by command of the Estates of Scotland, upon penalty if they did not remove; so that mostly all the men are gone. But the wives stay behind; and some of them do bake and brew, to provide bread and drink for the English Army." The public functionaries "have told the people, 'That the English Army intends to put all the men to the sword, and to thrust hot irons through the women's breasts;' — which much terrified them, till once the General's Proclamations were published." And now the wives do stay behind, and brew and bake, — poor wives!

That Monday night while we lay at Mordington, with hard accommodation out of doors and in, — my pudding-headed friend informs me of a thing. The General has made a large Discourse to the Officers and Army, now that we are across; speaks to them "as a Christian and a Soldier, To be doubly and trebly diligent, to be wary and worthy, for sure enough we have work before us! But have we not had God's blessing hitherto? Let us go on faithfully, and hope for the like still!"[3] The Army answered "with acclamations," still audible to me. — Yorkshire Hodgson continues: —

"Well; that night we pitched at Mordington, about the House. Our Officers," General and Staff Officers, "hearing a great shout among the soldiers, looked out of window. They

[1] Newspapers (in *Parl. Hist.* xix. 298, 310); *Com. Jour.* 19th July, 1650.

[2] p. 450. [3] Hodgson, p. 130; Whitlocke, p. 450.

spied a soldier with a Scotch *kirn* [churn] on his head. Some of them had been purveying abroad, and had found a vessel filled with Scotch cream: bringing the reversion of it to their tents, some got dishfuls, and some hatfuls; and the cream being now low in the vessel, one fellow would have a modest drink, and so lifts the kirn to his mouth: but another canting it up, it falls over his head; and the man is lost in it, all the cream trickles down his apparel, and his head fast in the tub! This was a merriment to the Officers; as Oliver loved an innocent jest."

A week after, we find the General very serious; writing thus to the Lord President Bradshaw.

LETTER CXXXV.

"COPPERSPATH," of which the General here speaks, is the country pronunciation of Cockburnspath; name of a wild rock-and-river chasm, through which the great road goes, some miles to the eastward of Dunbar. Of which we shall hear again. A very wild road at that time, as may still be seen. The ravine is now spanned by a beautiful Bridge, called *Pease Bridge*, or Path's Bridge, which pleasure-parties go to visit. — The date of this Letter, in all the old Newspapers, is "30th July," and doubtless in the Original too;[1] but the real day, as appears by the context, is Wednesday, 31st.

"To the Right Honorable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.

"MUSSELBURGH, 30th July, 1650.

"MY LORD, — We marched from Berwick upon Monday, being the 22d of July; and lay at my Lord Mordington's house, Monday night, Tuesday, and Wednesday. On Thursday we marched to Copperspath; on Friday to Dunbar, where we got some small pittance from our ships; from whence we marched to Haddington.

[1] "Letter from the General, dated 30° Julii" (*Commons Journals*, vi. 451).

"On the Lord's-day, hearing that the Scottish Army meant to meet us at Gladsmoor, we labored to possess the Moor before them; and beat our drums very early in the morning. But when we came there, no considerable body of the Army appeared. Whereupon fourteen hundred horse, under the command of Major-General Lambert and Colonel Whalley, were sent as a vanguard to Musselburgh, to see likewise if they could find out and attempt anything upon the Enemy; I marching in the heel of them with the residue of the Army. Our party encountered with some of their horse; but they could not abide us. We lay at Musselburgh, encamped close, that night; the Enemy's Army lying between Edinburgh and Leith, about four miles from us, entrenched by a Line flankered from Edinburgh to Leith; the guns also from Leith scouring most part of the Line, so that they lay very strong.

"Upon Monday, 29th instant, we were resolved to draw up to them, to see if they would fight with us. And when we came upon the place, we resolved to get our cannons as near them as we could; hoping thereby to annoy them. We likewise perceived that they had some force upon a Hill that overlooks Edinburgh, from whence we might be annoyed; [and] did resolve to send up a party to possess the said Hill; — which prevailed: but, upon the whole, we did find that their Army were not easily to be attempted. Whereupon we lay still all the said day; which proved to be so sore a day and night of rain as I have seldom seen, and greatly to our disadvantage; the Enemy having enough to cover them, and we nothing at all considerable.[1] Our soldiers did abide this difficulty with great courage and resolution, hoping they should speedily come to fight. In the morning, the ground being very wet, [and] our provisions scarce, we resolved to draw back to our quarters at Musselburgh, there to refresh and revictual.

"The Enemy, when we drew off, fell upon our rear; and put them into some little disorder: but our bodies of horse being in some readiness, came to a grabble with them; where

[1] "Near a little village named, I think, Lichnagarie," means, Lang Niddery (Hodgson, p. 132); the *Niddery* near Duddingston, still deservedly called *Lang* by the people, though map-makers append the epithet elsewhere.

indeed there was a gallant and hot dispute; the Major-General [1] and Colonel Whalley being in the rear; and the Enemy drawing out great bodies to second their first affront. Our men charged them up to the very trenches, and beat them in. The Major-General's horse was shot in the neck and head; himself run through the arm with a lance, and run into another place of his body, — was taken prisoner by the Enemy, but rescued immediately by Lieutenant Empson of my regiment. Colonel Whalley, who was then nearest to the Major-General, did charge very resolutely; and repulsed the Enemy, and killed divers of them upon the place, and took some prisoners, without any considerable loss. Which indeed did so amaze and quiet them, that we marched off to Musselburgh, but they dared not send out a man to trouble us. We hear their young King looked on upon all this, but was very ill satisfied to see their men do no better.

"We came to Musselburgh that night; so tired and wearied for want of sleep, and so dirty by reason of the wetness of the weather, that we expected the Enemy would make an infall upon us. Which accordingly they did, between three and four of the clock this morning; with fifteen of their most select troops, under the command of Major-General Montgomery and Strahan, two champions of the Church: — upon which business there was great hope and expectation laid. The Enemy came on with a great deal of resolution; beat in our guards, and put a regiment of horse in some disorder: but our men, speedily taking the alarm, charged the Enemy; routed them, took many prisoners, killed a great many of them; did execution [to] within a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh; and, I am informed, Strahan [2] was killed there, besides divers other Officers of quality. We took the Major to Strahan's regiment, Major Hamilton; a Lieutenant-Colonel, and divers other Officers, and persons of quality, whom yet we know not. Indeed this is a sweet beginning of your business, or rather the Lord's;

[1] Lambert.

[2] We shall hear of Strahan again, not "killed." This Montgomery is the Earl of Eglinton's son Robert, of whom we heard before (Letter LXXVIII. vol. xvii. p. 375): neither is he "slain," as will be seen by and by.

and I believe is not very satisfactory to the Enemy, especially to the Kirk party. We did not lose any in this business, so far as I hear, but a Cornet; I do not hear of four men more. The Major-General will, I believe, within few days be well to take the field. And I trust this work, which is the Lord's, will prosper in the hands of His servants.

"I did not think advisable to attempt upon the Enemy, lying as he doth: but surely this would sufficiently provoke him to fight if he had a mind to. I do not think he is less than Six or Seven Thousand horse, and Fourteen or Fifteen Thousand foot. The reason, I hear, that they give out to their people why they do not fight us, is, Because they expect many bodies of men more out of the North of Scotland; which when they come, they give out they will then engage. But I believe they would rather tempt us to attempt them in their fastness, within which they are entrenched; or else hoping we shall famish for want of provisions; — which is very likely to be, if we be not timely and fully supplied. I remain, my Lord,

"Your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"[P.S.] I understand, since writing of this Letter, that Major-General Montgomery is slain."[1]

Cautious David Lesley lies thus within his Line "flankered" from Leith shore to the Calton Hill, with guns to "scour" it; with outposts or flying parties, as we see, stationed on the back slope of Salisbury Crags or Arthur's Seat; with all Edinburgh safe behind him, and indeed all Scotland safe behind him, for supplies: and nothing can tempt him to come out. The factions and distractions of Scotland, and its Kirk Committees and State Committees, and poor Covenanted King and Courtiers, are many: but Lesley, standing steadily to his guns, persists here. His Army, it appears, is no great things of an Army: "altogether governed by the Committee of Estates and Kirk," snarls an angry *Un*covenanted Courtier, whom the said Committee has just ordered to take himself

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 85, 86).

away again; "altogether governed by the Committee of Estates and Kirk," snarls he, "and they took especial care in their levies not to admit any *Malignants* or *Engagers* [who had been in Hamilton's Engagement]; placing in command, for most part, Ministers' Sons, Clerks and other sanctified creatures, who hardly ever saw or heard of any sword but that of the spirit!"[1] The more reason for Lesley to lie steadily within his Line here. Lodged in "Bruchton Village," which means Broughton, now a part of Edinburgh New Town; there in a cautious solid manner lies Lesley; and lets Cromwell attempt upon him. It is his history, the military history of these two, for a month to come.

Meanwhile the General Assembly have not been backward with their Answer to the Cromwell Manifesto, or "Declaration of the English Army to all the Saints in Scotland," spoken of above. Nay, already while he lay at Berwick, they had drawn up an eloquent Counter-Declaration, and sent it to him; which he, again, has got "some godly Ministers" of his to declare against and reply to: the whole of which Declarations, Replies and Re-replies shall, like the primary Document itself, remain suppressed on the present occasion.[2] But along with this "Reply by some godly Ministers," the Lord General sends a Letter of his own, which is here: —

LETTER CXXXVI.

"*To the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland; or, in case of their not sitting, To the Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland: These.*

"MUSSELBURGH, 3d August, 1650.

"SIRS, — Your *Answer to the Declaration of the Army* we have seen. Some godly Ministers with us did, at Berwick, compose this *Reply*;[3] which I thought fit to send you.

[1] Sir Edward Walker, *Historical Discourses* (London, 1705), p. 162.

[2] Titles of them, copies of several of them, in *Parliamentary History*, xix.

[3] The Scotch "Answer" which "we have seen," dated Edinburgh, 22d July, 1650, "Answer unto the Declaration of the Army;" and then this

"That you or we, in these great Transactions, answer the will and mind of God, it is only from His grace and mercy to us. And therefore, having said as in our Papers, we commit the issue thereof to Him who disposeth all things, assuring you that we have light and comfort increasing upon us, day by day; and are persuaded that, before it be long, the Lord will manifest His good pleasure, so that all shall see Him; and His People shall say, *This is the Lord's work, and it is marvellous in our eyes: this is the day that the Lord hath made; we will be glad and rejoice therein.* — Only give me leave to say, in a word [thus much]: —

"You take upon you to judge us in the things of our God, though you know us not, — though in the things we have said unto you, in that which is entitled the Army's Declaration, we have spoken our hearts as in the sight of the Lord who hath tried us. And by your hard and subtle words you have begotten prejudice in those who do too much, in matters of conscience, — wherein every soul is to answer for itself to God, — depend upon you. So that some have already followed you, to the breathing out of their souls:[1] [and] others continue still in the way wherein they are led by you, — we fear, to their own ruin.

"And no marvel if you deal thus with us, when indeed you can find in your hearts to conceal from your own people the Papers we have sent you; who might thereby see and understand the bowels of our affections to them, especially to such among them as fear the Lord. Send as many of your Papers as you please amongst ours;[2] they have a free passage. I fear them not. What is of God in them, would it might be embraced and received! — One of them lately sent, directed *To the Under-Officers and Soldiers in the English Army*, hath begotten from them this enclosed *Answer*;[3] which they desired

English "Reply" to it now sent, entitled "*Vindication* of the Declaration of the Army:" in King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 475, § 15 (Printed, London, 16th Aug. 1650).

[1] In the Musselburgh Skirmish, &c. [2] Our people.

[3] The Scotch Paper "To the Under-Officers," &c., received on the last day of July; and close following on it, this "Answer" which it "hath begotten

me to send to you: not a crafty politic one, but a plain simple spiritual one;—*what* kind of one it is, God knoweth, and God also will in due time make manifest.

"And do we multiply these things,[1] as men; or do we them for the Lord Christ and His People's sake? Indeed we are not, through the grace of God, afraid of your numbers, nor confident in ourselves. We could—I pray God you do not think we boast—meet your Army, or what you have to bring against us. We have given—humbly we speak it before our God, in whom all our hope is—some proof that thoughts of that kind prevail not upon us. The Lord hath not hid His face from us since our approach so near unto you.

"Your own guilt is too much for you to bear: bring not therefore upon yourselves the blood of innocent men,—deceived with pretences of King and Covenant; from whose eyes you hide a better knowledge! I am persuaded that divers of you, who lead the People, have labored to build yourselves in these things; wherein you have censured others, and established yourselves 'upon the Word of God.' Is it therefore infallibly agreeable to the Word of God, all that *you* say? I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken. Precept may be upon precept, line may be upon line, and yet the Word of the Lord may be to some a Word of Judgment; that they may fall backward, and be broken and be snared and be taken![2] There may be a spiritual fulness, which the World may call drunkenness;[3] as in the second

from them," addressed *To the People of Scotland (especially those among them that know and fear the Lord) from whom yesterday we received a Paper directed To the Under-Officers* &c.; of date "Musselburgh, 1st August, 1650:" in King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 475, § 10 (Printed, London, 12th August, 1650).—This *Answer* "by the Under-Officers," a very pious and zealous Piece, seems to have found favor among the pious Scots, and to have circulated among them in Manuscript Copies. A most mutilated unintelligible Fragment, printed in *Analecta Scotica* (Edinburgh, 1834), ii. 271, as "a Proclamation by Oliver Cromwell," turns out to be in reality a fraction of *this* "Answer by the Under-Officers:"—printed there from a "Copy evidently made at the time," evidently a most ruinous Copy, "and now in the possession of James Macknight, Esq."

[1] Papers and Declarations.

[2] Bible phrases.

[3] As you now do of us; while it is rather you that are "drunk."

Chapter of the *Acts*. There may be, as well, a carnal confidence upon misunderstood and misapplied precepts, which may be called spiritual drunkenness. There may be a *Covenant* made with Death and Hell![1] I will not say yours was so. But judge if such things have a politic aim: To avoid the overflowing scourge;[1] or, To accomplish worldly interests? And if therein we[2] have confederated with wicked and carnal men, and have respect for them, or otherwise [have] drawn them in to associate with us, Whether this be a Covenant of God, and spiritual? Bethink yourselves; we hope we do.

"I pray you read the Twenty-eighth of Isaiah, from the fifth to the fifteenth verse. And do not scorn to know that it is the Spirit that quickens and giveth life.

"The Lord give you and us understanding to do that which is well-pleasing in His sight. Committing you to the grace of God, I rest,

"Your humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[3]

Here is the passage from Isaiah; I know not whether the General Assembly read it and laid it well to heart, or not, but it was worth their while, — and is worth our while too: —

"In that day shall the Lord of Hosts be for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of His people. And for a spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment, and for strength to them that turn the battle to the gate.

"But they also have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way! The Priest and the Prophet have erred through strong drink; they are swallowed up of wine; they are out of the way through strong drink. They err in vision, they stumble in judgment. For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness; so that there is no place clean.

"Whom shall He teach knowledge? Whom shall He make to understand doctrine? Them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts. For precept must be upon

[1] Bible phrases. [2] *i.e.* you.

[3] Newspapers (in *Parliamentary History*, xix. 320–323).

precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little and there a little. For with stammering lips and another tongue will He speak to this people. To whom He said, This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest, and this is the refreshment;—yet they would not hear." No. "The Word of the Lord was unto them precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little, That they might go, and fall backward, and be broken and snared and taken!—Wherefore hear ye the Word of the Lord, ye scornful men that rule this people which is in Jerusalem."

Yes, hear it, and not with the outward ear only, ye Kirk Committees, and Prophesying and Governing Persons everywhere: it may be important to you! If God have said it, if the Eternal Truth of things have said it, will it not need to be done, think you? Or will the doing some distracted shadow of it, some Covenanted Charles Stuart of it, suffice?—The Kirk Committee seems in a bad way.

David Lesley, however, what as yet is in their favor, continues within his Line; stands steadily to his guns;—and the weather is wet; Oliver's provision is failing. This Letter to the Kirk was written on Saturday: on the Monday following,[1] "about the 6th of August," as Major Hodgson dates it, the tempestuous state of the weather not permitting ship-stores to be landed at Musselburgh, Cromwell has to march his Army back to Dunbar, and there provision it. Great joy in the Kirk-and-Estates Committee thereupon: Lesley steadily continues in his place.—

The famine among the Scots themselves, at Dunbar, is great; picking our horses' beans, eating our soldiers' leavings: "they are much enslaved to their Lords," poor creatures; almost destitute of private capital,—and ignorant of soap to a terrible extent.[2] Cromwell distributes among them "pease and wheat to the value of £240." On the 12th here turns to Musselburgh; finds, as heavy Bulstrode spells it in good Scotch, with a friskiness we hardly looked for in him, That Lesley has

[1] Balfour, iv. 89. [2] Whitlocke, p. 452.

commanded "The gude women should awe come away with their gear, and not stay to brew or bake, any of them, for the English;" — which makes it a place more forlorn than before.[1] Oliver decides to encamp on the Pentland Hills, which lie on the other side of Edinburgh, overlooking the Fife and Stirling roads; and to try whether he cannot force Lesley to fight, by cutting off his supplies. Here, in the mean time, is a Letter from Lesley himself; written in "Broughton Village," precisely while Oliver is on march towards the Pentlands:—

"*For his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell.*

"BRUGHTON, 13th August, 1650.

"MY LORD,—I am commanded by the Committee of Estates of this Kingdom, and desired by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, to send unto your Excellency this enclosed *Declaration*, as that which containeth the State of the Quarrel; wherein we are resolved, by the Lord's assistance, to fight your Army, when the Lord shall be pleased to call us thereunto. And as you have professed you will not conceal any of our Papers, I do desire that this *Declaration* may be made known to all the Officers of your Army. And so I rest,

"Your Excellency's most humble servant,

"DAVID LESLEY."[2]

This Declaration, done by the Kirk, and endorsed by the Estates, we shall not on the present occasion make known, even though it is brief. The reader shall fancy it a brief emphatic disclaimer, on the part of Kirk and State, of their having anything to do with Malignants;—disclaimer in emphatic words, while the emphatic facts continue as they were. Distinct hope, however, is held out that the Covenanted King will testify openly his sorrow for his Father's Malignancies, and his own resolution for a quite other course. To which Oliver, from the slope of the Pentlands,[3] returns this answer:—

[1] Whitlocke, p. 453.

[2] Newspapers (in *Parliamentary History*, xix. 330).

[3] "about Colinton" (Balfour, iv. 90).

LETTER CXXXVII.

"For the Right Honorable David Lesley, Lieutenant-General of the Scots Army: These.

"FROM THE CAMP AT PENTLAND HILLS, 14th August, 1650.

"SIR,—I received yours of the 13th instant; with the Paper you mentioned therein, enclosed,—which I caused to be read in the presence of so many Officers as could well be gotten together; to which your Trumpet can witness. We return you this answer. By which I hope, in the Lord, it will appear that we continue the same we have professed ourselves to the Honest People in Scotland; wishing to them as to our own souls; it being no part of our business to hinder any of them from worshipping God in that way they are satisfied in their consciences by the Word of God they ought, though different from us,—but shall therein be ready to perform what obligation lies upon us by the Covenant.[1]

"But that under the pretence of the Covenant, mistaken, and wrested from the most native intent and equity thereof, a King should be taken in by you, to be imposed upon us; and this [be] called 'the Cause of God and the Kingdom;' and this done upon 'the satisfaction of God's People in both Nations,' as is alleged,—together with a disowning of Malignants; although he[2] who is the head of them, in whom all their hope and comfort lies, be received; who, at this very instant, hath a Popish Army fighting for and under him in Ireland; hath Prince Rupert, a man who hath had his hand deep in the blood of many innocent men of England, now in the head of our Ships, stolen from us upon a Malignant account; hath the French and Irish ships daily making depredations on our coasts; and strong combinations by the Malignants in England, to raise Armies in our bowels, by virtue of his commissions, who hath of late issued out very many to that purpose:—How the [Godly] Interest you pretend you have

[1] Ungrammatical, but intelligible and characteristic.

[2] Charles Stuart.

received him upon, and the Malignant Interests in their ends and consequences [all] centring in this man, can be secured, we cannot discern! And how we should believe, that whilst known and notorious Malignants are fighting and plotting against us on the one hand, and you declaring for him on the other, it should *not* be an 'espousing of a Malignant Party's Quarrel or Interest;' but be a mere 'fighting upon former grounds and principles, and in defence of the Cause of God and the Kingdoms, as hath been these twelve years last past,' as you say: how this should be 'for the security and satisfaction of God's People in both Nations;' or [how] the opposing of this should render us enemies to the Godly with you, we cannot well understand. Especially considering that all these Malignants take their confidence and encouragement from the late transactions of your Kirk and State with your King. For as we have already said, so we tell you again, It is but [some] satisfying security to those who employ us, and [who] are concerned, that we seek. Which we conceive will not be by a few formal and feigned Submissions, from a Person that could not tell otherwise how to accomplish his Malignant ends, and [is] therefore counselled to this compliance, by them who assisted his Father, and have hitherto actuated himself in his most evil and desperate designs; designs which are now again by them set on foot. Against which, How you will be able, in the way you are in, to secure us or yourselves? — [this it now] is (for as much as concerns ourselves) our duty to look after.

"If the state of your Quarrel be thus, upon which, as you say, you resolve to fight our Army, you will have opportunity to do that; else what means our abode here? And if our hope be not in the Lord, it will be ill with us. We commit both you and ourselves to Him who knows the heart and tries the reins; with whom are all our ways; who is able to do for us and you above what we know: Which we desire may be in much mercy to His poor People, and to the glory of His great Name.

"And having performed your desire, in making your Papers so public as is before expressed, I desire you to do the like, by letting the State, Kirk and Army have the knowledge hereof.

To which end I have sent you enclosed two Copies [of this Letter]; and rest,

"Your humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

The encampment on Pentland Hills, "some of our tents within sight of Edinburgh Castle and City," threatens to cut off Lesley's supplies; but will not induce him to fight. "The gude wives fly with their bairns and gear" in great terror of us, poor gude wives; and "when we set fire to furze-bushes, report that we are burning their houses."[2] Great terror of us; but no other result. Lesley brings over his guns to the western side of Edinburgh, and awaits, steady within his fastnesses there.

Hopes have arisen that the Godly Party in Scotland, seeing now by these Letters and Papers what our real meaning is, may perhaps quit a Malignant King's Interest, and make bloodless peace with us, "which were the best of all." The King boggles about signing that open Testimony, that Declaration against his Father's sins, which was expected of him. "A great Commander of the Enemy's, Colonel Gibby Carre" (Colonel Gilbert Ker, of whom we shall hear farther), solicits an interview with some of ours, and has it; and other interviews and free communings take place, upon the Burrow-Moor and open fields that lie between us. Gibby Ker, and also Colonel Strahan who was thought to be slain:[3] these and some minority of others are clear against Malignancy in every form; and if the Covenanted Stuart King will not sign this Declaration —! Whereupon the Covenanted Stuart King does sign it; signs this too,[4]

[1] Newspapers (in *Parliamentary History*, xix. 331–333).

[2] *Narrative of Farther Proceedings*, dated "From the Camp in Musselburgh Fields, 16th August, 1650;" read in the Parliament 22d August (*Commons Journals*); reprinted in *Parliamentary History* (xix. 327) as a "Narrative by General Cromwell;" though it is clearly enough not General Cromwell's, but John Rushworth's.

[3] Letter CXXXV. antea, p. 106.

[4] At our Court at Dunfermline this 16th day of August, 1650 (Sir Edward Walker, pp. 170–176; by whom the melancholy Document is, with due loyal indignation, given at large there).

— what will he not sign? — and these hopes of accommodation vanish.

"Neither still will they risk a Battle; though in their interviews upon the Burrow-Moor, they said they longed to do it. Vain that we draw out in battalia; they lie within their fastnesses. We march, with defiant circumstance of war, round all accessible sides of Edinburgh; encamp on the Pentlands, return to Musselburgh for provisions; go to the Pentlands again, — enjoy one of the beautifulest prospects, over deep-blue seas, over yellow cornfields, dusky Highland mountains, from Ben Lomond round to the Bass again; but can get no Battle. And the weather is broken, and the season is advancing, — equinox within ten days, by the modern Almanac. Our men fall sick; the service is harassing; — and it depends on wind and tide whether even biscuit can be landed for us nearer than Dunbar. Here is the Lord General's own Letter "to a Member of the Council of State," — we might guess this or the other, but cannot with the least certainty know which.

LETTER CXXXVIII.

[*To ——— Council of State in Whitehall: These.*]

"MUSSELBURGH, 30th August, 1650.

"SIR, — Since my last, we seeing the Enemy not willing to engage, — and yet very apt to take exceptions against speeches of that kind spoken in our Army; which occasioned some of them to come to parley with our Officers, To let them know that they would fight us, — they lying still in or near their fastnesses, on the west side of Edinburgh, we resolved, the Lord assisting, to draw near to them once more, to try if we could fight them. And indeed one hour's advantage gained might probably, we think, have given us an opportunity.[1]

"To which purpose, upon Tuesday, the 27th instant, we

[1] Had we come one hour sooner: — but we did not.

marched westward of Edinburgh towards Stirling; which the Enemy perceiving, marched with as great expedition as was possible to prevent us; and the vanguards of both the Armies came to skirmish, — upon a place where bogs and passes made the access of each Army to the other difficult. We, being ignorant of the place, drew up, hoping to have engaged; but found no way feasible, by reason of the bogs and other difficulties.

"We drew up our cannon, and did that day discharge two or three hundred great shot upon them; a considerable number they likewise returned to us: and this was all that passed from each to other. Wherein we had near twenty killed and wounded, but not one Commission Officer. The Enemy, as we are informed, had about eighty killed, and some considerable Officers. Seeing they would keep their ground, from which we could not remove them, and our bread being spent, — we were necessitated to go for a new supply: and so marched off about ten or eleven o'clock on Wednesday morning.[1] The Enemy perceiving it, — and, as we conceive, fearing we might interpose between them and Edinburgh, though it was not our intention, albeit it seemed so by our march, — retreated back again, with all haste; having a bog and passes between them and us: and there followed no considerable action, saving the skirmishing of the van of our horse with theirs, near to Edinburgh, without any considerable loss to either party, saving that we got two or three of their horses.

"That [Wednesday] night we quartered within a mile of Edinburgh and of the Enemy. It was a most tempestuous night and wet morning. The Enemy marched in the night between Leith and Edinburgh, to interpose between us and our victual, they knowing that it was spent; — but the Lord in mercy prevented it; and we, perceiving in the morning, got, time enough, through the goodness of the Lord, to the seaside, to re-victual; the Enemy being drawn up upon the Hill near

[1] We drew towards our old Camp, one of our old Camps, that Wednesday; and off to Musselburgh "for a new supply" next morning. Old Camp, or Bivouac, "on Pentland Hills," says vague Hodgson (p. 142); "within a mile of Edinburgh," says Cromwell in this Letter, who of course knows well.

Arthur's Seat, looking upon us, but not attempting anything.

"And thus you have an account of the present occurrences.

"Your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

The scene of this Tuesday's skirmish, and cannonade across bogs, has not been investigated; though an antiquarian Topographer might find worse work for himself. Rough Hodgson, very uncertain in his spellings, calls it Gawger Field, which will evidently take us to Gogar on the western road there. The Scotch Editor of Hodgson says farther, "The Water of Leith lay between the two Armies;" which can be believed or not; — which indeed turns out to be unbelievable. Yorkshire Hodgson's troop received an ugly cannon-shot while they stood at prayers; just with the word *Amen*, came the ugly cannon-shot singing, but it hurt neither horse nor man. We also "gave them an English shout" at one time, along the whole line,[2] making their Castle-rocks and Pentlands ring again; but could get no Battle out of them, for the bogs.

Here, in reference to those matters, is an Excerpt which, in spite of imperfections, may be worth transcribing. "The English Army lay" at first "near Musselburgh, about Stony Hill. But shortly after, they marched up to Braid House," to Braid Hills, to Pentland Hills, Colinton and various other Hills and Houses in succession; "and the Scots Army, being put in some readiness, marched up to Corstorphine Hill. But because the English feared it was too near the Castle of Edinburgh, they would not hazard battle there. Wherefore both Armies marched to Gogar, Tuesday, August 27th; and played each upon other with their great guns: but because of Gogar Burn (*Brook*) and other ditches betwixt the Armies, they could not join battle. Next day, about mid-day," more precisely Wednesday about ten or eleven o'clock, "the English began to retire; and went first to their Leaguer at Braid Hills," within a mile of Edinburgh as their General says. "The English removing,

[1] Newspapers (in *Parliamentary History*, xix. 339).

[2] Hodgson, p. 141.

the Scots followed by Corstorphine the long gate" (*roundabout road*), — which is hard ground, and out of shot-range. "The English," some of them, "marched near to Musselburgh; and, in the mid night, planted some guns in Niddry: the Scots having marched about the Hill of Arthur's Seat, towards Craigmillar, there planted some guns against those in Niddry;"[1] — and in fact, as we have seen, were drawn up on Arthur's Seat on the morrow morning, looking on amid the rain, and not attempting anything.

The Lord General writes this Letter at Musselburgh on Friday, the 30th, the morrow after his return: and directly on the heel of it there is a Council of War held, and an important resolution taken. With sickness, and the wild weather coming on us, rendering even victual uncertain, and no Battle to be had, we clearly cannot continue here. Dunbar, which has a harbor, we might fortify for a kind of citadel and winter-quarter; let us retire at least to Dunbar, to be near our sole friends in this country, our Ships. On the morrow evening, Saturday, the 31st, the Lord General fired his huts, and marched towards Dunbar. At sight whereof Lesley rushes out upon him; has his vanguard in Prestonpans before our rear got away. Saturday night through Haddington, and all Sunday to Dunbar, Lesley hangs, close and heavy, on Cromwell's rear; on Sunday night bends southward to the hills that overlook Dunbar, and hems him in there. As will be more specially related in the next fascicle of Letters.

LETTERS CXXXIX.–CXLVI.

BATTLE OF DUNBAR.

THE small Town of Dunbar stands, high and windy, looking down over its herring-boats, over its grim old Castle now much honey-combed, — on one of those projecting rock-promonto-

[1] Collections by a Private Hand, at Edinburgh, from 1650 to 1661 (Woodrow MSS.), printed in *Historical Fragments on Scotch Affairs from* 1635 *to* 1664 (Edinburgh, 1832), Part i. pp. 27, 28.

ries with which that shore of the Frith of Forth is niched and vandyked, as far as the eye can reach. A beautiful sea; good land too, now that the plougher understands his trade; a grim niched barrier of whinstone sheltering it from the chafings and tumblings of the big blue German Ocean. Seaward St. Abb's Head, of whinstone, bounds your horizon to the east, not very far off; west, close by, is the deep bay, and fishy little village of Belhaven: the gloomy Bass and other rock-islets, and farther the Hills of Fife, and foreshadows of the Highlands, are visible as you look seaward. From the bottom of Belhaven bay to that of the next sea-bight St. Abb's-ward, the Town and its environs form a peninsula. Along the base of which peninsula, "not much above a mile and a half from sea to sea," Oliver Cromwell's Army, on Monday, 2d of September, 1650, stands ranked, with its tents and Town behind it, — in very forlorn circumstances. This now is all the ground that Oliver is lord of in Scotland. His Ships lie in the offing, with biscuit and transport for him; but visible elsewhere in the Earth no help.

Landward as you look from the Town of Dunbar there rises, some short mile off, a dusky continent of barren heath Hills; the Lammermoor, where only mountain-sheep can be at home. The crossing of *which*, by any of its boggy passes, and brawling stream-courses, no Army, hardly a solitary Scotch Packman could attempt, in such weather. To the edge of these Lammermoor Heights, David Lesley has betaken himself; lies now along the outmost spur of them, — a long Hill of considerable height, which the Dunbar people call the Dun, Doon, or sometimes for fashion's sake the Down, adding to it the Teutonic *Hill* likewise, though *Dun* itself in old Celtic signifies Hill. On this Doon Hill lies David Lesley with the victorious Scotch Army, upwards of twenty thousand strong; with the Committees of Kirk and Estates, the chief Dignitaries of the Country, and in fact the flower of what the pure Covenant in this the twelfth year of its existence can still bring forth. There lies he since Sunday night, on the top and slope of this Doon Hill, with the impassable heath-continents behind him; embraces, as within outspread tiger-claws, the

base-line of Oliver's Dunbar peninsula; waiting what Oliver will do. Cockburnspath with its ravines has been seized on Oliver's left, and made impassable; behind Oliver is the sea; in front of him Lesley, Doon Hill, and the heath-continent of Lammermoor. Lesley's force is of three-and-twenty thousand,[1] in spirits as of men chasing, Oliver's about half as many, in spirits as of men chased. What is to become of Oliver?

LETTER CXXXIX.

HASELRIG, as we know, is Governor of Newcastle. Oliver on Monday writes this Note; means to send it off, I suppose, by sea. Making no complaint for himself, the remarkable Oliver; doing, with grave brevity, in the hour the business of the hour. "He was a strong man," so intimates Charles Harvey, who knew him: "in the dark perils of war, in the high places of the field, hope shone in him like a pillar of fire, when it had gone out in all the others."[2] A genuine King among men, Mr. Harvey. The divinest sight this world sees, — when it is privileged to see such, and not be sickened with the unholy apery of such! He is just now upon an "engagement," or complicated concern, "very difficult."

"*To the Honorable Sir Arthur Haselrig, at Newcastle or elsewhere: These. Haste, haste.*

"[DUNBAR,] 2d September, 1650.

"DEAR SIR, — We are upon an Engagement very difficult. The Enemy hath blocked up our way at the Pass at Copperspath, through which we cannot get without almost a miracle. He lieth so upon the Hills that we know not how to come that way without great difficulty; and our lying here daily consumeth our men, who fall sick beyond imagination.

"I perceive, your forces are not in a capacity for present

[1] 27,000 say the English Pamphlets; 16,000 foot and 7,000 horse, says Sir Edward Walker (p. 182), who has access to know.

[2] *Passages in his Highness's last Sickness*, already referred to.

release. Wherefore, whatever becomes of us, it will be well for you to get what forces you can together; and the South to help what they can. The business nearly concerneth all Good People. If your forces had been in a readiness to have fallen upon the back of Copperspath, it might have occasioned supplies to have come to us. But the only wise God knows what is best. All shall work for Good. Our spirits[1] are comfortable, praised be the Lord, — though our present condition be as it is. And indeed we have much hope in the Lord; of whose mercy we have had large experience.

"Indeed, do you get together what forces you can against them. Send to friends in the South to help with more. Let H. Vane know what I write. I would not make it public, lest danger should accrue thereby. You know what use to make hereof. Let me hear from you. I rest,

"Your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"[P.S.] It's difficult for me to send to you. Let me hear from [you] after [you receive this]."[2]

The base of Oliver's "Dunbar Peninsula," as we have called it (or Dunbar Pinfold where he is now hemmed in, upon "an entanglement very difficult"), extends from Belhaven Bay on his right, to Brocksmouth House on his left; "about a mile and a half from sea to sea." Brocksmouth House, the Earl (now Duke) of Roxburgh's mansion, which still stands there, his soldiers now occupy as their extreme post on the left. As its name indicates, it is the *mouth* or issue of a small Rivulet,

[1] minds.

[2] Communicated by John Hare, Esquire, Rosemont Cottage, Clifton. The MS. at Clifton is a Copy, without date; but has this title in an old hand: "Copy of an original Letter of Oliver Cromwell, written with his own hand, the day before the Battle of Dunbarr, to Sir A. Haselridge." — *Note to Second Edition.* Found since (1846), with the Postscript, printed from the Original, in Brand's *History of Newcastle* (London, 1789), ii. 479. — *Note to Third Edition.* Autograph Original found now (May, 1847); in the possession of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne. See postea, p. 143, and Appendix, No. 19.

or *Burn*, called *Brock*, *Brocksburn*; which, springing from the Lammermoor, and skirting David Lesley's Doon Hill, finds its egress here into the sea. The reader who would form an image to himself of the great Tuesday, 3d of September, 1650, at Dunbar, must note well this little *Burn*. It runs in a deep grassy glen, which the South-country Officers in those old Pamphlets describe as a "deep *ditch*, forty feet in depth, and about as many in width," — ditch dug out by the little Brook itself, and carpeted with greensward, in the course of long thousands of years. It runs pretty close by the foot of Doon Hill; forms, from this point to the sea, the boundary of Oliver's position; his force is arranged in battle-order along the left bank of this Brocksburn, and its grassy glen; he is busied all Monday, he and his Officers, in ranking them there. "Before sunrise on Monday" Lesley sent down his horse from the Hill-top, to occupy the other side of this Brook; "about four in the afternoon" his train came down, his whole Army gradually came down; and they now are ranking themselves on the opposite side of Brocksburn, — on rather narrow ground; cornfields, but swiftly sloping upwards to the steep of Doon Hill. This goes on, in the wild showers and winds of Monday, 2d September, 1650, on both sides of the Rivulet of Brock. Whoever will begin the attack, must get across this Brook and its glen first; a thing of much disadvantage.

Behind Oliver's ranks, between him and Dunbar, stand his tents; sprinkled up and down, by battalions, over the face of this "Peninsula;" which is a low though very uneven tract of ground; now in our time all yellow with wheat and barley in the autumn season, but at that date only partially tilled, — describable by Yorkshire Hodgson as a place of plashes and rough bent-grass; terribly beaten by showery winds that day, so that your tent will hardly stand. There was then but one Farm-house on this tract, where now are not a few: thither were Oliver's Cannon sent this morning; they had at first been lodged "in the Church," an edifice standing then as now somewhat apart, "at the south end of Dunbar." We have notice of only one other "small house," belike some poor shepherd's homestead, in Oliver's tract of ground: it stands

close by the Brock Rivulet itself, and in the bottom of the little glen; at a place where the banks of it flatten themselves out into a slope passable for carts: this of course, as the one "pass" in that quarter, it is highly important to seize. Pride and Lambert lodged "six horse and fifteen foot" in this poor hut early in the morning: Lesley's horse came across, and drove them out; killing some and "taking three prisoners;" —and so got possession of this pass and hut; but did not keep it. Among the three prisoners was one musketeer, "a very stout man, though he has but a wooden arm," and some iron hook at the end of it, poor fellow. He "fired thrice," not without effect, with his wooden arm; and was not taken without difficulty: a handfast stubborn man; they carried him across to General Lesley to give some account of himself. In several of the old Pamphlets, which agree in all the details of it, this is what we read:—

"General *David* Lesley (old Leven," the other Lesley, "being in the Castle of Edinburgh, as they relate[1]), asked this man, If the Enemy did intend to fight? He replied, 'What do you think we come here for? We come for nothing else!'— 'Soldier,' says Lesley, 'how will you fight, when you have shipped half of your men, and all your great guns?' The Soldier replied, 'Sir, if you please to draw down your men, you shall find both men and great guns too!'"—A most dogged handfast man, this with the wooden arm, and iron hook on it! "One of the Officers asked, How he durst answer the General so saucily? He said, 'I only answer the question put to me!'" Lesley sent him across, free again, by a trumpet: he made his way to Cromwell; reported what had passed, and added doggedly, He for one had lost twenty shillings by the business,—plundered from him in this action. "The Lord General gave him thereupon two pieces," which I think are forty shillings; and sent him away rejoicing.[2]—This is the

[1] Old Leven is *here*, if the Pamphlet knew; but only as a volunteer and without command, though nominally still General-in-chief.

[2] Cadwell the Army-Messenger's Narrative to the Parliament (in Carte's *Ormond Papers*, i. 382). Given also, with other details, in King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 478, §§ 9, 7, 10; no. 479, § 1; &c. &c.

adventure at the "pass" by the shepherd's hut in the bottom of the glen, close by the Brocksburn itself.

And now farther, on the great scale, we are to remark very specially that there is just one other "pass" across the Brocksburn; and this is precisely where the London road now crosses it; about a mile east from the former pass, and perhaps two gunshots west from Brocksmouth House. There the great road then as now crosses the Burn of Brock; the steep grassy glen, or "broad ditch forty feet deep," flattening itself out here once more into a passable slope: passable, but still steep on the southern or Lesley side, still mounting up there, with considerable acclivity, into a high table-ground, out of which the Doon Hill, as outskirt of the Lammermoor, a short mile to your right, gradually gathers itself. There, at this "pass," on and about the present London road, as you discover after long dreary dim examining, took place the brunt or essential agony of the Battle of Dunbar long ago. Read in the extinct old Pamphlets, and ever again obstinately read, till some light rise in them, look even with unmilitary eyes at the ground as it now is, you do at last obtain small glimmerings of distinct features here and there, — which gradually coalesce into a kind of image for you; and some spectrum of the Fact becomes visible; rises veritable, face to face, on you, grim and sad in the depths of the old dead Time. Yes, my travelling friends, vehiculating in gigs or otherwise over that piece of London road, you may say to yourselves, Here without monument is the grave of a valiant thing which was done under the Sun; the footprint of a Hero, not yet quite undistinguishable, is here! —

"The Lord General about four o'clock," say the old Pamphlets, "went into the Town to take some refreshment," a hasty late dinner, or early supper, whichever we may call it; "and very soon returned back," — having written Sir Arthur's Letter, I think, in the interim. Coursing about the field, with enough of things to order; walking at last with Lambert in the Park or Garden of Brocksmouth House, he discerns that Lesley is astir on the Hill-side; altering his position some-

what. That Lesley, in fact, is coming wholly down to the basis of the Hill, where his horse had been since sunrise: coming wholly down to the edge of the Brook and glen, among the sloping harvest-fields there; and also is bringing up his left wing of horse, most part of it, towards his right; edging himself, "shogging," as Oliver calls it, his whole line more and more to the right! His meaning is, to get hold of Brocksmouth House and the pass of the Brook there;[1] after which it will be free to him to attack us when he will!—Lesley, in fact, considers, or at least the Committee of Estates and Kirk consider, that Oliver is lost; that, on the whole, he must not be left to retreat, but must be attacked and annihilated here. A vague story, due to Bishop Burnet, the watery source of many such, still circulates about the world, That it was the Kirk Committee who forced Lesley down against his will; that Oliver, at sight of it, exclaimed, "The Lord hath delivered" &c.: which nobody is in the least bound to believe. It appears, from other quarters, that Lesley *was* advised or sanctioned in this attempt by the Committee of Estates and Kirk, but also that he was by no means hard to advise; that, in fact, lying on the top of Doon Hill, shelterless in such weather, was no operation to spin out beyond necessity;—and that if anybody pressed too much upon him with advice to come down and fight, it was likeliest to be Royalist Civil Dignitaries, who had plagued him with their cavillings at his cunctations, at his "secret fellow-feeling for the Sectarians and Regicides," ever since this War began. The poor Scotch Clergy have enough of their own to answer for in this business; let every back bear the burden that belongs to it. In a word, Lesley descends, has been descending all day, and "shogs" himself to the right,—urged, I believe, by manifold counsel, and by the nature of the case; and, what is equally important for us, Oliver sees him, and sees through him, in this movement of his.

At sight of this movement, Oliver suggests to Lambert standing by him, Does it not give *us* an advantage, if we, instead of him, like to begin the attack? Here is the Enemy's

[1] Baillie's *Letters*, iii. 111.

right wing coming out to the open space, free to be attacked on any side; and the main-battle hampered in narrow sloping ground between Doon Hill and the Brook, has no room to manœuvre or assist:[1] beat this right wing where it now stands; take it in flank and front with an overpowering force, —it is driven upon its own main-battle, the whole Army is beaten? Lambert eagerly assents, "had meant to say the same thing." Monk, who comes up at the moment, likewise assents; as the other Officers do, when the case is set before them. It is the plan resolved upon for battle. The attack shall begin to-morrow before dawn.

And so the soldiers stand to their arms, or lie within instant reach of their arms, all night; being upon an engagement very difficult indeed. The night is wild and wet;—2d of September means 12th by our calendar: the Harvest Moon wades deep among clouds of sleet and hail. Whoever has a heart for prayer, let him pray now, for the wrestle of death is at hand. Pray,—and withal keep his powder dry! And be ready for extremities, and quit himself like a man!—Thus they pass the night; making that Dunbar Peninsula and Brock Rivulet long memorable to me. We English have some tents; the Scots have none. The hoarse sea moans bodeful, swinging low and heavy against these whinstone bays; the sea and the tempests are abroad, all else asleep but we,—and there is One that rides on the wings of the wind.

Towards three in the morning the Scotch foot, by order of a Major-General say some,[2] extinguish their matches, all but two in a company; cower under the corn-shocks, seeking some imperfect shelter and sleep. Be wakeful, ye English; watch, and pray, and keep your powder dry. About four o'clock comes order to my pudding-headed Yorkshire friend, that his regiment must mount and march straightway; his and various other regiments march, pouring swiftly to the left to Brocksmouth House, to the Pass over the Brock.

[1] Hodgson.

[2] "Major-General Holburn" (he that escorted Cromwell into Edinburgh in 1648), says Walker, p. 180.

With overpowering force let us storm the Scots right wing there; beat that, and all is beaten. Major Hodgson riding along, heard, he says, "a Cornet praying in the night;" a company of poor men, I think, making worship there, under the void Heaven, before battle joined: Major Hodgson, giving his charge to a brother Officer, turned aside to listen for a minute, and worship and pray along with them; haply his last prayer on this Earth, as it might prove to be. But no: this Cornet prayed with such effusion as was wonderful; and imparted strength to my Yorkshire friend, who strengthened his men by telling them of it. And the Heavens, in their mercy, I think, have opened us a way of deliverance!—The Moon gleams out, hard and blue, riding among hail-clouds; and over St. Abb's Head a streak of dawn is rising.

And now is the hour when the attack should be, and no Lambert is yet here, he is ordering the line far to the right yet; and Oliver occasionally, in Hodgson's hearing, is impatient for him. The Scots too, on this wing, are awake; thinking to surprise us; there is their trumpet sounding, we heard it once; and Lambert, who was to lead the attack, is not here. The Lord General is impatient;—behold Lambert at last! The trumpets peal, shattering with fierce clangor Night's silence; the cannons awaken along all the Line: "The Lord of Hosts! The Lord of Hosts!" On, my brave ones, on!—

The dispute "on this right wing was hot and stiff, for three quarters of an hour." Plenty of fire, from field-pieces, snaphances, matchlocks, entertains the Scotch main-battle across the Brock;—poor stiffened men, roused from the corn-shocks with their matches all out! But here on the right, their horse, "with lancers in the front rank," charge desperately; drive us back across the hollow of the Rivulet;—back a little; but the Lord gives us courage, and we storm home again, horse and foot, upon them, with a shock like tornado tempests; break them, beat them, drive them all adrift. "Some fled towards Copperspath, but most across their own foot." Their own poor foot, whose matches were hardly well alight yet! Poor men, it was a terrible awakening for them: field-

pieces and charge of foot across the Brocksburn; and now here is their own horse in mad panic trampling them to death. Above three thousand killed upon the place: "I never saw such a charge of foot and horse," says one;[1] nor did I. Oliver was still near to Yorkshire Hodgson when the shock succeeded; Hodgson heard him say, "They run! I profess they run!" And over St. Abb's Head and the German Ocean, just then, bursts the first gleam of the level Sun upon us, "and I heard Nol say, in the words of the Psalmist, 'Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered,'" — or in Rous's metre, —

"Let God arise, and scattered
Let all his enemies be;
And let all those that do him hate
Before his presence flee!"

Even so. The Scotch Army is shivered to utter ruin; rushes in tumultuous wreck, hither, thither; to Belhaven, or, in their distraction, even to Dunbar; the chase goes as far as Haddington; led by Hacker. "The Lord General made a halt," says Hodgson, "and sang the Hundred-and-seventeenth Psalm," till our horse could gather for the chase. Hundred-and-seventeenth Psalm, at the foot of the Doon Hill; there we uplift it, to the tune of Bangor, or some still higher score, and roll it strong and great against the sky: —

"Oh, give ye praise unto the Lord,
All nati-ons that be;
Likewise ye people all, accord
His name to magnify!

"For great to-us-ward ever are
His loving-kindnesses;
His truth endures forevermore:
The Lord oh do ye bless!"

And now, to the chase again.

The Prisoners are ten thousand, — all the foot in a mass. Many Dignitaries are taken; not a few are slain; of whom see Printed Lists, — full of blunders. Provost Jaffray of Aberdeen, Member of the Scots Parliament, one of the Com-

[1] Rushworth's Letter to the Speaker (in *Parliamentary History*, xix. 341).

mittee of Estates, was very nearly slain: a trooper's sword was in the air to sever him, but one cried, He is a man of consequence; he can ransom himself!—and the trooper kept him prisoner.[1] The first of the Scots Quakers, by and by; and an official person much reconciled to Oliver. Ministers also of the Kirk Committee were slain; two Ministers I find taken, poor Carstairs of Glasgow, poor Waugh of some other place,—of whom we shall transiently hear again.

General David Lesley, vigorous for flight as for other things, got to Edinburgh by nine o'clock; poor old Leven, not so light of movement, did not get till two. Tragical enough. What a change since January, 1644, when we marched out of this same Dunbar up to the knees in snow! It was to help and save these very men that we then marched; with the Covenant in all our hearts. We have stood by the letter of the Covenant; fought for our Covenanted Stuart King as we could;—they again, they stand by the substance of it, and have trampled us and the letter of it into this ruinous state!—Yes, my poor friends;—and now be wise, be taught! The letter of your Covenant, in fact, will never rally again in this world. The spirit and substance of it, please God, will never die in this or in any world!

Such is Dunbar Battle; which might also be called Dunbar Drove, for it was a frightful rout. Brought on by miscalculation; misunderstanding of the difference between substances and semblances;—by mismanagement, and the chance of war. My Lord General's next Seven Letters, all written on the morrow, will now be intelligible to the reader. First, however, take the following

PROCLAMATION.

"FORASMUCH as I understand there are several Soldiers of the Enemy's Army yet abiding in the Field, who by reason of their wounds could not march from thence:

"These are therefore to give notice to the Inhabitants of this

[1] *Diary of Alexander Jaffray* (London, 1834;—unhappily relating almost all to the inner man of Jaffray).

Nation That they may and hereby have[1] free liberty to repair to the Field aforesaid, and, with their carts or [in] any other peaceable way, to carry away the said Soldiers to such places as they shall think fit: — provided they meddle not with, or take away, any the Arms there. And all Officers and Soldiers are to take notice that the same is permitted.

"Given under my hand, at Dunbar, 4th September, 1650.

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"To be proclaimed by beat of drum."[2]

LETTER CXL.

"For the Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

"DUNBAR, 4th September, 1650.

"SIR, — I hope it 's not ill taken, that I make no more frequent addresses to the Parliament. Things that are in trouble, in point of provision for your Army, and of ordinary direction, I have, as I could, often presented to the Council of State, together with such occurrences as have happened; — who, I am sure, as they have not been wanting in their extraordinary care and provision for us, so neither in what they judge fit and necessary to represent the same to you. And this I thought to be a sufficient discharge of my duty on that behalf.

"It hath now pleased God to bestow a mercy upon you, worthy of your knowledge, and of the utmost praise and thanks of all that fear and love His name; yea, the mercy is far above all praise. Which that you may the better perceive, I shall take the boldness to tender unto you some circumstances accompanying this great business, which will manifest the greatness and seasonableness of this mercy.

"We having tried what we could to engage the Enemy, three or four miles West of Edinburgh; that proving ineffectual, and our victual failing, — we marched towards our ships for a

[1] *sic.*

[2] Old Newspaper, *Several Proceedings in Parliament*, no. 50 (5th–12th Sept. 1650): in Burney Newspapers (British Museum), vol. xxxiv.

recruit of our want. The Enemy did not at all trouble us in our rear; but marched the direct way towards Edinburgh, and partly in the night and morning slips through his whole Army; and quarters himself in a posture easy to interpose between us and our victual. But the Lord made him to lose the opportunity. And the morning proving exceeding wet and dark, we recovered, by that time it was light, a ground where they could not hinder us from our victual: which was an high act of the Lord's Providence to us. We being come into the said ground, the Enemy marched into the ground we were last upon; having no mind either to strive to interpose between us and our victuals, or to fight; being indeed upon this [aim of reducing us to a] lock, — hoping that the sickness of your Army would render their work more easy by the gaining of time. Whereupon we marched to Musselburgh, to victual, and to ship away our sick men; where we sent aboard near five hundred sick and wounded soldiers.

"And upon serious consideration, finding our weakness so to increase, and the Enemy lying upon his advantage, — at a general council it was thought fit to march to Dunbar, and there to fortify the Town. Which (we thought), if anything, would provoke them to engage. As also, That the having of a Garrison there would furnish us with accommodation for our sick men, [and] would be a good Magazine, — which we exceedingly wanted; being put to depend upon the uncertainty of weather for landing provisions, which many times cannot be done though the being of the whole Army lay upon it, all the coasts from Berwick to Leith having not one good harbor. As also, To lie more conveniently to receive our recruits of horse and foot from Berwick.

"Having these considerations, — upon Saturday, the 30th[1] of August, we marched from Musselburgh to Haddington. Where, by that time we had got the van-brigade of our horse, and our foot and train, into their quarters, the Enemy had marched with that exceeding expedition that they fell upon the rear-forlorn of our horse, and put it in some disorder; and indeed had like to have engaged our rear-brigade of horse

[1] *sic:* but Saturday is 31st.

with their whole Army, — had not the Lord by His Providence put a cloud over the Moon, thereby giving us opportunity to draw off those horse to the rest of our Army. Which accordingly was done without any loss, save of three or four of our aforementioned forlorn; wherein the Enemy, as we believe, received more loss.

"The Army being put into a reasonable secure posture, — towards midnight the Enemy attempted our quarters, on the west end of Haddington: but through the goodness of God we repulsed them. The next morning we drew into an open field, on the south side of Haddington; we not judging it safe for us to draw to the Enemy upon his own ground, he being prepossessed thereof; — but rather drew back, to give him way to come to us, if he had so thought fit. And having waited about the space of four or five hours, to see if he would come to us; and not finding any inclination in the Enemy so to do, — we resolved to go, according to our first intendment, to Dunbar.

"By that time we had marched three or four miles, we saw some bodies of the Enemy's horse draw out of their quarters; and by that time our carriages were gotten near Dunbar, their whole Army was upon their march after us. And indeed, our drawing back in this manner, with the addition of three new regiments added to them, did much heighten their confidence, if not presumption and arrogancy. — The Enemy, that night, we perceived, gathered towards the Hills; laboring to make a perfect interposition between us and Berwick. And having in this posture a great advantage, — through his better knowledge of the country, he effected it: by sending a considerable party to the strait Pass at Copperspath; where ten men to hinder are better than forty to make their way. And truly this was an exigent to us,[1] wherewith the Enemy reproached us; — [as] with that condition the Parliament's Army was in when it made its hard conditions with the King in Cornwall.[2] By

[1] A disgraceful summons of caption to us: "exigent" is a law-writ issued against a fugitive, — such as we knew long since, in our young days, about Lincoln's Inn!

[2] Essex's Army six years ago, in Autumn, 1644, when the King had impounded it among the Hills there (see vol. xvii. p. 189).

some reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us, and of their business, in sufficient revenge and wrath towards our persons; and had swallowed up the poor Interest of England; believing that their Army and their King would have marched to London without any interruption; — it being told us (we know not how truly) by a prisoner we took the night before the fight, That their King was very suddenly to come amongst them, with those English they allowed to be about him. But in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them.

"The Enemy lying in the posture before mentioned, having those advantages; we lay very near him, being sensible of our disadvantages, having some weakness of flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself to our poor weak faith, wherein I believe not a few amongst us stand: That because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the Mount, and in the Mount the Lord would be seen; and that He would find out a way of deliverance and salvation for us: — and indeed we had our consolations and our hopes.

"Upon Monday evening, — the Enemy's whole numbers were very great; about six thousand horse, as we heard, and sixteen thousand foot at least; ours drawn down, as to sound men, to about seven thousand five hundred foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, — [upon Monday evening] the Enemy drew down to the right wing about two-thirds of their left wing of horse. To the right wing; shogging also their foot and train much to the right; causing their right wing of horse to edge down towards the sea. We could not well imagine but that the Enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themselves in a more exact condition of interposition. The Major-General and myself coming to the Earl Roxburgh's House, and observing this posture, I told him I thought it did give us an opportunity and advantage to attempt upon the Enemy. To which he immediately replied, That he had thought to have said the same thing to me. So that it pleased the Lord to set this

apprehension upon both of our hearts, at the same instant. We called for Colonel Monk, and showed him the thing: and coming to our quarters at night, and demonstrating our apprehensions to some of the Colonels, they also cheerfully concurred.

"We resolved therefore to put our business into this posture: That six regiments of horse, and three regiments and a half of foot should march in the van; and that the Major-General, the Lieutenant-General of the horse, and the Commissary-General,[1] and Colonel Monk to command the brigade of foot, should lead on the business; and that Colonel Pride's brigade, Colonel Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments of horse should bring up the cannon and rear. The time of falling on to be by break of day: — but through some delays it proved not to be so; [not] till six o'clock in the morning.

"The Enemy's word was, *The Covenant;* which it had been for divers days. Ours, *The Lord of Hosts.* The Major-General, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Commissary-General Whalley, and Colonel Twistleton, gave the onset; the Enemy being in a very good posture to receive them, having the advantage of their cannon and foot against our horse. Before our foot could come up, the Enemy made a gallant resistance, and there was a very hot dispute at sword's point between our horse and theirs. Our first foot, after they had discharged their duty (being overpowered with the Enemy), received some repulse, which they soon recovered. For my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe and my Major, White, did come seasonably in; and, at the push of pike, did repel the stoutest regiment the Enemy had there, merely with the courage the Lord was pleased to give. Which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foot; this being the first action between the foot. The horse in the mean time did, with a great deal of courage and spirit, beat back all oppositions; charging through the bodies of the Enemy's horse and of their foot; who were, after the first repulse given, made by the Lord of Hosts as stubble to their swords. — Indeed, I believe I may speak it without partiality: both your chief Commanders and

[1] Lambert, Fleetwood, Whalley.

others in their several places, and soldiers also, were acted[1] with as much courage as ever hath been seen in any action since this War. I know they look not to be named; and therefore I forbear particulars.

"The best of the Enemy's horse being broken through and through in less than an hour's dispute, their whole Army being put into confusion, it became a total rout; our men having the chase and execution of them near eight miles. We believe that upon the place and near about it were about three thousand slain. Prisoners taken: of their officers you have this enclosed List; of private soldiers near ten thousand. The whole baggage and train taken, wherein was good store of match, powder and bullet; all their artillery, great and small, — thirty guns. We are confident they have left behind them not less than fifteen thousand arms. I have already brought in to me near two hundred colors, which I herewith send you.[2] What officers of theirs of quality are killed, we yet cannot learn; but yet surely divers are: and many men of quality are mortally wounded, as Colonel Lumsden, the Lord Libberton and others. And, that which is no small addition, I do not believe we have lost twenty men. Not one Commission Officer slain as I hear of, save one Cornet; and Major Rooksby, since dead of his wounds; and not many mortally wounded: — Colonel Whalley only cut in the handwrist, and his horse (twice shot) killed under him; but he well recovered another horse, and went on in the chase.

"Thus you have the prospect of one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and His people, this War: — and now may it please you to give me the leave of a few words. It is easy to say, The Lord hath done this. It would do you good to see and hear our poor foot to go up and down

[1] "actuated," as we now write it.

[2] They hung long in Westminster Hall; beside the Preston ones, and still others that came. Colonel Pride has been heard to wish, and almost to hope, That the Lawyers' gowns might all be hung up beside the Scots colors yet, — and the Lawyers' selves, except some very small and most select needful remnant, be ordered peremptorily to disappear from those localities, and seek an honest trade elsewhere! (Walker's History of Independency.)

making their boast of God. But, Sir, it 's in your hands, and by these eminent mercies God puts it more into your hands, To give glory to Him; to improve your power, and His blessings, to His praise. We that serve you beg of you not to own us, — but God alone. We pray you own His people more and more; for they are the chariots and horsemen of Israel. Disown yourselves; — but own your Authority; and improve it to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquillity of England, though under what specious pretences soever. Relieve the oppressed, hear the groans of poor prisoners in England. Be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions: — and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich,[1] that suits not a Commonwealth. If He that strengthens your servants to fight, please to give you hearts to set upon these things, in order to His glory, and the glory of your Commonwealth, — [then] besides the benefit England shall feel thereby, you shall shine forth to other Nations, who shall emulate the glory of such a pattern, and through the power of God turn in to the like!

"These are our desires. And that you may have liberty and opportunity to do these things, and not be hindered, we have been and shall be (by God's assistance) willing to venture our lives; — and [will] not desire you should be precipitated by importunities, from your care of safety and preservation; but that the doing of these good things may have their place amongst those which concern well-being,[2] and so be wrought in their time and order.

"Since we came in Scotland, it hath been our desire and longing to have avoided blood in this business; by reason that God hath a people here fearing His name, though deceived. And to that end have we offered much love unto such, in the bowels of Christ; and concerning the truth of our hearts therein, have we appealed unto the Lord. The Ministers of

[1] "Many of them had a *peek* at Lawyers generally" (says learned Bulstrode in these months, — appealing to posterity, almost with tears in his big dull eyes!).

[2] We as yet struggle for *being*; which is preliminary, and still more essential.

Scotland have hindered the passage of these things to the hearts of those to whom we intended them. And now we hear, that not only the deceived people, but some of the Ministers are also fallen in this Battle. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the consideration of all those who take into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd, — to wit, meddling with worldly policies, and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they call the Kingdom of Christ, which is neither it, nor, if it were it, would such means be found effectual to that end, — and neglect, or trust not to, the Word of God, the sword of the Spirit; which is alone powerful and able for the setting up of that Kingdom; and, when trusted to, will be found effectually able to that end, and will also do it! This is humbly offered for their sakes who have lately too much turned aside: that they might return again to preach Jesus Christ, according to the simplicity of the Gospel; — and then no doubt they will discern and find your protection and encouragement.

"Beseeching you to pardon this length, I humbly take leave; and rest, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

Industrious dull Bulstrode, coming home from the Council of State towards Chelsea on Saturday afternoon, is accosted on the streets, "near Charing Cross," by a dusty individual, who declares himself bearer of this Letter from my Lord General; and imparts a rapid outline of the probable contents to Bulstrode's mind, which naturally kindles with a certain slow solid satisfaction on receipt thereof.[2]

LETTER CXLI.

LETTER CXXXIX., for Sir Arthur, did not go on Monday night; and finds now an unexpected conveyance! — Brand,

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 87-91).

[2] Whitlocke (2d edition), p. 470 (7th Sept.).

Historian of Newcastle, got sight of that Letter, and of this new one enclosing it, in the hands of an old Steward of the Haselrigs, grandfather of the present possessor of those Documents, some half-century ago; and happily took copies. Letter CXXXIX. was autograph, "folded up hastily before the ink was quite dry; — sealed with red wax:" of this there is nothing autograph but the signature; and the sealing-wax is black.

"For the Honorable Sir Arthur Haselrig, at Newcastle or elsewhere: These. Haste, haste.

"DUNBAR, 4th September, 1650.

"SIR, — You will see by my Enclosed, of the 2d of this month, which was the evening before the Fight, the condition we were in at that time. Which I thought fit on purpose to send you, that you might see how great and how seasonable our deliverance and mercy is, by such aggravation.

"Having said my thoughts thereupon to the Parliament, I shall only give you the narrative of this exceeding mercy;[1] believing the Lord will enlarge your heart to a thankful consideration thereupon. The least of this mercy lies not in the advantageous consequences which I hope it may produce; of glory to God and good to His People, in the prosecution of that which remains; unto which this great work hath opened so fair a way. We have no cause to doubt but, if it shall please the Lord to prosper our endeavors, we may find opportunities both upon Edinburgh and Leith, — Stirling-Bridge, and other such places as the Lord shall lead unto. Even far above our thoughts; as this late and other experiences gives good encouragement.

"Wherefore, that we may not be wanting, I desire you, with such forces as you have, Immediately to march to me to Dunbar; leaving behind you such of your new Levies as will prevent lesser incursions: — for surely their rout and ruin is so total that they will not be provided for anything that is very considerable. — Or rather, which I more incline unto,

[1] Means *the bare statement*. In the next sentence, "The least lies not," is for *The not least lies*.

That you would send Thomlinson with the Forces you have ready, and this with all possible expedition; and that *you* will go on with the remainder of the Reserve, — which, upon better thoughts, I do not think can well be done without you.

"Sir, let no time nor opportunity be lost. Surely it 's probable the Kirk has done their do.[1] I believe their King will set up upon his own score now; wherein he will find many friends. Taking opportunity offered, — it 's our great advantage, through God. I need say no more to you on this behalf; but rest,

"Your humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"My service to your good Lady. — I think it will be very fit that you bake Hard-bread again, considering you increase our numbers. I pray you do so. — Sir, I desire you to procure about three or four score Masons, and ship them to us with all speed: for we expect that God will suddenly put some places into our hands, which we shall have occasion to fortify."[2]

LETTER CXLII.

"To the Lord President of the Council of State: These.

"DUNBAR, 4th September, 1650.

"MY LORD, — I have sent the Major-General, with six regiments of horse and one of foot, towards Edinburgh; purposing (God willing) to follow after, to-morrow, with what convenience I may.

"We are put to exceeding trouble, though it be an effect of abundant mercy, with the numerousness of our Prisoners; having so few hands, so many of our men sick; — so little

[1] "doo" in orig.

[2] Brand's *History of Newcastle*, ii. 489. In Brand's Book there follow Excerpts from two other Letters to Sir Arthur; of which, on inquiry, the present Baronet of Nosely Hall unluckily knows nothing farther. The Excerpts, with their dates, shall be given presently.

conveniency of disposing of them;[1] and not, by attendance thereupon, to omit the seasonableness of the prosecution of this mercy as Providence shall direct. We have been constrained, even out of Christianity, humanity, and the forementioned necessity, to dismiss between four and five thousand Prisoners, almost starved, sick and wounded; the remainder, which are the like, or a greater number, I am fain to send by a convoy of four troops of Colonel Hacker's, to Berwick, and so on to Newcastle, southwards.[2]

"I think fit to acquaint your Lordship with two or three observations. Some of the honestest in the Army amongst the Scots did profess before the fight, That they did not believe their King in his Declaration;[3] and it's most evident he did sign it with as much reluctancy and so much against his heart as could be: and yet they venture their lives for him upon this account; and publish this [Declaration] to the world, to be believed as the act of a person converted, when in their hearts they know he abhorred the doing of it, and meant it not.

"I hear, when the Enemy marched last up to us, the Ministers pressed their Army to interpose between us and home;

[1] The Prisoners: — sentence ungrammatical, but intelligible.

[2] Here are Brand's Excerpts from the two other Letters to Sir Arthur, spoken of in the former Note: "*Dunbar, 5th Sept.* 1650. . . . After much deliberation, we can find no way how to dispose of these Prisoners that will be consisting with these two ends: to wit, the not losing them and the not starving them, neither of which would we willingly incur, — but by sending them into England." (Brand, ii. 481.) — "*Edinburgh, 9th Sept.* 1650. . . . I hope your Northern Guests are come to you by this time. I pray you let humanity be exercised towards them: I am persuaded it will be comely. Let the Officers be kept at Newcastle, some sent to Lynn, some to Chester." (*Ibid.* p. 480). — (*Note to Third Edition*). Letters complete, in Appendix, No. 19.

A frightful account of what became of these poor "Northern Guests" as they proceeded "southwards;" how, for sheer hunger, they ate raw cabbages in the "walled garden at Morpeth," and lay in unspeakable imprisonment in Durham Cathedral, and died as of swift pestilence there: In *Sir Arthur Haselrig's Letter to the Council of State* (reprinted, from the old Pamphlets, in *Parliamentary History*, xix. 417).

[3] Open Testimony against the sins of his Father, see antea, p. 118.

the chief Officers desiring rather that we might have way made, though it were by a golden bridge. But the Clergy's council prevailed, — to their no great comfort, through the goodness of God.

"The Enemy took a gentleman of Major Brown's troop prisoner, that night we came to Haddington; and he had quarter through Lieutenant-General David Lesley's means; who, finding him a man of courage and parts, labored with him to take up arms. But the man expressing constancy and resolution to this side, the Lieutenant-General caused him to be mounted, and with two troopers to ride about to view their gallant Army; using that as an argument to persuade him to their side; and, when this was done, dismissed him to us in a bravery. And indeed the day before we fought, they did express so much insolency and contempt of us, to some soldiers they took, as was beyond apprehension.

"Your Lordship's most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." [1]

WHICH high officialities being ended, here are certain glad domestic Letters of the same date.

LETTER CXLIII.

"For my beloved Wife Elizabeth Cromwell, at the Cockpit: These.

"DUNBAR, 4th September, 1650.

"MY DEAREST, — I have not leisure to write much. But I could chide thee that in many of thy Letters thou writest to me, That I should not be unmindful of thee and thy little ones. Truly, if I love you not too well, I think I err not on the other hand much. Thou art dearer to me than any creature; let that suffice.

"The Lord hath showed us an exceeding mercy: — who can tell how great it is! My weak faith hath been upheld.

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 91).

I have been in my inward man marvellously supported; — though I assure thee, I grow an old man, and feel infirmities of age marvellously stealing upon me. Would my corruptions did as fast decrease! Pray on my behalf in the latter respect. The particulars of our late success Harry Vane or Gilbert Pickering will impart to thee. My love to all dear friends. I rest thine,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

LETTER CXLIV.

"For my loving Brother Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These.

"DUNBAR, 4th September, 1650.

"DEAR BROTHER, — Having so good an occasion as the imparting so great a mercy as the Lord has vouchsafed us in Scotland, I would not omit the imparting thereof to you, though I be full of business.

"Upon Wednesday[2] we fought the Scottish Armies. They were in number, according to all computation, above twenty thousand; we hardly eleven thousand, having great sickness upon our Army. After much appealing to God, the Fight lasted above an hour. We killed (as most think) three thousand; took near ten thousand prisoners, all their train, about thirty guns great and small, besides bullet, match and powder, very considerable Officers, about two hundred colors, above ten thousand arms; — lost not thirty men. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Good Sir, give God

[1] Copied from the Original by John Hare, Esq., Rosemont Cottage, Clifton. Collated with the old Copy, in British Museum, Cole MSS. no. 5834, p. 38. "The Original was purchased at Strawberry-Hill Sale (Horace Walpole's), 30th April, 1842, for twenty-one guineas."

[2] "Wedensd." in the Original. A curious proof of the haste and confusion Cromwell was in. The Battle was on *Tuesday*, — yesterday, 3d September, 1650; indisputably Tuesday; and he is now writing on Wednesday! —

all the glory; stir up all yours, and all about you, to do so. Pray for

"Your affectionate brother,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"I desire my love may be presented to my dear Sister, and to all your Family. I pray tell Doll I do not forget her nor her little Brat. She writes very cunningly and complimentally to me; I expect a Letter of plain dealing from her. She is too modest to tell me whether she breeds or not. I wish a blessing upon her and her Husband. The Lord make them fruitful in all that's good. They are at leisure to write often; — but indeed they are both idle, and worthy of blame."[1]

LETTER CXLV.

A PIOUS Word, shot off to Ireland, for Son Ireton and the "dear Friends" fighting for the same Cause there. That they may rejoice with us, as we have done with them: none knows but they may have "need" again "of mutual experiences for refreshment."

[*To Lieutenant-General Ireton, Deputy-Lieutenant of Ireland: These.*]

"DUNBAR, 4th September, 1650.

"SIR, — Though I hear not often from you, yet I know you forget me not. Think so of me [too]; for I often remember you at the Throne of Grace. — I heard of the Lord's good hand with you in reducing Waterford, Duncannon, and Catherlogh:[2] His Name be praised.

"We have been engaged upon a Service the fullest of trial

[1] Harris, p. 513; one of the Pusey stock, the last now but three.

[2] "Catherlogh" is Carlow: Narrative of these captures (10th August, 1650) in a Letter from Ireton to the Speaker (*Parliamentary History*, xix. 334–337).

ever poor creatures were upon. We made great professions of love; knowing we were to deal with many who were Godly, and [who] pretended to be stumbled at our Invasion: — indeed, our bowels were pierced again and again; the Lord helped us to sweet words, and in sincerity to mean them. We were rejected again and again; yet still we begged to be believed that we loved them as our own souls; they often returned evil for good. We prayed for security:[1] they would not hear or answer a word to that. We made often appeals to God; they appealed also. We were near engagements three or four times, but they lay upon advantages. A heavy flux fell upon our Army; brought it very low, — from fourteen to eleven thousand: three thousand five hundred horse, and seven thousand five hundred foot. The Enemy sixteen thousand foot, and six thousand horse.

"The Enemy prosecuted the advantage. We were necessitated; and upon September[2] the 3d, by six in the morning, we attempted their Army: — after a hot dispute for about an hour, we routed their whole Army; killed near three thousand; and took, as the Marshal informs me, ten thousand prisoners; their whole Train, being about thirty pieces, great and small; good store of powder, match and bullet; near two hundred Colors. I am persuaded near fifteen thousand Arms left upon the ground. And I believe, though many of ours be wounded, we lost not above Thirty men. Before the Fight our condition was made very sad, the Enemy greatly insulted and menaced [us]; but the Lord upheld us with comfort in Himself, beyond ordinary experience.

"I knowing the acquainting you with this great handiwork of the Lord would stir up your minds to praise and rejoicing; and not knowing but your condition may require mutual experiences for refreshment; and knowing also that the news we had of your successes was matter of help to our faith in our distress, and matter of praise also, — I thought fit (though in the midst of much business) to give you this account of the

[1] Begged of them some security against Charles Stuart's designs upon England.

[2] "7ber" he writes.

unspeakable goodness of the Lord, who hath thus appeared, to the glory of His great Name, and the refreshment of His Saints.

"The Lord bless you, and us, to return praises; to *live* them all our days. Salute all our dear Friends with you, as if I named them. I have no more; — but rest,

"Your loving father and true friend,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

We observe there are no regards to Bridget Ireton, no news or notice of her, in this Letter. Bridget Ireton is at London, safe from these wild scenes; far from her Husband, far from her Father: — will never see her brave Husband more.

LETTER CXLVI.

DUBITATING Wharton must not let "success" too much sway him; yet it were fit he took notice of these things: he, and idle Norton whom we know, and Montague of Hinchinbrook, and others. The Lord General, for his own share, has a better ground than "success;" has the direct insight of his own soul, such as suffices him, — such as all souls to which "the inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding," are or may be capable of, one would think!

"*For the Right Honorable the Lord Wharton: These.*

"DUNBAR, 4th September, 1650.

"MY DEAR LORD, — Ay, poor I love you! Love you the Lord: take heed of disputing! — I was untoward when I spake last with you in St. James's Park. I spake cross in stating [my] grounds: I spake to *my judgings* of you; which were: That you, — shall I name others? — Henry Lawrence, Robert Hammond, &c., had ensnared yourselves with disputes.

[1] Russell's *Life of Cromwell* (Edinburgh, 1829; forming vols. 46, 47 of *Constable's Miscellany*), ii. 317–319. Does not say whence; — Letter undoubtedly genuine.

"I believe you desired to be satisfied; and had tried and doubted your [own] sincerities. It was well. But uprightness, if it be not *purely* of God, may be, nay commonly is, deceived. The Lord persuade you, and all my dear Friends!

"The results of your thoughts concerning late Transactions I know to be mistakes of yours, by a better argument than *success*. Let not your engaging too far upon your own judgments be your temptation or snare: much less [let] success,—lest you should be thought to return upon less noble arguments.[1] It is in my heart to write the same things to Norton, Montague and others: I pray you read or communicate these foolish lines to them. I have known my folly do good, when affection has overcome[2] my reason. I pray you judge me sincere,—lest a prejudice should be put upon after advantages.

"How gracious has the Lord been in this great Business! Lord, hide not Thy mercies from our eyes!—

"My service to the dear Lady. I rest,

"Your humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[3]

LETTERS CXLVII.–CXLIX.

OF these Letters, the first Two, with their Replies and Adjuncts, Six Missives in all, form a Pamphlet published at Edinburgh in 1650, with the Title: *Several Letters and Passages between his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell and the Governor of Edinburgh Castle.* They have been reprinted in various quarters: we copy the Cromwell part of them from *Thurloe;* and fancy they will not much need any preface.

[1] Decide as the essence of the matter *is;* neither persist nor "return" upon fallacious, superficial, or external considerations.

[2] outrun.

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1814), lxxxiv. 419. Does not say whence or how.

Here are some words, written elsewhere on the occasion, some time ago.

"These Letters of Cromwell to the Edinburgh Clergy, treating of obsolete theologies and polities, are very dull to modern men: but they deserve a steady perusal by all such as will understand the strange meaning (for the present, alas, as good as obsolete in all forms of it) that possessed the mind of Cromwell in these hazardous operations of his. Dryasdust, carrying his learned eye over these and the like Letters, finds them, of course, full of 'hypocrisy,' &c. &c. — Unfortunate Dryasdust, they are coruscations, terrible as lightning, and beautiful as lightning, from the innermost temple of the Human Soul; — intimations, still credible, of what a Human Soul does mean when it *believes* in the Highest; a thing poor Dryasdust never did nor will do. The hapless generation that now reads these words ought to hold its peace when it has read them, and sink into unutterable reflections, — not unmixed with tears, and some substitute for 'sackcloth and ashes,' if it liked. In its poor canting sniffing flimsy vocabulary there is no word that can make any response to them. This man has a living god-inspired soul in him, not an enchanted artificial 'substitute for salt,' as our fashion is. They that have human eyes can look upon him; they that have only owl-eyes need not."

Here also are some sentences on a favorite topic, *lightning* and *light*. "As lightning is to light, so is a Cromwell to a Shakspeare. The light is beautifuler. Ah, yes; but until, by lightning and other fierce labor, your foul Chaos has become a World, you cannot have any light, or the smallest chance for any! Honor the Amphion whose music makes the stones, rocks, and big blocks dance into figures, into domed cities, with temples and habitations: — yet know him too; how, as Volker's in the old *Nibelungen*, oftentimes his 'fiddlebow' has to be of 'sharp steel,' and to play a tune very rough to rebellious ears! The melodious Speaker is great, but the melodious Worker is greater than he. 'Our time,' says a certain author, 'cannot speak at all, but only cant and sneer, and argumentatively jargon, and recite the multiplication-table. Neither as yet can it work, except at mere railroads and cotton-spinning,

It will, apparently, return to Chaos soon; and then more lightnings will be needed, lightning enough, to which Cromwell's was but a mild matter;—to be followed by light, we may hope!'"

The following Letter from Whalley, with the Answer to it, will introduce this series. The date is Monday; the Lord General observing yesterday that the poor Edinburgh people were sadly short of Sermon, has ordered the Commissary-General to communicate as follows:—

"*For the Honorable the Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh.*

"EDINBURGH, 9th September, 1650.

"SIR,—I received command from my Lord General to desire you to let the Ministers of Edinburgh, now in the Castle with you, know, That they have free liberty granted them, if they please to take the pains, to preach in their several Churches; and that my Lord hath given special command both to officers and soldiers that they shall not in the least be molested. Sir, I am,

"Your most humble servant,

"EDWARD WHALLEY."

To which straightway there is this Answer from Governor Dundas:—

[*To Commissary-General Whalley.*]

"[EDINBURGH CASTLE,] 9th September, 1650.

"SIR,—I have communicated the desire of your Letter to such of the Ministers of Edinburgh as are with me; who have desired me to return this for Answer:—

"That though they are ready to be spent in their Master's service, and to refuse no suffering so they may fulfil their ministry with joy; yet perceiving the persecution to be personal, by the practice of your Party[1] upon the Ministers of Christ in England and Ireland, and in the Kingdom of Scotland since your unjust Invasion thereof; and finding nothing

[1] Sectarian Party, of Independents.

expressed in yours whereupon to build any security for their persons while they are there, and for their return hither; — they are resolved to reserve themselves for better times, and to wait upon Him who hath hidden His face for a while from the sons of Jacob.

"This is all I have to say, but that I am, Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

To which somewhat sulky response Oliver makes Answer in this notable manner: —

LETTER CXLVII.

"For the Honorable the Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh: These.

"EDINBURGH, 9th September, 1650.

"SIR, — The kindness offered to the Ministers with you was done with ingenuity;[1] thinking it might have met with the like: but I am satisfied to tell those with you, That if their Master's service (as they call it) were chiefly in their eye, imagination of suffering[2] would not have caused such a return; much less [would] the practice of our Party, as they are pleased to say, upon the Ministers of Christ in England, have been an argument of personal persecution.

"The Ministers in England are supported, and have liberty to preach the Gospel; though not to rail, nor, under pretence thereof,[3] to overtop the Civil Power, or debase it as they please. No man hath been troubled in England or Ireland for preaching the Gospel; nor has any Minister been molested in Scotland since the coming of the Army hither. The speaking truth becomes the Ministers of Christ.

"When Ministers pretend to a glorious Reformation; and lay the foundations thereof in getting to themselves worldly power; and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the

[1] Means always *ingenuously*.
[2] Fear of personal damage.
[3] Of preaching the Gospel.

same, such as their late Agreement with their King; and hope by him to carry on their design, [they] may know that the Sion promised will not be built with such untempered mortar.

"As for the unjust Invasion they mention, time was [1] when an Army of Scotland came into England, not called by the Supreme Authority. We have said, in our Papers, with what hearts, and upon what account, we came; and the Lord hath heard us,[2] though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel.

"And although they seem to comfort themselves with being sons of Jacob, from whom (they say) God hath hid His face for a time; yet it 's no wonder when the Lord hath lifted up His hand so eminently against a Family as He hath done so often against this,[3] and men will not see His hand, — [it 's no wonder] if the Lord hide His face from such; putting them to shame both for it and their hatred of His people, as it is this day. When they purely trust to the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, which is powerful to bring down strongholds and every imagination that exalts itself, — which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the new Jerusalem; — then and not before, and by that means and no other, shall Jerusalem, the City of the Lord, which is to be the praise of the whole Earth, be built; the Sion of the Holy One of Israel.

"I have nothing to say to you but that I am, Sir,

"Your humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[4]

The Scotch Clergy never got such a reprimand since they first took ordination! A very dangerous radiance blazes through these eyes of my Lord General's, — destructive to the owl-dominion in Edinburgh Castle and elsewhere!

Let Dundas and Company reflect on it. Here is their ready Answer: still of the same day.

[1] 1648, Duke Hamilton's time; to say nothing of 1640 and other times.
[2] At Dunbar, six days ago. [3] Of the Stuarts.
[4] Thurloe, i. 159; Pamphlet at Edinburgh.

[*To the Right Honorable the Lord Cromwell, Commander-in-Chief of the English Army.*]

"[EDINBURGH CASTLE], 9th September, 1650.

"MY LORD, — Yours I have communicated to those with me whom it concerned; who desire me to return this Answer: —

"That their ingenuity in prosecuting the ends of the Covenant, according to their vocation and place, and in adhering to their first principles, is well known; and one of their greatest regrets is that they have not been met with the like. That when Ministers of the Gospel have been imprisoned, deprived of their benefices, sequestrated, forced to flee from their dwellings, and bitterly threatened, for their faithful declaring the will of God against the godless and wicked proceedings of men, — it cannot be accounted [an imaginary fear of suffering] in such as are resolved to follow the like freedom and faithfulness in discharge of their Master's message. That it savors not of [ingenuity] to promise liberty of preaching the Gospel, and to limit the Preachers thereof, that they must not speak against the sins and enormities of Civil Powers; since their commission carrieth them to speak the Word of the Lord unto, and to reprove the sins of, persons of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest. That to impose the name of [railing] upon such faithful freedom was the old practice of Malignants, against the Ministers of the Gospel, who laid open to people the wickedness of their ways, lest men should be ensnared thereby.

"That their consciences bear them record, and all their hearers do know, that they meddle not with Civil Affairs, farther than to hold forth the rule of the Word, by which the straightness and crookedness of men's actions are made evident. But they are sorry they have such cause to regret that men of mere Civil place and employment should usurp the calling and employment of the Ministry:[1] to the scandal of the Reformed Kirks; and, particularly in Scotland, contrary to the govern-

[1] Certain of our Soldiers and Officers preach; very many of them can preach, — and greatly to the purpose too!

ment and discipline therein established, — to the maintenance whereof you are bound, by the Solemn League and Covenant.

"Thus far they have thought fit to vindicate their return to the offer in Colonel Whalley's Letter. The other part of yours, which concerns the Public as well as them, they conceive hath all been answered sufficiently in the public Papers of the State and Kirk. Only to that of the success upon your [solemn appeal], they say again, what was said to it before, That they have not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of their Cause upon events; but desire to have their hearts established in the love of the Truth, in all the tribulations that befall them.

"I only do add that I am, my Lord, your most humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

On Thursday follows Oliver's answer, — "very inferior in composition," says Dryasdust; — composition not being quite the trade of Oliver! In other respects, sufficiently superior.

LETTER CXLVIII.

"For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

"EDINBURGH, 12th September, 1650.

"SIR, — Because I am at some reasonable good leisure, I cannot let such gross mistakes and inconsequential reasonings pass without some notice taken of them.

"And first, their ingenuity in relation to the Covenant, for which they commend themselves, doth no more justify their want of ingenuity in answer to Colonel Whalley's Christian offer, concerning which my Letter charged them with guiltiness [and] deficiency, than their bearing witness to themselves of their adhering to their first principles, and ingenuity in prosecuting the ends of the Covenant, justifies them so to have done merely because they say so. They must give more leave henceforwards; for Christ will have it so, nill they, will they.

And they must have patience to have the truth of their doctrines and sayings tried by the sure touchstone of the Word of God. And if there be a liberty and duty of trial, there is a liberty of judgment also for them that may and ought to try: which being[1] so, they must give others leave to think and say that they can appeal to equal judges, Who have been the truest fulfillers of the most real and equitable ends of the Covenant?

"But if these Gentlemen do[2] assume to themselves to be the infallible expositors of the Covenant, as they do too much to their auditories [to be the infallible expositors] of the Scriptures [also] counting a different sense and judgment from theirs Breach of Covenant and Heresy, — no marvel they judge of others so authoritatively and severely. But we have not so learned Christ. We look at Ministers as helpers of, not Lords over, God's people. I appeal to their consciences, whether any [person] trying their doctrines, and dissenting, shall not incur the censure of Sectary? And what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the Infallible Chair? What doth he whom we would not be likened unto[3] do more than this?

"In the second place, it is affirmed that the 'Ministers of the Gospel have been imprisoned, deprived of their benefices, sequestered, forced to fly from their dwellings, and bitterly threatened, for their faithful declaring of the will of God;' that they have been limited that they might not 'speak against the sins and enormities of the Civil Powers;' that to 'impose the name of railing upon such faithful freedom was the old practice of Malignants against the Preachers of the Gospel,' &c. — [Now] if the Civil Authority, or that part of it which continued faithful to their trust,[4] [and] true to the ends of the Covenant, did, in answer to their consciences, turn out a Tyrant, in a way which the Christians in after times will mention with honor, and all Tyrants in the world look at with fear; and [if] while many thousands of saints in England rejoice to think of it, and have received from the hand of God

[1] "if" in orig.
[2] "which do" in orig.; *dele* "which."
[3] The Pope.
[4] When Pride purged them.

a liberty from the fear of like usurpations, and have cast off him [1] who trod in his Father's steps, doing mischief as far as he was able (whom you have received like fire into your bosom, — of which God will, I trust, in time make you sensible): if [I say] Ministers railing at the Civil Power, and calling them murderers and the like for doing these things, have been dealt with as you mention, — will this be found a 'personal persecution'? Or is sin so, because they say so? [2] They that acted this great Business [3] have given a reason of their faith in the action; and some here [4] are ready farther to do it against all gainsayers.

"But it will be found that these reprovers do not only make themselves the judges and determiners of sin, that so they may reprove; but they also took liberty [5] to stir up the people to blood and arms; and would have brought a war upon England, as hath been upon Scotland, had not God prevented it. And if such severity as hath been expressed towards them be worthy of the name of 'personal persecution,' let all uninterested men judge: [and] whether the calling of the practice 'railing' be to be paralleled with the Malignants' imputation upon the Ministers for speaking against the Popish Innovations in the Prelates' times, [6] and the [other] tyrannical and wicked practices then on foot, let your own consciences mind you! The Roman Emperors, in Christ's and his Apostles' times, were usurpers and intruders upon the Jewish State: yet what footstep [7] have ye either of our blessed Saviour's so much as willingness to the dividing of an inheritance, or their [8] [ever] meddling in that kind? This was not practised by the Church since our Saviour's time, till Antichrist, assuming the Infallible Chair, and all that he called Church to be under him, practised this authoritatively over Civil Governors. The way to fulfil

[1] Your Charles II., as you call him.
[2] Because you call it so.
[3] Of judging Charles First.
[4] I for one.
[5] In 1648.
[6] O Oliver, my Lord General, the Lindley-Murray composition here is dreadful; the meaning struggling, like a strong swimmer, in an element very viscous!
[7] Vestige.
[8] The Apostles'.

your Ministry with joy is to preach the Gospel; which I wish some who take pleasure in reproofs at a venture, do not forget too much to do!

"Thirdly, you say, You have just cause to regret that men of Civil employments should usurp the calling and employment of the Ministry; to the scandal of the Reformed Kirks. — Are you troubled that Christ is preached? Is preaching so exclusively your function?[1] Doth it scandalize the Reformed Kirks, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant, if this be so! I thought, the Covenant and these [professors of it] could have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ: if not, it is no Covenant of God's approving; nor are these Kirks you mention insomuch[2] the Spouse of Christ. Where do you find in the Scripture a ground to warrant such an assertion, That Preaching is exclusively your function? Though an Approbation from men hath order in it, and may do well; yet he that hath no better warrant than that, hath none at all. I hope He that ascended up on high may give His gifts to whom He pleases: and if those gifts be the seal of Mission, be not [you] envious though Eldad and Medad prophesy. You know who bids us *covet earnestly the best gifts*, but chiefly *that we may prophesy;* which the Apostle explains there to be a speaking to instruction and edification and comfort, — which speaking, the instructed, the edified and comforted can best tell the energy and effect of [and say whether it is genuine]. If such evidence be, I say again, Take heed you envy not for your own sakes; lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reproved in Joshua for envying for his sake.

"Indeed, you err through mistaking of the Scriptures. Approbation[3] is an act of conveniency in respect of order; not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the Gospel. Your pretended fear lest Error should step in, is like the man who would keep all the wine out the country lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to

[1] "so inclusive in your function," means that.

[2] So far as their notion of the Covenant goes.

[3] Or say "Ordination," Solemn Approbation and Appointment by men.

deprive a man of his natural liberty upon a supposition he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, judge. If a man speak foolishly, ye suffer him gladly[1] because ye are wise; if erroneously, the truth more appears by your conviction [of him]. Stop such a man's mouth by sound words which cannot be gainsaid. If he speak blasphemously, or to the disturbance of the public peace, let the Civil Magistrate punish him: if truly, rejoice in the truth. And if you will call our speakings together since we came into Scotland, — to provoke one another to love and good works, to faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and repentance from dead works; [and] to charity and love towards you, to pray and mourn for you, and for your bitter returns to [our love of you], and your incredulity of our professions of love to you, of the truth of which we have made our solemn and humble appeals to the Lord our God, which He hath heard and borne witness to: if you will call [these] things scandalous to the Kirk, and against the Covenant, because done by men of Civil callings, — we rejoice in them, notwithstanding what you say.

"For a conclusion: In answer to the witness of God upon our solemn Appeal,[2] you say you have not so learned Christ [as] to hang the equity of your Cause upon events. We [for our part] could wish blindness have not been upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations which God hath lately wrought in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not you and we to think, with fear and trembling, of the hand of the Great God in this mighty and strange appearance of His; instead of slightly calling it an 'event'![3] Were not both your and our expectations renewed from time to time, whilst we waited upon God, to see which way He would manifest Himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations and solemn appeals, call these bare 'events'? The Lord pity you.

"Surely we [for our part] fear; because it hath been a

[1] With a patient victorious feeling.
[2] At Dunbar.
[3] "but can slightly call it an event" in orig.

merciful and gracious deliverance to us. I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you; and we shall help you by our prayers; that you may find it out: for yet (if we know our hearts at all) our bowels do, in Christ Jesus, yearn after the Godly in Scotland. We know there are stumbling-blocks which hinder you: the personal prejudices you have taken up against us [1] and our ways, wherein we cannot but think some occasion has been given,[2] and for which we mourn: the apprehension you have that we have hindered the glorious Reformation you think you were upon: — I am persuaded these and such like bind you up from an understanding, and yielding to, the mind of God, in this great day of His power and visitation. And, if I be rightly informed, the late Blow you received is attributed to profane counsels and conduct, and mixtures [3] in your Army, and such like. The natural man will not find out the cause. Look up to the Lord, that He may tell it you. Which that He would do, shall be the fervent prayer of,

"Your loving friend and servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"[P.S.] These [following] Queries are sent not to reproach you, but in the love of Christ laying them before you; we being persuaded in the Lord that there is a truth in them. Which we earnestly desire may not be laid aside unsought after, from any prejudice either against the things themselves, or the unworthiness or weakness of the person that offers them. If you turn at the Lord's reproofs, He will pour out His Spirit upon you; and you shall understand His words; and they will guide you to a blessed Reformation indeed,[4] — even to one according to the Word, and such as the people of

[1] Me, Oliver Cromwell.

[2] I have often, in Parliament and elsewhere, been crabbed towards your hide-bound Presbyterian Formula; and given it many a fillip, not thinking sufficiently what good withal was in it.

[3] Admission of Engagers and ungodly people.

[4] "glorious Reformation," "blessed Reformation," &c. are phrases loud and current everywhere, especially among the Scotch, for ten years past.

God wait for: wherein you will find us and all saints ready to rejoice, and serve you to the utmost in our places and callings."[1]

ENCLOSED is the Paper of Queries; to which this Editor, anxious to bring out my Lord General's sense, will take the great liberty to intercalate a word or two of Commentary as we read.

QUERIES.

1. "Whether the Lord's controversy be not both against the Ministers in Scotland and in England, for their wresting and straining [of the Covenant], and employing[2] the Covenant against the Godly and Saints in England (of the same faith with them in every fundamental) even to a bitter persecution; and so making that which, in the main intention, was Spiritual, to serve Politics and Carnal ends, — even in that part especially which was Spiritual, and did look to the glory of God, and the comfort of His People?"

The meaning of your Covenant was, that God's glory should be promoted: and yet how many zealous Preachers unpresbyterian but real Promoters of God's glory, have you, by wresting and straining of the verbal phrases of the Covenant, found means to menace, eject, afflict and in every way discourage!

2. "Whether the Lord's controversy be not for your and the Ministers in England's sullenness at [God's great providences], and [your] darkening and not beholding the glory of God's wonderful dispensations in this series of His providences in England, Scotland and Ireland, both now and formerly, — through envy at instruments, and because the things did not work forth your Platform, and the Great God did not come down to your minds and thoughts."

This is well worth your attention. Perhaps the Great God means something other and farther than you yet imagine.

[1] Thurloe, i. 158–162. [2] "improving" in orig.

Perhaps in His infinite Thought, and Scheme that reaches through Eternities, there may be elements which the Westminster Assembly has not jotted down? Perhaps these reverend learned persons, debating at four shillings and sixpence a day, did not get to the bottom of the Bottomless, after all? Perhaps this Universe was not entirely built according to the Westminster Shorter Catechism, but by other ground-plans withal, not yet entirely brought to paper anywhere, in Westminster or out of it, that I hear of? O my reverend Scotch friends!—

3. "Whether your carrying on a Reformation, so much by you spoken of, have not probably been subject to some mistakes in your own judgments about some parts of the same,—laying so much stress thereupon as hath been a temptation to you even to break the Law of Love [the greatest of all laws], towards your brethren, and those [whom] Christ hath regenerated; even to the reviling and persecuting of them, and to stirring up of wicked men to do the same, for your Form's sake, or but [for] some parts of it."

A helpless lumbering sentence, but with a noble meaning in it.

4. "Whether if your Reformation be so perfect and so spiritual, be indeed the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus, it will need such carnal policies, such fleshly mixtures, such unsincere actings as [some of these are]? To pretend to cry down all Malignants; and yet to receive and set up the Head of them [all], and to act for the Kingdom of Christ in his name,[1] and upon advantage thereof? And to publish so false a Paper,[2] so full of special pretences to piety, as the fruit and effect of his 'repentance,'—to deceive the minds of all the Godly in England, Ireland and Scotland; you, in your own consciences, knowing with what regret he did it, and with what importuni-

[1] Charles Stuart's: a very questionable "name" for any Kingdom of Christ to act upon!

[2] The *Declaration*, or testimony against his Father's sins.

ties and threats he was brought to do it, and how much to this very day he is against it? And whether this be not a high provocation of the Lord, in so grossly dissembling with Him and His people?"[1]

Yes, you can consider that, my Friends; and think, on the whole, what kind of course you are probably getting into; steering towards a Kingdom of Jesus Christ with Charles Stuart and Mrs. Barlow at the helm!

The Scotch Clergy reply, through Governor Dundas, still in a sulky unrepentant manner, that they stick by their old opinions; that the Lord General's arguments, which would not be hard to answer a second time, have already been answered amply, by anticipation, in the public Manifestoes of the Scottish Nation and Kirk; — that, in short, he hath a longer sword than they for the present, and the Scripture says, "There is one event to the righteous and the wicked," which may probably account for Dunbar, and some other phenomena. Here the correspondence closes; his Excellency on the morrow morning (Friday, 13th September, 1650) finding no "reasonable good leisure" to unfold himself farther, in the way of paper and ink, to these men. There remain other ways; the way of cannon-batteries and Derbyshire miners. It is likely his Excellency will subdue the bodies of these men; and the unconquerable mind will then follow if it can.

PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS it hath pleased God, by His gracious providence and goodness, to put the City of Edinburgh and the Town of Leith under my power: And although I have put forth several Proclamations, since my coming into this Country, to the like effect with this present: Yet for farther satisfaction to all those whom it may concern, I do hereby again publish and declare,

[1] Thurloe, i. 158–162.

"That all the Inhabitants of the country, not now being or continuing in arms, shall have free leave and liberty to come to the Army, and to the City and Town aforesaid, with their cattle, corn, horse, or other commodities or goods whatsoever; and shall there have free and open markets for the same; and shall be protected in their persons and goods, in coming and returning as aforesaid, from any injury or violence of the Soldiery under my command; and shall also be protected in their respective houses. And the Citizens and Inhabitants of the said City and Town shall and hereby likewise have [1] free leave to vend and sell their wares and commodities; and shall be protected from the plunder and violence of the Soldiers.

"And I do hereby require all Officers and Soldiers of the Army under my command, To take due notice hereof, and to yield obedience hereto. As they will answer the contrary at their utmost peril.

"Given under my hand at Edinburgh, the 14th of September, 1650.

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"To be proclaimed in Leith and Edinburgh, by sound of trumpet and beat of drum." [2]

Listen, and be reassured, ye ancient Populations, though your Clergy sit obstinate on their Castle-rock, and your Stuart King has vanished! — While this comfortable *Oyez-oyez* goes sounding through the ancient streets, my Lord General is himself just getting on march again; as the next Letter will testify.

LETTER CXLIX.

THE Lord General, leaving the Clergy to meditate his Queries in the seclusion of their Castle-rock, sets off westward, on the second day after, to see whether he cannot at once dislodge

[1] Grammar irremediable!

[2] King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 479, art. 16 ("The Lord General Cromwell his March to Stirling: being a Diary of" &c. "Published by Authority").

the Governing Committee-men and Covenanted King; and get possession of Stirling, where they are busily endeavoring to rally. This, he finds, will not answer, for the moment.

[*To the Right Honorable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.*]

"EDINBURGH, 25th September, 1650.

". . . On Saturday, the 14th instant, we marched six miles towards Stirling; and, by reason of the badness of the ways, were forced to send back two pieces of our greatest artillery. The day following, we marched to Linlithgow, not being able to go farther by reason of much rain that fell that day. On the 16th, we marched to Falkirk; and the next day following, within cannon-shot of Stirling; — where, upon Wednesday, the 18th, our Army was drawn forth, and all things in readiness to storm the Town.

"But finding the work very difficult; they having in the Town two thousand horse and more foot; and the place standing upon a river not navigable for shipping to relieve the same, [so that] we could not, with safety, make it a Garrison, if God should have given it into our hands: — upon this, and other considerations, it was not thought a fit time to storm. But such was the unanimous resolution and courage both of our Officers and Soldiers, that greater could not be (as to outward appearance) in men.

"On Thursday, the 19th, we returned from thence to Linlithgow; and at night we were informed that, at Stirling, they shot off their great guns for joy their King was come thither. On Friday, the 20th, three Irish soldiers came from them to us; to whom we gave entertainment in the Army; they say, Great fears possessed the soldiers when they expected us to storm. That they know not whether old Leven be their General or not, the report being various; but that Sir John Browne, a Colonel of their Army, was laid aside. That they are endeavoring to raise all the Forces they can, in the North; that many of the soldiers, since our victory, are offended at their Ministers; that Colonel Gilbert Ker and Colonel Strahan are gone with shattered forces to Glasgow, to levy soldiers there. As

yet we hear not of any of the old Cavaliers being entertained as Officers among them; [the expectation of] which occasions differences betwixt their Ministers and the Officers of the Army.

"The same day, we came to Edinburgh [again]. Where we abide without disturbance; saving that about ten at night, and before day in the morning, they sometimes fire three or four great guns at us; and if any of our men come within musket-shot, they fire at them from the Castle. But, blessed be God, they have done us no harm, except one soldier shot (but not to the danger of his life), that I can be informed of. There are some few of the inhabitants of Edinburgh returned home; who, perceiving our civility, and [our] paying for what we receive of them, repent their departure; open their shops, and bring provisions to the market. It 's reported they have in the Castle provisions for fifteen months; some say, for a longer time. Generally the poor acknowledge that our carriage to them is better than that of their own Army; and [that] had they who are gone away known so much, they would have stayed at home. They say, one chief reason wherefore so many are gone was, They feared we would have imposed upon them some oath wherewith they could not have dispensed.

"I am in great hopes, through God's mercy, we shall be able this Winter to give the People such an understanding of the justness of our Cause, and our desires for the just liberties of the People, that the better sort of them will be satisfied therewith; although, I must confess, hitherto they continue obstinate. I thought I should have found in Scotland a conscientious People, and a barren country: about Edinburgh, it is as fertile for corn as any part of England; but the People generally [are so] given to the most impudent lying, and frequent swearing, as is incredible to be believed. I rest,

[Your Lordship's most humble servant,]

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

What to do with Scotland, in these mixed circumstances, is a question. We have friends among them, a distinct coinci-

[1] Newspapers (in *Parliamentary History*, xix. 404).

dence with them in the great heart of their National Purpose, could they understand us aright; and we have all degrees of enemies among them, up to the bitterest figure of Malignancy itself. What to do? For one thing, Edinburgh Castle ought to be reduced. "We have put forces into Linlithgow, and our Train is lodged in Leith," Lesley's old citadel there; "the wet being so great that we cannot march with our Train." Do we try Edinburgh Castle with a few responsive shots from the Calton Hill; or from what point? My Scotch Antiquarian friends have not informed me. We decide on reducing it by mines.

"*Sunday, 29th September*, 1650. Resolution being taken for the springing of mines in order to the reducing of Edinburgh Castle; and our men beginning their galleries last night, the Enemy fired five pieces of ordnance, with several volleys of shot, from the Castle; but did no execution. We hope this work will take effect; notwithstanding the height, rockiness, and strength of the place. — His Excellency with his Officers met this day in the High Church of Edinburgh, forenoon and afternoon; where was a great concourse of people." Mr. Stapylton, who did the Hursley Marriage-treaty, and is otherwise transiently known to mankind, — he, as was above intimated, occupies the pulpit there; the Scots Clergy still sitting sulky in their Castle, with Derby miners now operating on them. "Many Scots expressed much affection at the doctrine preached by Mr. Stapylton, in their usual way of groans," — Hum-m-mrrh! — "and it 's hoped a good work is wrought in some of their hearts."[1] I am sure I hope so. But to think of brother worshippers, partakers in a Gospel of this kind, cutting one another's throats for a Covenanted Charles Stuart, — Hum-m-mrrh!

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 92).

LETTERS CL.–CLXI.

HASTE and other considerations forbid us to do more than glance, timidly from the brink, into that sea of confusions in which the poor Scotch people have involved themselves by soldering Christ's Crown to Charles Stuart's! Poor men, they have got a Covenanted King; but he is, so to speak, a Solecism Incarnate: good cannot come of him, or of those that follow him in this course; only inextricability, futility, disaster and discomfiture can come. There is nothing sadder than to see such a Purpose of a Nation led on by such a set of persons; staggering into ever deeper confusion, down, down, till it fall prostrate into utter wreck. Were not Oliver here to gather up the fragments of it, the Cause of Scotland might now die; Oliver, little as the Scots dream of it, is Scotland's Friend too, as he was Ireland's: what would become of Scotch Puritanism, the one great feat hitherto achieved by Scotland, if Oliver were not now there! Oliver's Letters out of Scotland, what will elucidate Oliver's footsteps and utterances there, shall alone concern us at present. For sufficing which object, the main features of these Scotch confusions may become conceivable without much detail of ours.

The first Scotch Army, now annihilated at Dunbar, had been sedulously cleared of all Hamilton *Engagers* and other Malignant or Quasi-Malignant Persons, according to a scheme painfully laid down in what was called the *Act of Classes*, — a General-Assembly Act, defining and *class*ifying such men as shall not be allowed to fight on this occasion, lest a curse overtake the Cause on their account. Something other than a blessing has overtaken the Cause: — and now, on rallying at Stirling with unbroken purpose of struggle, there arise in the Committee of Estates and Kirk, and over the Nation generally, earnest considerations as to the methods of farther struggle; huge discrepancies as to the ground and figure it ought hence-

forth to take. As was natural to the case, Three Parties now develop themselves: a middle one, and two extremes. The Official Party, Argyle and the Official Persons, especially the secular portion of them, think that the old ground should as much as possible be adhered to: Let us fill up our old ranks with new men, and fight and resist with the Covenanted Charles Stuart at the head of us, as we did before. This is the middle or Official opinion.

No, answers an extreme Party, Let us have no more to do with your covenanting pedantries; let us sign your Covenant one good time for all, and have done with it; but prosecute the King's Interest, and call on all men to join us in that. An almost openly declared Malignant Party this; at the head of which Lieutenant-General Middleton, the Marquis of Huntly and other Royalist Persons are raising forces, publishing manifestoes, in the Highlands near by. Against whom David Lesley himself at last has to march. This is the one extreme; the Malignant or Royalist extreme. The amount of whose exploits was this: They invited the poor King to run off from Perth and his Church-and-State Officials, and join them; which he did, — rode out as if to hawk, one afternoon, softly across the South Inch of Perth, then galloped some forty miles; found the appointed place, — a villanous hut among the Grampian Hills, without soldiers, resources, or accommodations, "with nothing but a turf pillow to sleep on:" and was easily persuaded back, the day after;[1] making his peace by a few more — what shall we call them? — poetic figments; which the Official Persons, with an effort, swallowed. Shortly after, by official persuasion and military coercion, this first extreme Party was suppressed, reunited to the main body; and need not concern us farther.

But now, quite opposite to this, there is another extreme Party; which has its seat in "the Western Shires," from Renfrew down to Dumfries; — which is, in fact, I think, the old *Whiggamore Raid* of 1648 under a new figure; these Western Shires being always given that way. They have now got a "Western Army," with Colonel Ker and Colonel Strahan to command it; and most of the Earls, Lairds, and Ministers in

[1] 4th–6th October, Balfour, iv. 113–115.

those parts have joined. Very strong for the Covenant; very strong against all shams of the Covenant. Colonel Ker is the "famed Commander Gibby Carre," who came to commune with us in the Burrow-Moor, when we lay on Pentland Hills: Colonel Strahan is likewise a famed Commander, who was thought to be slain at Musselburgh once, but is alive here still; an old acquaintance of my Lord General Cromwell's, and always suspected of a leaning to Sectarian courses. These Colonels and Gentry having, by Sanction of the Committee of Estates, raised a Western Army of some five thousand, and had much consideration with themselves; and seen, especially by the flight into the Grampians, what way his Majesty's real inclinations are tending, — decide, or threaten to decide, that they will not serve under his Majesty or his General Lesley with their Army, till they see new light; that in fact they dare not; being apprehensive he is no genuine Covenanted King, but only the sham of one, whom it is terribly dangerous to follow! On this Party Cromwell has his eye; and they on him. What becomes of them we shall, before long, learn.

Meanwhile here is a Letter to the Official Authorities; which, however, produces small effect upon them.

LETTER CL.

"*For the Right Honorable the Committee of Estates of Scotland, at Stirling, or elsewhere: These.*

"LINLITHGOW, 9th October, 1650.

"RIGHT HONORABLE, — The grounds and ends of the Army's entering Scotland have been heretofore, often and clearly, made known unto you; and how much we have desired the same might be accomplished without blood. But, according to what returns we have received, it is evident your hearts had not that love to us as we can truly say we had towards you. And we are persuaded those difficulties in which you have involved yourselves, — by espousing your King's interest, and taking into your bosom that Person, in whom (notwithstanding what hath [been] or may be said to the contrary) that which is really

Malignancy and all Malignants do centre; against whose Family the Lord hath so eminently witnessed for bloodguiltiness, not to be done away by such hypocritical and formal shows of repentance as are expressed in his late *Declaration;* and your strange prejudices against us as men of heretical opinions (which, through the great goodness of God to us, have been *unjustly* charged upon us), — have occasioned your rejecting those Overtures which, with a Christian affection, were offered to you before any blood was spilt, or your People had suffered damage by us.

"The daily sense we have of the calamity of War lying upon the poor People of this Nation, and the sad consequences of blood and famine likely to come upon them; the advantage given to the Malignant, Profane, and Popish party by this War; and that reality of affection which we have so often professed to you, — and concerning the truth of which we have so solemnly appealed, — do again constrain us to send unto you, to let you know, That if the contending for that Person be not by you preferred to the peace and welfare of your Country, the blood of your Peoples, the love of men of the same faith with you, and (in this above all) the honor of that God we serve, — Then give the State of England that satisfaction and security for their peaceable and quiet living beside you, which may in justice be demanded from a Nation giving so just ground to ask the same, — from those who have, as you, taken their enemy into their bosom, whilst he was in hostility against them: [Do this;] and it will be made good to you, That you may have a lasting and durable Peace with them, and the wish of a blessing upon you in all religious and civil things.

"If this be refused by you, we are persuaded that God, who hath once borne His testimony, will do it again on the behalf of us His poor servants, who do appeal to Him whether their desires flow from sincerity of heart or not. I rest,

"Your Lordships' humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 93).

The Committee of Estates at Stirling or elsewhere debated about an Answer to this Letter; but sent none, except of civility merely, and after considerable delays. A copy of the Letter was likewise forwarded to Colonels Ker and Strahan and their Western Army, by whom it was taken into consideration; and some Correspondence, Cromwell's part of which is not yet altogether lost, followed upon it there; and indeed Cromwell, as we dimly discover in the old Books, set forth towards Glasgow directly on the back of it, in hopes of a closer communication with these Western Colonels and their Party.

While Ker and Strahan are busy "at Dumfries," says Baillie, "Cromwell with the whole body of his Army and cannon comes peaceably by way of Kilsyth to Glasgow." It is Friday evening, 18th October, 1650. "The Ministers and Magistrates flee all away. I got to the Isle of Cumbrae with my Lady Montgomery; but left all my family and goods to Cromwell's courtesy, — which indeed was great; for he took such a course with his soldiers that they did less displeasure at Glasgow than if they had been in London; though Mr. Zachary Boyd," a fantastic old gentleman still known in Glasgow and Scotland, "railed on them all, to their very face, in the High Church;"[1] calling them Sectaries and Blasphemers, the fantastic old gentleman! "Glasgow, though not so big or rich as Edinburgh, is a much sweeter place; the completest town we have yet seen here, and one of their choicest Universities." The people were much afraid of us till they saw how we treated them. "Captain Covel of the Lord General's regiment of horse was cashiered here for holding some blasphemous opinions."[2] — This is Cromwell's first visit to Glasgow: he made two others, of which on occasion notice shall be taken. In *Pinkerton's Correspondence* are certain "anecdotes of Cromwell at Glasgow;" which, like many others on Cromwell, need not be repeated anywhere except in the nursery.

Cromwell entered Glasgow on Friday evening; over Sunday, was patient with Zachary Boyd: but got no result out of Ker and Strahan. Ker and Strahan, at Dumfries on the Thursday,

[1] Baillie, iii. 119; Whitlocke, p. 459.

[2] Whitlocke, p. 459; *Cromwelliana*, pp. 92, 93.

have perfected and signed their *Remonstrance* of the Western Army;[1] a Document of much fame in the old Scotch Books. "Expressing many sad truths," says the Kirk Committee. Expressing, in fact, the apprehension of Ker and Strahan that the Covenanted King may probably be a Solecism Incarnate, under whom it will not be good to fight longer for the Cause of Christ and Scotland; — expressing meanwhile considerable reluctancy as to the English Sectaries; and deciding, on the whole, to fight them still, though on a footing of our own. Not a very hopeful enterprise! Of which we shall see the issue by and by. Meanwhile news come that this Western Army is aiming towards Edinburgh, to get hold of the Castle there. Whereupon Cromwell, in all haste, on Monday, sets off thitherward; "lodges the first night in a poor cottage fourteen miles from Glasgow;" arrives safe, to prevent all alarms. His first visit to Glasgow was but of two days.

LETTER CLI.

The Western Colonels have given in their Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates; and sat in deliberation on their copy of Cromwell's Expostulatory Letter to that Body, the Letter we have just read, — in which these two words, "security" and "satisfaction," are somewhat abstruse to the Western Colonels. They decide that it will not be convenient to return any public Answer; but they have forwarded a private Letter of acknowledgment with "Six Queries:" Letter lost to us; Six Queries still surviving. To which, directly after his return to Edinburgh, here is Cromwell's Answer. The Six Queries, being very brief, may be transcribed; the Letter of acknowledgment can be conceived without transcribing:

"*Query* 1. Why is 'satisfaction' demanded? 2. What is the satisfaction demanded? 3. For what is the 'security' demanded? 4. What is the security ye would have? 5. From whom is the security required? 6. To whom is the security

[1] Dated 17th October; given in Balfour, iv. 141–160.

to be given?"[1] — Queries which, I think, do not much look like real despatch of business in the present intricate conjuncture!

This Letter it appears, is, if not accompanied, directly followed by "Mr. Alexander Jaffray" Provost of Aberdeen, and a "Reverend Mr. Carstairs" of Glasgow, two Prisoners of Oliver's ever since Dunbar Drove, who are to "agent" the same.[2]

[*To Colonel Strahan, with the Western Army: These.*]

"EDINBURGH, 25th October, 1650.

"SIR, — I have considered of the Letter and the Queries; and, having advised with some Christian friends about the same, think fit to return an Answer as followeth: —

"[That] we bear unto the Godly of Scotland the same Christian affection we have all along professed in our Papers; being ready, through the grace of God, upon all occasions, to give such proof and testimony thereof as the Divine Providence shall minister opportunity to us to do. That nothing would be more acceptable to us to see than the Lord removing offences, and inclining the hearts of His People in Scotland to meet us with the same affection. That we do verily apprehend, with much comfort, that there is some stirring of your bowels by the Lord; giving some hope of His good pleasure tending hereunto; which we are most willing to comply with, and not to be wanting in anything on our part which may further the same.

"And having seen the heads of two Remonstrances, the one of the Ministers of Glasgow, and the other of the Officers and Gentlemen of the West,[3] we do from thence hope that the Lord hath cleared unto you some things that were formerly hidden, and which we hope may lead to a better understanding. Nevertheless, we cannot but take notice, that from some expressions in the same Papers, we have too much cause to note that there

[1] Balfour, iv. 135. [2] Baillie, iii. 120.

[3] Remonstrance of the Western Army is this latter; the other, very conceivable as a kind of codicil to this, is not known to me except at second-hand, from Baillie's eager, earnest, very headlong and perplexed account of that Business (iv. 120, 122 et seqq.).

is still so great a difference betwixt us as we are looked upon and accounted as Enemies.

"And although we hope that the Six Queries, sent by you to us to be answered, were intended to clear doubts and remove the remaining obstructions; which we shall be most ready to do: yet, considering the many misconstructions which may arise from the clearest pen (where men are not all of one mind), and the difficulties at this distance to resolve doubts and rectify mistakes, we conceive our Answer in Writing may not so effectually reach that end as a friendly and Christian Conference by equal persons [might].

"And we doubt not we can, with ingenuity and clearness, give a satisfactory account of those general things held forth in the Letter sent by us to the Committee of Estates,[1] and in our former Declarations and Papers; which we shall be ready to do by a Friendly Debate, — when and where our answer to these particulars may probably tend to the better and more clear understanding betwixt the Godly Party of both Nations.

"To speak plainly in a few words: If those who sincerely love and fear the Lord amongst you are sensible that matters have been and are carried by your State so as that therewith God is not well pleased, but the Interest of His People [is] hazarded, in Scotland and England, to Malignants, to Papists, and to the Profane, — we can, through Grace, be willing to lay our bones in the dust for your sakes; and can, as heretofore we have [said], still continue to say, That, not to impose upon you in Religious or Civil Interests, not dominion nor any worldly advantage [not these], but the obtaining of a just security to ourselves,[2] were the motives, and satisfactions to our consciences, in this Undertaking. [A just security;] which we believe by this time you may think we had cause to be sensible was more than endangered by the carriage of affairs with your King. And it is not success, and more visible clearness to our consciences arising out of the discoveries God hath made of the hypocrisies of men, that hath altered [or can alter] our principles or demands. But we take

[1] Letter CL. [2] "securing ourselves" in orig.

from thence humble encouragement to follow the Lord's providence in serving His Cause and People; not doubting but He will give such an issue to this Business as will be to His glory and your comfort. I rest,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

There followed no "Friendly Debate" upon this Letter; nothing followed upon it except new noise in the Western Army, and a strait-laced case of conscience more perplexing than ever. Jaffray and Carstairs had to come back on parole again; Strahan at length withdrew from the concern: the Western Army went its own separate middle road, — to what issue we shall see.

Here is another trait of the old time; not without illumination for us. "One Watt, a tenant of the Earl of Tweedale's being sore oppressed by the English, took to himself some of his own degree; and by daily incursions and infalls on the English Garrisons and Parties in Lothian, killed and took of them above four hundred," or say the half or quarter of so many, "and enriched himself by their spoils." The like "did one Augustin, a High-German," not a Dutchman, "being purged out of the Army before Dunbar Drove," — of whom we shall hear farther. In fact, the class called Moss-troopers begins to abound; the only class that can flourish in such a state of affairs. Whereupon comes out this

PROCLAMATION.

"I FINDING that divers of the Army under my command are not only spoiled and robbed, but also sometimes barbarously and inhumanly butchered and slain, by a sort of Outlaws and Robbers, not under the discipline of any Army; and finding that all our tenderness to the Country produceth no other effect than their compliance with, and protection of, such

[1] *Clarendon State-Papers* (Oxford, 1773), ii. 551, 552.

persons; and considering that it is in the power of the Country to detect and discover them (many of them being inhabitants of those places where commonly the outrage is committed); and perceiving that their motion is ordinarily by the invitation, and according to intelligence given them by Countrymen:

"I do therefore declare, that wheresoever any under my command shall be hereafter robbed or spoiled by such parties, I will require life for life, and a plenary satisfaction for their goods, of those Parishes and Places where the fact shall be committed; unless they shall discover and produce the offender. And this I wish all persons to take notice of, that none may plead ignorance.

"Given under my hand at Edinburgh, the 5th of November, 1650.

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

LETTER CLII.

ONE nest of Moss-troopers, not far off, in the Dalkeith region, ought specially to be abated.

"*To the Governor of Borthwick Castle: These.*

"EDINBURGH, 18th November, 1650.

"SIR, — I thought fit to send this Trumpet to you, to let you know, That if you please to walk away with your company, and deliver the House to such as I shall send to receive it, you shall have liberty to carry off your arms and goods, and such other necessaries as you have.

"You have harbored such parties in your House as have basely and inhumanly murdered our men: if you necessitate me to bend my cannon against you, you may expect what I doubt you will not be pleased with. I expect your present Answer; and rest,

"Your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[2]

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 94).

[2] Russell's *Life of Cromwell*, ii. 95 (from *Statistical Account of Scotland*).

The Governor of Borthwick Castle, Lord Borthwick of that Ilk, did as he was bidden; "walked away," with movable goods, with wife and child, and had "fifteen days" allowed him to pack: whereby the Dalkeith region and Carlisle Road is a little quieter henceforth.

LETTER CLIII.

COLONELS Ker and Strahan with their *Remonstrance* have filled all Scotland with a fresh figure of dissension. The Kirk finds "many sad truths" in it; knows not what to do with it. In the Estates themselves there is division of opinion. Men of worship, the Minister in Kirkcaldy among others, are heard to say strange things: "That a Hypocrite," or Solecism Incarnate, "ought not to reign over us; that we should treat with Cromwell, and give him assurance not to trouble England with a King; that whosoever mars such a Treaty, the blood of the slain shall be on his head!" "Which are strange words," says Baillie, "if true." Scotland is in a hopeful way. The extreme party of Malignants in the North is not yet quite extinct; and here is another extreme party of Remonstrants in the West, — to whom all the conscientious rash men of Scotland, in Kirkcaldy and elsewhere, seem as if they would join themselves! Nothing but remonstrating, protesting, treatying and mistreatying from sea to sea.

To have taken up such a Remonstrance at first, and stood by it, before the War began, had been very wise: but to take it up now, and attempt not to make a Peace by it, but to continue the War with it, looks mad enough! Such, nevertheless, is Colonel Gibby Ker's project, — not Strahan's, it would seem: men's projects strangely cross one another in this time of bewilderment; and only perhaps in doing *nothing* could a man in such a scene act wisely. Lambert, however, is gone into the West with three thousand horse to deal with Ker and his projects; the Lord General has himself been in the West: the end of Ker's projects is succinctly shadowed forth in the

following Letter. From Baillie[1] we learn that Ker, with his Western Army, was lying at a place called Carmunnock, when he made this infall upon Lambert; that the time of it was "four in the morning of Sunday, 1st December, 1650;" and the scene of it Hamilton Town, and the streets and ditches thereabouts: a dark sad business, of an ancient Winter morning; — sufficiently luminous for our purpose with it here.

The "treaties among the Enemy" means Ker and Strahan's confused remonstratings and treatyings; the "result," or general upshot, of which is this scene in the ditches at four in the morning.[2]

"To the Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

"EDINBURGH, 4th December, 1650.

"SIR, — I have now sent you the results of some Treaties amongst the Enemy, which came to my hand this day.

"The Major-General and Commissary-General Whalley marched a few days ago towards Glasgow. The Enemy attempted his quarters in Hamilton; were entered the Town: but by the blessing of God, by a very gracious hand of Providence, without the loss of six men as I hear of, he beat them out; killed about an Hundred; took also about the same number, amongst whom are some prisoners of quality; and near an hundred horse, — as I am informed. The Major-General is still in the chase of them; to whom also I have since sent the addition of a fresh party. Colonel Ker (as my Messenger, this night, tells me) is taken: his Lieutenant-Colonel; and one that was sometimes Major to Colonel Strahan; and Ker's Captain-Lieutenant. The whole Party is shattered. And give me leave to say it, If God had not brought them upon us, we might have marched three thousand horse to death, and not have lighted on them. And truly it was a strange Providence brought them upon him. For I marched from Edinburgh on the north side of Clyde; [and had] appointed the Major-General to march from Peebles to Hamilton, on the south side of Clyde. I came thither by the time expected; tarried the

[1] iii. 125. [2] See also Whitlocke, 16th December, 1650.

remainder of the day, and until near seven o'clock the next morning, — apprehending [then that] the Major-General would not come, by reason of the waters. I being retreated, the Enemy took encouragement; marched all that night; and came upon the Major-General's quarters about two hours before day; where it pleased the Lord to order as you have heard.

"The Major-General and Commissary-General (as he sent me word) were still gone on in the prosecution of them; and [he] saith that, except an hundred and fifty horse in one body, he hears they are fled, by sixteen or eighteen in a company, all the country over. Robin Montgomery was come out of Stirling, with four or five regiments of horse and dragoons,[1] but was put to a stand when he heard of the issue of this business. Strahan and some other Officers had quitted some three weeks or a month before this business; so that Ker commanded this whole party in chief.

"It is given out that the Malignants will be almost all received, and rise unanimously and expeditiously. I can assure you, that those that serve you here find more satisfaction in having to deal with men of this stamp than [with] others; and it is our comfort that the Lord hath hitherto made it the matter of our prayers, and of our endeavors (if it might have been the will of God), To have had a Christian understanding between those that fear God in this land and ourselves. And yet we hope it hath not been carried on with a willing failing of our duty to those that trust us: — and I am persuaded the Lord hath looked favorably upon our sincerity herein; and will still do so; and upon you also, whilst you make the Interest of God's People yours.

"Those religious People of Scotland that fall in this Cause we cannot but pity and mourn for them; and we pray that all

[1] For the purpose of rallying to him these Western forces, or such of them as would follow the official Authorities and him; and leading them to Stirling, to the main Army (Baillie, *ubi suprà*). Poor Ker thought it might be useful to do a feat on his own footing first: and here is the conclusion of him! Colonel "Robin Montgomery" is the Earl of Eglinton's Son, whom we have repeatedly seen before.

good men may do so too. Indeed, there is at this time a very great distraction, and mighty workings of God upon the hearts of divers, both Ministers and People; much of it tending to the justification of your Cause. And although some are as bitter and as bad as ever; making it their business to shuffle hypocritically with their consciences and the Covenant, to make it [seem] lawful to join with Malignants, which now they do, — as well they might long before, having taken in the Head [Malignant] of them: yet truly others are startled at it; and some have been constrained by the work of God upon their consciences, to make sad and solemn accusations of themselves, and lamentations in the face of their Supreme Authority; charging themselves as guilty of the blood shed in this War, by having a hand in the Treaty at Breda, and by bringing the King in amongst them. This lately did a Lord of the Session; and withdrew [from the Committee of Estates]. And lately Mr. James Livingston, a man as highly esteemed as any for piety and learning, who was a Commissioner for the Kirk at the said Treaty, — charged himself with the guilt of the blood of this War, before their Assembly; and withdrew from them, and is retired to his own house.

"It will be very necessary, to encourage victuallers to come to us, that you take off Customs and Excise from all things brought hither for the use of the Army.

"I beg your prayers; and rest,

"Your humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

This, then, is the end of Ker's fighting project; a very mad one, at this state of the business. The *Remonstrance* continued long to be the symbol of the Extreme-Covenant or Whiggamore Party among the Scots; but its practical operation ceased here. Ker lies lamed, dangerously wounded; and, I think, will fight no more.[2] Strahan and some others, voted traitorous by the native Authorities, went openly over to Cromwell; —

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 94, 95).

[2] Other notice of him, and of his unsubduable stiffness of neck, in Thurloe, iv. 480 (Dec. 1655), &c.

Strahan soon after died. As for the Western Army, it straightway dispersed itself; part towards Stirling and the Authorities; the much greater part to their civil callings again, wishing they had never quitted them. "This miscarriage of affairs in the West by a few unhappy men," says Baillie, "put us all under the foot of the Enemy. They presently ran over all the country; destroying cattle and crops; putting Glasgow and all other places under grievous contributions. This makes me," for my part, "stick at Perth; not daring to go where the Enemy is master, as he now is of all Scotland south of the Forth."[1]

It only remains to be added, that the two Extreme Parties being broken, the Middle or Official one rose supreme, and widened its borders by the admission, as Oliver anticipated, "of the Malignants almost all;" a set of "Public Resolutions" so called being passed in the Scotch Parliament to that end, and ultimately got carried through the Kirk Assembly too. Official majority of "Resolutioners," with a zealous party of "Remonstrants," who are also called "Protesters:" in Kirk and State, these long continue to afflict and worry one another, sad fruit of a Covenanted Charles Stuart; but shall not farther concern us here. It is a great comfort to the Lord General that he has now mainly real Malignants for enemies in this country; and so can smite without reluctance. Unhappy "Resolutioners," if they *could* subdue Cromwell, what would become of them at the hands of their own Malignants! They have admitted the Chief Malignant, "in whom all Malignity doth centre," into their bosom; and have an Incarnate Solecism presiding over them. Satisfactorily descended from Elizabeth Muir of Caldwell, but in all other respects most unsatisfactory!—

The "Lord of the Session," who felt startled at this condition of things, and "withdrew" from it, I take to have been Sir James Hope of Craighall,[2] of whom, and whose scruples, and the censures they got, there is frequent mention in these months. But the Laird of Swinton, another of the same, went still farther in the same course; and indeed, soon after this

[1] *Ib. 125 (date, 2d January, 1650–1).* [2] Balfour, iv. 173, 235.

defeat of Ker, went openly over to Cromwell. "There is very great distraction, there are mighty workings upon the hearts of divers." "Mr. James Livingston," the Minister of Ancrum, has left a curious *Life* of himself: — he is still represented by a distinguished family in America.

LETTER CLIV.

THE next affair is that of Edinburgh Castle. Our Derbyshire miners found the rock very hard, and made small way in it: but now the Lord General has got his batteries ready; and, on Thursday, 12th December, after three months' blockade, salutes the place with his "guns and mortars," and the following set of Summonses; which prove effectual.

"*For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.*

"EDINBURGH, 12th December, 1650.

"SIR, — We being now resolved, by God's assistance, to make use of such means as He hath put into our hands towards the reducing of Edinburgh Castle, I thought fit to send you this Summons.

"What the grounds of our proceedings have been, and what our desires and aims in relation to the glory of God and the common Interest of His People, we have often expressed in our Papers tendered to public view. To which though credit hitherto hath not been given by men, yet the Lord hath been pleased to bear a gracious and favorable testimony; and hath not only kept us constant to our profession, and in our affections to such as fear the Lord in this Nation, but hath unmasked others from their pretences, — as appears by the present transactions at St. Johnston.[1] Let the Lord dispose your resolutions as seemeth good to Him: my sense of duty

[1] Readmission "of the Malignants almost all;" Earl of Calendar, Duke of Hamilton, &c. (Balfour, iv. 179–203); by the Parliament at Perth, — at "St. Johnston," as the old name is.

presseth me, for the ends aforesaid, and to avoid the effusion of more blood, To demand the rendering of this place to me upon fit conditions.

"To which expecting your answer this day, I rest,

"Sir, your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

The Governor's Answer to my Lord General's Letter is this: —

"*For his Excellency the General of the English Forces.*

"EDINBURGH, 12th December, 1650.

"MY LORD, — I am intrusted by the Estates of Scotland with this place; and being sworn not to deliver it to any without their warrant, I have no power to dispose thereof by myself. I do therefore desire the space of ten days, wherein I may conveniently acquaint the said Estates, and receive their answer. And for this effect, your safe-conduct for them employed in the message. Upon the receipt of their answer, you shall have the resolution of, — my Lord,

"Your most humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

The Lord General's Reply to Governor Walter Dundas: —

LETTER CLV.

"*For the Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh.*

"EDINBURGH, 12th December, 1650.

"SIR, — It concerns not me to know your obligations to those that trust you. I make no question the apprehensions you have of your abilities to resist those impressions which shall be made upon you,[1] are the natural and equitable rules of all men's judgments and consciences in your condition; — except you had taken an oath beyond a possibility. I leave that to your consideration; and shall not seek to contest with

[1] By my cannons and mortars.

your thoughts: only I think it may become me to let you know, You may have honorable terms for yourself and those with you; and both yourself and soldiers have satisfaction to all your reasonable desires; and those that have other employments, liberty and protection in the exercise of them.

"But to deal plainly with you, I will not give liberty to you to consult your Committee of Estates; because I hear, those that are honest amongst them enjoy not satisfaction, and the rest are now discovered to seek another Interest than they have formerly pretended to. And if you desire to be informed of this, you may, by them you dare trust, at a nearer distance than St. Johnston.

"Expecting your present answer, I rest,

"Sir, your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

The Governor's Reply, No. 2, arrives on the morrow, Friday:

"*For his Excellency the Lord General of the English Forces in Scotland.*

"EDINBURGH CASTLE, 13th December, 1650.

"MY LORD, — It much concerneth me (considering my obligations) to be found faithful in the trust committed to me. And therefore, in the fear of the living God, and of His great Name called upon in the accepting of my trust, I do again press the liberty of acquainting the Estates. The time is but short; and I do expect it, as answerable to your profession of affection to those that fear the Lord. In the mean time I am willing to hear information of late proceedings from such as he dare trust who is, — my Lord,

"Your humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

The Lord General's Reply, No. 2: —

LETTER CLVI.

"*For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.*

"EDINBURGH, 13th December, 1650.

"SIR, — Because of your strict and solemn adjuration of me, in the fear and Name of the living God, That I give you time to send to the Committee of Estates, to whom you undertook the keeping of this place under the obligation of an oath, as you affirm, — I cannot but hope that it is your conscience, and not policy, carrying you to that desire. The granting of which, if it be prejudicial to our affairs, — I am as much obliged in conscience not to do it, as you can pretend cause for your conscience' sake to desire it.

"Now considering [that] our merciful and wise God binds not His People to actions too cross one to another; but that our bands may be,[1] as I am persuaded they are, through our mistakes and darkness, — not only in the question about the surrendering this Castle, but also in all the present differences: — I have much reason to believe that, by a Conference, you may be well satisfied, in point of fact, of your Estates (to whom you say you are obliged) carrying on an Interest destructive and contrary to what they professed when they committed that trust to you, — having made to depart from them many honest men through fear of their own safety,[2] and making way for the reception of professed Malignants, both in their Parliament and Army; — and also [that you] may have laid before you such grounds of our ends and aims to the preservation of the interest of honest men in Scotland as well as England, as will (if God vouchsafe to appear in them) give your conscience satisfaction. Which if you refuse, I hope you will not have cause to say that we are either unmindful of the great Name of the Lord which you have mentioned, nor that we are wanting to answer our profession of affection to those that fear the Lord.

[1] our perplexities are caused.

[2] *Swinton, Strahan,* Hope of Craighall, &c.

"I am willing to cease hostility for some hours, or convenient time to so good an end as information of judgment and satisfaction of conscience; — although I may not give liberty for the time desired, to send to the Committee of Estates; or at all stay the prosecution of my attempt.

"Expecting your sudden answer, I rest,

"Your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

The Governor's Reply, No. 3, comes out on Saturday: —

"*For his Excellency the Lord General of the English Forces in Scotland: These.*

"EDINBURGH CASTLE, 14th December, 1650.

"MY LORD, — What I pressed, in my last, proceeded from conscience and not from policy: and I conceived that the few days desired could not be of such prejudice to your affairs as to bar the desired expressions of professed affection towards those that fear the Lord. And I expected that a small delay of our own[2] affairs should not have preponderated the satisfaction of a desire pressed in so serious and solemn a manner for satisfying conscience.

"But if you will needs persist in denial, I shall desire to hear the information of late proceedings from such as I dare trust, and [as] have had occasion to know the certainty of things. Such I hope you will permit to come alongst at the first convenience; and during that time all acts of hostility, and prosecution of attempts, be forborne on both sides. I am, my Lord,

"Your humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

The Lord General's Reply, No. 3: —

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 97).

[2] "our own," *one's own.*

LETTER CLVII.

"*For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.*

"EDINBURGH, 14th December, 1650.

"SIR, — You will give me leave to be sensible of delays out of conscience of duty [too].

"If you please to name any you would speak with [who are] now in Town, they shall have liberty to come and speak with you for one hour, if they will; provided you send presently. I expect there be no loss of time. I rest,

"Your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." [1]

Governor Dundas applies hereupon for Mr. Alexander Jaffray and the Reverend John Carstairs to be sent to him: two official persons, whom we saw made captive in Dunbar Drove, who have ever since been Prisoners-on-parole with his Excellency; doing now and then an occasional message for him; much meditating on him and his ways. Who very naturally decline to be concerned with so delicate an operation as this now on hand, — in the following characteristic Note, enclosed in his Excellency's Reply, No. 4: —

LETTER CLVIII.

"*For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.*

"EDINBURGH, 14th December, 1650.

"SIR, — Having acquainted the Gentlemen with your desire to speak with them, and they making some difficulty of it, [they] have desired me to send you this enclosed. I rest,

"Sir, your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." [2]

Here is "this enclosed:" —

[1] *Newspapers (in Cromwelliana*, p. 97). [2] Ibid. p. 98.

"For the Right Honorable the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

"EDINBURGH, 14th December, 1650.

"RIGHT HONORABLE, — We now hearing that you was desirous to speak with us for your information of the posture of affairs, we would be glad, and we think you make no doubt of it, to be refreshing or useful to you in anything; but the matter is of so high concernment, especially since it may be you will lean somewhat upon our information in managing that important trust put upon you, that we dare not take upon us to meddle: ye may therefore do as ye find yourselves clear and in capacity; and the Lord be with you. We are, Sir, your honor's humble servants, well-wishers in the Lord,

"AL. JAFFRAY.
JO. CARSTAIRS."

So that, for this Saturday, nothing can be done. On Sunday, we suppose, Mr. Stapylton, in black, teaches in St. Giles's; and other qualified persons, some of them in red with belts, teach in other Kirks; the Scots, much taken with the doctrine, "answering in their usual way of groans," Hum-m-mrrh! — and on Monday, it is like, the cannons and mortar-pieces begin to teach again, or indicate that they can at once begin. Wherefore, on Wednesday, here is a new Note from Governor Dundas; which we shall call Reply No. 4, from that much-straitened Gentleman: —

"EDINBURGH CASTLE, 18th December, 1650.

"MY LORD, — I expected that conscience, which you pretended to be your motive that did induce you to summon this house before you did attempt anything against it, should also have moved you to have expected my Answer to your Demand of the house; which I could not, out of conscience, suddenly give without mature deliberation; it being a business of such high importance. You having refused that little time, which

I did demand to the effect I might receive the commands of them that did intrust me with this place; and [I] yet not daring to fulfil your desire, — I do demand such a competent time as may be condescended upon betwixt us, within which if no relief come, I shall surrender this place upon such honorable conditions as can be agreed upon by capitulation; and during which time all acts of hostility and prosecution of attempts on both sides may be forborne. I am, my Lord,

"Your humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

The Lord General's Reply, No. 5: —

LETTER CLIX.

"For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

"EDINBURGH, 18th December, 1650.

"SIR, — All that I have to say is shortly this: That if you will send out Commissioners by eleven o'clock this night, thoroughly instructed and authorized to treat and conclude, you may have terms, honorable and safe to you, and [to] those whose interests are concerned in the things that are with you. I shall give a safe-conduct to such whose names you shall send within the time limited, and order to forbear shooting at their coming forth and going in.

"To this I expect your answer within one hour, and rest,

"Sir, your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

The Governor's Reply, No. 5: —

"EDINBURGH CASTLE, 18th December, 1650.

"MY LORD, — I have thought upon these two Gentlemen whose names are here mentioned; to wit, Major Andrew Abernethy and Captain Robert Henderson; whom I purpose

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 98).

to send out instructed, in order to the carrying on the Capitulation. Therefore expecting a safe-conduct for them with this bearer, — I rest, my Lord,

"Your humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

The Lord General's Reply, No. 6: —

LETTER CLX.

"*For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.*

"EDINBURGH, 18th December, 1650.

"SIR, — I have, here enclosed, sent you a safe-conduct for the coming forth and return of the Gentlemen you desire; and have appointed and authorized Colonel Monk and Lieutenant-Colonel White to meet with your Commissioners, at the house in the safe-conduct mentioned: there to treat and conclude of the Capitulation on my part. I rest,

"Sir, your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

Here is his Excellency's Pass or safe-conduct for them: —

PASS.

"*To all Officers and Soldiers under my Command.*

"YOU are on sight hereof to suffer Major Andrew Abernethy and Captain Robert Henderson to come forth of Edinburgh Castle, to the house of Mr. Wallace in Edinburgh, and to return back into the said Castle, without any trouble or molestation.

"Given under my hand, this 18th December, 1650.

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[2]

By to-morrow morning, in Mr. Wallace's House, Colonel Monk and the other Three have agreed upon handsome terms;

[1] *Newspapers* (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 98). [2] Ibid. p. 99.

of which, except what indicates itself in the following Proclamation, published by beat of drum the same day, we need say nothing. All was handsome, just and honorable, as the case permitted; my Lord General being extremely anxious to gain this place, and conciliate the Godly People of the Nation. By one of the conditions, the Public Registers, now deposited in the Castle, are to be accurately bundled up by authorized persons, and carried to Stirling, or whither the Authorities please; concerning which some question afterwards accidentally rises.

PROCLAMATION.

To be proclaimed by the Marshal-general, by beat of drum in Edinburgh and Leith.

"WHEREAS there is an agreement of articles by treaty concluded betwixt myself and Colonel Walter Dundas, Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, which doth give free liberty to all Inhabitants adjacent, and all other persons who have any goods in the said Castle, to fetch forth the same from thence:

"These are therefore to declare, That all such people before mentioned who have any goods in the Castle, as is before expressed, shall have free liberty between this present Thursday, the 19th instant, and Tuesday, the 24th, To repair to the Castle, and to fetch away their goods, without let or molestation. And I do hereby farther declare and require all Officers and Soldiers of this Army, That they take strict care, that no violation be done to any person or persons fetching away their goods, and carrying them to such place or places as to them seemeth fit. And if it shall so fall out that any Soldier shall be found willingly or wilfully to do anything contrary hereunto, he shall suffer death for the same. And if it shall appear that any Officer shall, either through connivance or otherwise, do or suffer [to be done] anything contrary to and against the said Proclamation, wherein it might lie in his power to

prevent or hinder the same, he the said Officer shall likewise suffer death.

"Given under my hand the 19th of December, 1650.

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

It is now Thursday: we gain admittance to the Castle on the Tuesday following, and the Scotch forces march away, — in a somewhat confused manner, I conceive. For Governor Dundas and the other parties implicated are considered little better than traitors, at Stirling: in fact, they are, openly or secretly, of the Remonstrant or Protester species; and may as well come over to Cromwell; — which at once or gradually the most of them do. What became of the Clergy, let us not inquire: Remonstrants or Resolutioners, confused times await them! Of which here and there a glimpse may turn up as we proceed. The Lord General has now done with Scotch Treaties; the Malignants and Quasi-Malignants are ranked in one definite body; and he may smite without reluctance. Here is his Letter to the Speaker on this business. After which, we may hope, the rest of his Scotch Letters may be given in a mass; sufficiently legible without commentary of ours.

LETTER CLXI.

"*For the Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*

"EDINBURGH, 24th Dec. 1650.

"RIGHT HONORABLE, — It hath pleased God to cause this Castle of Edinburgh to be surrendered into our hands, this day about eleven o'clock. I thought fit to give you such account thereof as I could, and [as] the shortness of time would permit.

"I sent a Summons to the Castle upon the 12th instant; which occasioned several Exchanges and Replies, which, for their unusualness, I also thought fit humbly to present to you.[2]

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 99).

[2] We have already read them.

Indeed the mercy is very great, and seasonable. I think, I need to say little of the strength of the place; which, if it had not come in as it did, would have cost very much blood to have attained, if at all to be attained; and did tie up your Army to that inconvenience, That little or nothing could have been attempted whilst this was in design; or little fruit had of anything brought into your power by your Army hitherto, without it. I must needs say, not any skill or wisdom of ours, but the good hand of God hath given you this place.

"I believe all Scotland hath not in it so much brass ordnance as this place. I send you here enclosed a List thereof,[1] and of the arms and ammunition, so well as they could be taken on a sudden. Not having more at present to trouble you with. I take leave, and rest, Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[2]

LETTERS CLXII.–CLXXXI.

THE Lord General is now settled at Edinburgh till the season for campaigning return. Tradition still reports him as lodged, as in 1648, in that same spacious and sumptuous "Earl of Murrie's House in the Cannigate;" credibly enough; though Tradition does not in this instance produce any written voucher hitherto.[3] The Lord General, as we shall find by and by, falls dangerously sick here; worn down by overwork and the rugged climate.

The Scots lie entrenched at Stirling, diligently raising new levies; parliamenting and committeeing diligently at Perth;—

[1] Drakes, minions, murderers, monkeys, of brass and iron, — not interesting to us, except it be "the great iron murderer called *Muckle-Meg*," already in existence, and still held in some confused remembrance in those Northern parts.

[2] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 99).

[3] Yes, in fine: *Memorie of the Somervilles* (Edinburgh, 1815), ii. 423, gives "my Lady Home's Lodging," which is known to signify that same House. (*Note of 1857.*)

crown their King at Scone Kirk, on the First of January,[1] in token that they have now all "complied" with him. The Lord General is virtually master of all Scotland south of the Forth; — fortifies, before long, a Garrison as far west as "Newark,"[2] which we now call Port Glasgow, on the Clyde. How his forces had to occupy themselves, reducing detached Castles; coercing Moss-troopers; and, in detail, bringing the Country to obedience, the old Books at great length say, and the reader here shall fancy in his mind. Take the following two little traits from Whitlocke, and spread them out to the due expansion and reduplication: —

"*February* 3*d*, 1650. Letters that Colonel Fenwick summoned Hume Castle to be surrendered to General Cromwell. The Governor answered, 'I know not Cromwell; and as for my Castle, it is built on a rock.' Whereupon Colonel Fenwick played upon him" a little "with the great guns." But the Governor still would not yield; nay sent a Letter couched in these singular terms: —

> "I, William of the Wastle,
> Am now in my Castle;
> And aw the dogs in the town
> Shanna gar[3] me gang down."

So that there remained nothing but opening the mortars upon this William of the Wastle; which did gar him gang down, — more fool than he went up.

We also read how Colonel Hacker and others rooted out bodies of Moss-troopers from Strength after Strength; and "took much oatmeal," which must have been very useful there. But this little Entry, a few days subsequent to that of Willie Wastle, affected us most: "Letters that the Scots in a Village called Geddard rose, and armed themselves; and set upon Captain Dawson as he returned from pursuing some Moss-troopers; — killed his guide and trumpet; and took Dawson and eight of his party, and after having given them quar-

[1] Minute description of the ceremony in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 117.

[2] *Milton State-Papers*, p. 84.

[3] "*Shand garre*" is Whitlocke's reading.

ter, killed them all in cold blood."[1] In which "Village called Geddard," do not some readers recognize a known place, *Jeddart* or *Jedburgh*, friendly enough to Moss-troopers; and in the transaction itself, a notable example of what is called "Jeddart Justice," — killing a man whom you have a pique at; killing him first, to make sure, and then judging him! — However there come Letters too, "That the English soldiers married divers of the Scots Women;" which was an excellent movement on their part; — and may serve as the concluding feature here.

LETTER CLXII.

THE "Empson" of this Letter, who is now to have a Company in Hacker's regiment, was transiently visible to us once already, as "Lieutenant Empson of my regiment," in the Skirmish at Musselburgh, four months ago.[2] Hacker is the well-known Colonel Francis Hacker, who attended the King on the scaffold; having a signed Warrant, which we have read, addressed to him and two other Officers to that effect. The most conspicuous, but by no means the most approved, of his military services to this Country! For which one indeed, in overbalance to many others, he was rewarded with death after the Restoration. A Rutlandshire man; a Captain from the beginning of the War; and rather favorably visible, from time to time, all along. Of whom a kind of continuous Outline of a Biography, considerably different from Caulfield's and other inane Accounts of him,[3] might still be gathered, did it much concern us here. To all appearance, a somewhat taciturn, somewhat indignant, very swift, resolute and valiant man. He died for his share in the Regicide; but did not profess to repent of it; intimated, in his taciturn way, that he was willing to accept the results of it, and answer for it in a much higher Court than the Westminster one. We are indeed to understand generally, in spite of the light phrase which Crom-

[1] 14th February, 1650 (Whitlocke, p. 464).

[2] Letter CXXXV., antea, p. 106.

[3] Caulfield's *High Court of Justice*, pp. 83–87; *Trials of the Regicides*; &c.

well reprimands in this Letter, that Hacker was a religious man; and in his regicides and other operations did not act without some warrant that was very satisfactory to him. For the present he has much to do with Moss-troopers; very active upon them; — for which "Peebles" is a good locality. He continues visible as a Republican to the last; is appointed "to raise a regiment" for the expiring Cause in 1659, — in which, what a little concerns us, this same "Hubbert" here in question is to be his Major.[1]

"*To the Honorable Colonel Hacker, at Peebles or elsewhere: These.*

"[EDINBURGH,] 25th December, 1650.

"SIR, — I have [used] the best consideration I can, for the present, in this business; and although I believe Captain Hubbert is a worthy man, and hear so much, yet, as the case stands, I cannot, with satisfaction to myself and some others, revoke the Commission I had given to Captain Empson, without offence to them, and reflection upon my own judgment.

"I pray let Captain Hubbert know I shall not be unmindful of him, and that no disrespect is intended to him. But indeed I was not satisfied with your last speech to me about Empson, That he was a better preacher than fighter or soldier, — or words to that effect. Truly I think he that prays and preaches best will fight best. I know nothing [that] will give like courage and confidence as the knowledge of God in Christ will; and I bless God to see any in this Army able and willing to impart the knowledge they have, for the good of others. And I expect it be encouraged, by all the Chief Officers in this Army especially; and I hope you will do so. I pray receive Captain Empson lovingly; I dare assure you he is a good man and a good officer; I would we had no worse. I rest,

"Your loving friend,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[2]

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 669, 675, 824.

[2] Harris, p. 516; Lansdowne MSS., 1236, fol. 99, contains the *address*, which *Harris has omitted*.

LETTER CLXIII.

LETTER hundred-and-sixty-third relates to the exchange of three Prisoners whom we saw taken in Dunbar Drove, and have had an occasional glimpse of since. Before reading it, let us read another Letter, which is quite unconnected with this; but which lies, as we may see, on the Lord General's table in Moray House in the Canongate, while he writes this; —and indeed is a unique of its kind: A Letter from the Lord General's Wife.

"My Lord Chief Justice" is Oliver St. John, known to us this long while; "President" is Bradshaw; "Speaker" is Lenthall: high official persons; to whom it were better if the Lord General took his Wife's advice, and wrote occasionally.

"The Lady Elizabeth Cromwell to her Husband the Lord General at Edinburgh.

"[COCKPIT, LONDON,] 27th December, 1650.

"MY DEAREST, — I wonder you should blame me for writing no oftener, when I have sent three for one: I cannot but think they are miscarried. Truly if I know my own heart, I should as soon neglect myself as to [omit][1] the least thought towards you, who in doing it, I must do it to myself. But when I do write, my Dear, I seldom have any satisfactory answer; which makes me think my writing is slighted; as well it may: but I cannot but think your love covers my weakness and infirmities.

"I should rejoice to hear your desire in seeing me; but I desire to submit to the Providence of God; hoping the Lord, who hath separated us, and hath often brought us together again, will in His good time bring us again, to the praise of His name. Truly my life is but half a life in your absence, did not the Lord make it up in Himself, which I must acknowledge to the praise of His grace.

"I would you would think to write sometimes to your dear friend my Lord Chief Justice, of whom I have often put you in mind. And truly, my Dear, if you would think of what I

[1] Word torn out.

put you in mind of some, it might be to as much purpose as others;[1] writing sometimes a Letter to the President, and sometimes to the Speaker. Indeed, my Dear, you cannot think the wrong you do yourself in the want of a Letter, though it were but seldom. I pray think on;[2] and so rest,

"Yours in all faithfulness,

"ELIZABETH CROMWELL."[3]

This Letter, in the original, is frightfully spelt; but otherwise exactly as here: the only Letter extant of this Heroine; and not unworthy of a glance from us. It is given in *Harris* too, and in *Noble* very incorrectly.

And now for the Letter concerning Provost Jaffray and his two fellow-prisoners from Dunbar Drove.

"*For the Right Honorable Lieutenant-General David Lesley: These.*

"EDINBURGH, 17th January, 1650.

"SIR, — I perceive by your last Letter you had not met with Mr. Carstairs[4] and Mr. Waugh, who were to apply themselves to you about Provost Jaffray's and their release, [in exchange] for the Seamen and Officers. But I understood, by a Paper since shown me by them under your hand, that you were contented to release the said Seamen and Officers for those Three Persons, — who have had their discharges accordingly.

"I am contented also to discharge the Lieutenant [in exchange] for the Four Troopers at Stirling, who hath solicited me to that purpose.

"I have, here enclosed, sent you a Letter,[5] which I desire you to cause to be conveyed to the Committee of Estates; and that such return shall be sent back to me as they shall please to give. I remain, Sir,

"Your humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[6]

[1] The grammar bad; the meaning evident or discoverable, — and the bad grammar a part of that!

[2] "think *of*" is the Lady's old phrase.

[3] *Milton State-Papers*, p. 40.

[4] Custaires.

[5] The next Letter.

[6] *Thurloe, i. 172.* Laigh Parliament House.

Here is a notice from Balfour:[1] At Perth, "22d November, 1650 (*Rege præsente*," the King being present, as usually after that Flight to the Grampian Hills he is allowed to be), "the Committee of Estates remits to the Committee of Quarterings the exchange of Prisoners anent Mr. Alexander Jaffray and Mr. John Carstairs, Minister, with some English Prisoners in the Castle of Dumbarton." Nevertheless, at this date, six or seven weeks after, the business is not yet perfected.

Alexander Jaffray, as we know already, is Provost of Aberdeen; a leading man for the Covenant from of old: and generally the Member for his Burgh in the Scotch Parliaments of these years. In particular, he sits as Commissioner for Aberdeen in the Parliament that met 4th January, 1649;[2] under which this disastrous Quarrel with the English began. He was famed afterwards (infamous it then meant) as among the first of the Scotch Quakers; he, with Barclay of Urie, and other lesser Fallen-Stars. Personal intercourse with Cromwell, the Sectary and Blasphemer, had much altered the notions of Mr. Alexander Jaffray. Baillie informed us, three months ago, he and Carstairs, then Prisoners-on-parole, were sent Westward by Cromwell "to agent the Remonstrance," — to guide towards some good issue the Ker-and-Strahan Negotiation; which, alas, could only be guided headlong into the ditches at Hamilton before daybreak, as we saw! — Jaffray sat afterwards in the Little Parliament; was an official person in Scotland,[3] and one of Cromwell's leading men there.

Carstairs, we have to say or repeat, is one of the Ministers of Glasgow; deep in the confused Remonstrant-Resolutioner Controversies of that day; though on which side precisely one does not altogether know, perhaps he himself hardly altogether knew. From Baillie, who has frequent notices of him, it is clear he tends strongly towards the Cromwell view in many things; yet with repugnancies, anti-sectary and other, difficult for frail human nature. How he managed his life-

[1] iv. 168. [2] Balfour, iii. 382.

[3] Ousted our friend Scotstarvet, — most unjustly, thinks he of the *Staggering State* (p. 181). There wanted only that to make the Homily on Life's Nothingness *complete!*

pilotage in these circumstances shall concern himself mainly. His Son, I believe, is the "Principal Carstairs," [1] who became very celebrated among the Scotch Whigs in King William's time. He gets home to Glasgow now, where perhaps we shall see some glimpses of him again.

John Waugh (whom they spell *Vauch* and *Wauch*, and otherwise distort) was the painful Minister of Borrowstounness, in the Shire of Linlithgow. A man of many troubles, now and afterwards. Captive in the Dunbar Drove; still deaf he to the temptings of Sectary Cromwell; deafer than ever. In this month of January, 1651, we perceive he gets his deliverance; returns with painfully increased experience, but little change of view derived from it, to his painful Ministry; where new tribulations await him. From Baillie [2] I gather that the painful Waugh's invincible tendency was to the Resolutioner or Quasi-Malignant side; and too strong withal; — no level sailing, or smooth pilotage, possible for poor Waugh! For as the Remonstrant, Protester, or Ker-and-Strahan Party, having joined itself to the Cromwellian, came ultimately to be dominant in Scotland, there ensued for strait-laced clerical individuals who would cling too desperately to the opposite Resolutioner or Quasi-Malignant side, very bad times. There ensued in the first place, very naturally, this, That the strait-laced individual, who would not cease to pray publicly *against* the now Governing Powers, was put out of his living: this; and if he grew still more desperate, worse than this.

Of both which destinies our poor strait-laced Waugh may serve to us as an emblem here. Some three years hence we find that the Cromwellian Government has, in Waugh's, as in various other cases, ejected the strait-laced Resolutioner, and inducted a *loose*-laced Protester into his Kirk; — leaving poor Waugh the strait-laced to preach "in a barn hard by." And though the loose-laced "have but fifteen," and the strait-laced "all the Parish," it matters not; the stipend and the Kirk go with him whose lacing is loose: one has nothing but one's barn left, and sad reflections. Nay in Waugh's case, the very

[1] *Biog. Britann.* in voce; somewhat indistinct. [2] iii. 248.

barn, proving as is likely an arena of too vehement discourse, was taken away from him; and he, Waugh, was lodged in Prison, in the Castle of Edinburgh.[1] For Waugh "named the King in his prayers," he and "Mr. Robert Knox" even went that length! In Baillie, under date 11th November, 1653, is a most doleful inflexible Letter from Waugh's own hand: "brought to the top of this rock," as his ultimate lodging-place; "having my habitation among the owls of the desert, because of my very great uselessness and fruitlessness among the sons of men." Yet he is right well satisfied, conscience yielding him a good &c. &c. — Poor Waugh, I wish he would reconsider himself. Whether it be absolutely indispensable to Christ's Kirk to have a Nell-Gwynn Defender set over it, even though descended from Elizabeth Muir; and if no other, not the bravest and devoutest of all British men, will do for that? O Waugh, it is a strange camera-obscura, the head of man! —

LETTER CLXIV.

We have heard of many Moss-troopers: we heard once of a certain Watt, a Tenant of the Earl of Tweedale's, who being ruined out by the War, distinguished himself in this new course; and contemporary with him, of "one Augustin a High-German." To which latter some more special momentary notice now falls due.

Read Balfour's record, and then Cromwell's Letter. "One Augustin, a High-German, being purged out of the Army before Dunbar Drove, but a stout and resolute young man, and lover of the Scots Nation, — imitating Watt, — in October or November this year, annoyed the Enemy very much; killing many of his stragglers; and made nightly infalls upon their quarters, taking and killing sometimes twenty, sometimes thirty, and more or less of them: whereby he both enriched himself and his followers, and greatly damnified the Enemy. His chief abode was about and in the Mountains of

[1] *Baillie, iii, 248, 253, 228.*

Pentland and Soutra."— And again, from Perth, 19th December, 1650: "*Memorandum*, That Augustin departed from Fife with a party of sixscore horse; crossed at Blackness on Friday, 13th December; forced Cromwell's guards; killed eighty men to the Enemy; put in thirty-six men to Edinburgh Castle, with all sorts of spices, and some other things; took thirty-five horses and five prisoners, which he sent to Perth the 14th of this instant." Which feat, with the spices and thirty-six men, could not indeed save Edinburgh Castle from surrendering, as we saw, next week; but did procure Captain Augustin "thanks from the Lord Chancellor and Parliament in his Majesty's name," and good outlooks for promotion in that quarter.[1]

"*For the Right Honorable the Committee of Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland: These.*

"EDINBURGH, 17th January, 1650.

"MY LORDS, — Having been informed of divers barbarous murders and inhuman acts, perpetrated upon our men by one Augustin a German in employ under you, and one Ross a Lieutenant, I did send to Lieutenant-General David Lesley, desiring justice against the said persons. And to the end I might make good the fact upon them, I was willing either by commissioners on both parts, or in any other equal way, to have the charge proved.

"The Lieutenant-General was pleased to allege a want of power from Public Authority to enable him herein: which occasions me to desire your Lordships that this business may be put into such a way as may give satisfaction; — whereby I may understand what rules your Lordships will hold during this sad Contest between the two Nations; [rules] which may evidence the War to stand upon other pretences at least than the allowing of such actions will suppose.

"Desiring your Lordships' answer, I rest, my Lords,

"Your humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[2]

[1] Balfour, iv. 166, 210, 214.

[2] Thurloe, i. 173. Laigh Parliament House.

No effect whatever seems to have been produced by this Letter. The Scotch Quasi-Malignant Authorities have "thanked" Augustin, and are determined to have all the benefit they can of him, — which cannot be much, one would think! In the following June accordingly we find him become "*Colonel* Augustin," probably Major or Lieutenant-Colonel; quartered with Robin Montgomery "at Dumfries;" giving "an alarm to Carlisle," but by no means taking it; — "falling in," on another occasion, "with two hundred picked men," but very glad to fall out again, "nearly all cut off." In strong practical *Remonstrance* against which, the learned Bulstrode has Letters in November, vague but satisfactory, "That the Scots themselves rose against Augustin, killed some of his men, and drove away the rest;" entirely disapproving of such courses and personages. And then finally in January following, "Letters that Augustin the great robber in Scotland, — upon disbanding of the Marquis of Huntly's forces," the last remnant of Scotch Malignancy for the present, — "went into the Orcades, and there took ship for Norway."[1] Fair wind and full sea to him! —

LETTER CLXV.

An Official Medallist has arrived from London to take the Effigies of the Lord General, for a Medal commemorative of the Victory at Dunbar. The Effigies, Portrait, or "Statue" as they sometimes call it, of the Lord General appears to be in a state of forwardness; but he would fain waive such a piece of vanity. The "Gratuity to the Army" is a solid thing: but this of the Effigies, or Stamp of my poor transient unbeautiful Face — ? However, the Authorities, as we may surmise, have made up their mind.

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 104); Whitlocke, 23d November, 1651; ib. 14th January, 1651-2.

"*For the Honorable the Committee of the Army* [*at London*]: *These.*

"EDINBURGH, 4th February, 1650.

"GENTLEMEN,—It was not a little wonder to me to see that you should send Mr. Symonds so great a journey, about a business importing so little, as far as it relates to me; whereas, if my poor opinion may not be rejected by you, I have to offer to that[1] which I think the most noble end, to wit, The Commemoration of that great Mercy at Dunbar, and the Gratuity to the Army. Which might be better expressed upon the Medal, by engraving, as on the one side the Parliament, which I hear was intended and will do singularly well, so on the other side an Army, with this Inscription over the head of it, *The Lord of Hosts*, which was our Word that day. Wherefore, if I may beg it as a favor from you, I most earnestly beseech you, if I may do it without offence, that it may be so. And if you think not fit to have it as I offer, you may alter it as you see cause; only I do think I may truly say, it will be very thankfully acknowledged by me, if you will spare the having my Effigies in it.

"The Gentleman's pains and trouble hither have been very great; and I shall make it my second suit unto you that you will please to confer upon him that Employment which Nicholas Briot had before him: indeed the man is ingenious, and worthy of encouragement. I may not presume much; but if, at my request, and for my sake, he may obtain this favor, I shall put it upon the account of my obligations, which are not few; and, I hope, shall be found ready to acknowledge [it], and to approve myself, Gentlemen,

"Your most real servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[2]

Of "Nicholas Briot" and "Mr. Symonds," since they have the honor of a passing relation to the Lord General, and still enjoy, or suffer, a kind of ghost-existence in the Dilettante memory, we may subjoin, rather than cancel, the following

[1] *I should* vote exclusively for that.

[2] Harris, p. 519.

authentic particulars. In the Commons Journals of 20th August, 1642, it is: "*Ordered*, That the Earl of Warwick," now Admiral of our Fleet, "be desired that Monsieur Bryatt may have delivery of his wearing apparel; and all his other goods stayed at Scarborough, not belonging to Minting and Coining of Moneys." — This Nicholas Bryatt, or Briot, then, must have been Chief Engraver for the Mint at the beginning of the Civil Wars. We perceive, he has gone to the King northward; but is here stopt at Scarborough, with all his baggage, by Warwick the Lord High Admiral: and is to get away. What became of him afterwards, or what was his history before, no man and hardly any Dilettante knows.

Symonds, Symons, or, as the moderns call him, Simon, is still known as an approved Medal-maker. In the Commons Journals of 17th December, 1651, we find: "*Ordered*, That it be referred to the Council of State to take order that the sum of £300 be paid unto Thomas Symonds, which was agreed by the Committee appointed for that purpose to be paid unto him, for the Two Great Seals made by him, and the materials thereof: And that the said Council do take consideration of what farther recompense is fit to be given unto him for his extraordinary pains therein; and give order for the payment of such sum of money as they shall think fit in respect thereof."

An earlier entry, which still more concerns us here, is an Order, in favor of one whose name has not reached the Clerk, and is now indicated only by stars, That the Council of State shall pay him for "making the Statue of the General," — doubtless this Medal or Effigies of the General; the name indicated by stars being again that of Symonds. The Order, we observe, has the same date as the present Letter.[1] The Medal of Cromwell, executed on this occasion, still exists, and is said to be a good likeness.[2] The Committee-men had not taken my Lord General's advice about the Parliament, about the Army with the Lord of Hosts, and the total omitting of his own Effigies. Vertue published Engravings of all these Medals of Simon (as he spells him) in the year 1753.

[1] *Commons Journals, 4th February, 1650-1.* [2] Harris, p. 518.

The "Two Great Seals," mentioned in the Excerpt above, are also worth a word from us. There had a good few Great Seals to be made in the course of this War: all by Symonds: of whom, with reference thereto, we find, in authentic quarters, various notices, of years long prior and posterior to this. The *first* of all the "new Great Seals" was the one made, after infinite debates and hesitations, in 1643, when Lord Keeper Lyttleton ran away with the original: Symonds was the maker of this, as other entries of the same Rhadamanthine Commons Journals instruct us: On the 11th July, 1643, Henry Marten is to bring "the man" that will make the new Great Seal, and let us see him "to-morrow;" which man, it turns out, at sight of him, not "to-morrow," but a week after, on the 19th July, is "Mr. Simonds,"[1] — who, we find farther, is to have £100 for his work; £40 in hand, £30 so soon as his work is done, and the other £30 one knows not when. Symonds made the Seal duly; but as for his payment, we fear it was not very duly made. Of course when the Commonwealth and Council of State began, a couple of new Great Seals were needed; and these too, as we see above, Symonds made; and is *to be* paid for them, and for the General's Statue; — which we hope he was, but are not sure!

Other new Seals, Great and Not-so-great, in the subsequent mutations, were needed; and assiduous Symonds made them all. Nevertheless, in 1659, when the Protectorate under Richard was staggering towards ruin, we find, "Mr. Thomas Symonds Chief Graver of the Mint and Seals," repeatedly turning up with new Seals, new *order* for payment, and new indication that the order was but incompletely complied with.[2] May 14th, 1659, he has made a new and newest Great Seal; he is to be paid for that, and "for the former, for which he yet remains unsatisfied." Also on the 24th May, 1659,[3] the Council of State get a new Seal from him. Then on the 22d August, on the Rump Parliament's re-assembling, he makes a "new Parliament Seal;" and presents a modest Petition to have his money paid him: *order* is granted very promptly to that end;

[1] *Commons Journals*, iii. 162, 174. [2] Ibid. vii. 654.
[3] *Ibid.* vii. 663.

"his debt to be paid for this Seal, and for all former work done by him;"—we *hope*, with complete effect.[1]

The Restoration soon followed, and Symonds continued still in the Mint under Charles II.; when it is not very likely his claims were much better attended to; the brave Hollar, and other brave Artists, having their own difficulties to get life kept in, during those rare times, Mr. Rigmarole!—Symonds, we see, did get the place of Nicholas Briot; and found it, like other brave men's places, full of hard work and short rations. Enough now of Symonds and the Seals and Effigies.

LETTER CLXVI.

ALONG with Symonds, various English strangers, we perceive, are arriving or arrived, on miscellaneous business with the Lord General in his Winter-quarters. Part of the Oxford Caput is here in Edinburgh, with "a very high testimony of respect;" whom, in those same hours, the Lord General dismisses honorably with their Answer.

We are to premise that Oxford University, which at the end of the First Civil War had been found in a most broken, Malignant, altogether waste and ruinous condition, was afterwards, not without difficulty, and immense patience on the part of the Parliament Commissioners, radically reformed. Philip Earl of Pembroke, he of the loud voice, who dined once with Bulstrode in the Guildhall;[2] he, as Chancellor of the University, had at last to go down in person, in the Spring of 1648;—put the intemperate Dr. Fell, incorrigible otherwise, under lock and key; left the incorrigible Mrs. Dr. Fell, "whom the soldiers had to carry out in her chair," "sitting in the quadrangle;" appointed a new Vice-Chancellor, new Heads where needful,—and, on the whole, swept the University clean of much loud Nonsense, and left some Piety and Sense, the best he could meet with, at work there in its stead.[3] At

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 654, 663, 765. [2] Antea, vol. xvii. p. 435.

[3] Act and Visitors' names in Scobell, i. 116 (1st May, 1647): see *Commons Journals*, v. 83–142 (*10th February–15th* April, 1647): 8th March, 1647–8,

work, with earnest diligence and good success, as it has since continued actually to be, — for the contemporary clamors and *Querelas* about Vandalism, Destruction of Learning, and so forth, prove on examination to be mere agonized shrieks, and unmelodious hysterical wind, forgettable by all creatures. Not easily before or since could the Two Universities give such account of themselves to mankind, under all categories, human and divine, as during those Puritan years.

But now Philip of Pembroke, the loud-voiced Chancellor of Oxford, is dead; and the reformed University, after due consultation, has elected the Lord General in his stead; to which "high testimony" here is his response. — "Dr. Greenwood," who, I think, has some cast about his eyes, is otherwise a most recommendable man: "Bachelor, then Doctor of Divinity, sometimes Fellow of Brasenose College," says Royalist Anthony,[1] "and lately made Principal of the said College by the Committee and Parliamentary Visitors; a severe and good Governor, as well in his Vice-Chancellorship as Principality; continued till the King's return, and then" —

"*To the Reverend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and other Members of the Convocation.*

"EDINBURGH, 4th Feb. 1650.

"HONORED GENTLEMEN, — I have received, by the hands of those worthy Persons of your University sent by you into Scotland, a Testimony of very high respect and honor, in [your] choosing me to be your Chancellor. Which deserves a fuller return, of deep resentment, value and acknowledgment, than I am any ways able to make. Only give me leave a little to expostulate, on your and my own behalf. I confess it was in your freedom to elect, and it would be very uningenious in me to reflect upon your action; only (though some

Chancellor Pembroke is to go (Neal, ii. 307; Walker, i. 133); makes report and is thanked, 21st April, 1648 (*Commons Journals*, v. 538). Copious history of the proceedings, from the Puritan side, in Neal, ii. 290–314; and from the Royalist side, in Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i. 124–142, which latter amid its tempestuous froth, has many entertaining traits.

[1] *Wood's Fasti*, ii. 157 (in *Athenæ*, iv.), of July, 1649.

what late) let me advise you of my unfitness to answer the ends of so great a Service and Obligation, with some things very obvious.

"I suppose a principal aim in such elections hath not only respected abilities and interest to serve you, but freedom [as] to opportunities of time and place. As the first may not be well supposed, so the want of the latter may well become me to represent to you. You know where Providence hath placed me for the present; and to what I am related if this call were off,[1] — I being tied to attendance in another Land as much out of the way of serving you as this, for some certain time yet to come appointed by the Parliament. The known esteem and honor of this place is such, that I should wrong it and your favor very much, and your freedom in choosing me, if, either by pretended modesty or in any unbenign way, I should dispute the acceptance of it. Only I hope it will not be imputed to me as a neglect towards you, that I cannot serve you in the measure I desire.

"I offer these exceptions with all candor and clearness to you, as [leaving you] most free to mend your choice in case you think them reasonable; and shall not reckon myself the less obliged to do all good offices for the University. But if these prevail not, and that I must continue this honor, — until I can personally serve you, you shall not want my prayers That that seed and stock of Piety and Learning, so marvellously springing up amongst you, may be useful to that great and glorious Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the approach of which so plentiful an effusion of the Spirit upon those hopeful plants is one of the best presages. And in all other things I shall, by the Divine assistance, improve my poor abilities and interests in manifesting myself, to the University and yourselves,

"Your most cordial friend and servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[2]

[1] Lord Lieutenant of Ireland "for three years to come" (*Commons Journals*, vi. 239), 22d June, 1649.

[2] From the Archives of Oxford University; communicated by Rev. Dr Bliss.

On the same Tuesday, 4th February, 1650–1, while the Lord General is writing this and the former Letter, his Army, issuing from its Leith Citadel and other Winter-quarters, has marched westward towards Stirling; he himself follows on the morrow. His Army on Tuesday got to Linlithgow; the Lord General overtook them at Falkirk on Wednesday. Two such days of wind, hail, snow and rain as made our soldiers very uncomfortable indeed. On Friday, the morning proving fair, we set out again; got to Kilsyth;—but the hail-reservoirs also opened on us again: we found it impossible to get along; and so returned, by the road we came; back to Edinburgh on Saturday,[1]—coated with white sleet, but endeavoring not to be discouraged. We hope we much terrified the Scots at Stirling; but the hail-reservoirs proved friendly to them.

LETTER CLXVII.

The Oxford Convocation has received the foregoing Letter, "canting Letter sent thereunto," as crabbed Anthony designates it, "dated at Edinburgh on the 4th of February," and now at length made public in print; they have "read it in Convocation," continues Anthony, "whereat the Members made the House resound with their cheerful acclamations;"[2]—and the Lord General is and continues their Chancellor; encouraging and helping forward them and their work, in many ways, amid his weighty affairs, in a really faithful manner. As begins to be credible without much proof of ours, and might still be abundantly proved if needful.

Here however, in the first blush of the business, comes Mr. Waterhouse, with a small recommendation from the Lord General; "John Waterhouse of Great Greenford in Middlesex, son of Francis Waterhouse by Bridget his wife," if anybody want to know him better;[3]—"a student heretofore for eigh-

[1] Perfect Diurnal (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 100). [2] *Fasti*, ii. 159.

[3] Ibid. 163: "created Doctor of Physic by virtue of the Letters of Oliver *Cromwell, General*" (12th March, 1650–1).

teen years in Trinity College, Cambridge," a meritorious Man and Healer since; whom one may well decorate with a Degree, or decorate a Degree with, by the next opportunity.

"To my very Worthy Friend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

"EDINBURGH, 14th February, 1650.

"SIR, — This Gentleman, Mr. Waterhouse, went over into Ireland as Physician to the Army there; of whose diligence, fidelity and abilities I had much experience. Whilst I was there, he constantly attended the Army: and having, to my own knowledge, done very much good to the Officers and Soldiers, by his skill and industry; — and being upon urgent occasion lately come into England, [he] hath desired me to recommend him for the obtaining of the Degree of Doctor in that Science. Wherefore I earnestly desire you that, when he shall repair to you, you [1] will give him your best assistance for the obtaining of the said Degree; he being shortly to return back to his charge in Ireland.

"By doing whereof, as you will encourage one who is willing and ready to serve the Public, so you will also lay a very great obligation upon,

"Sir, your affectionate servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." [2]

LETTER CLXVIII.

COLONEL ROBERT LILBURN, a stout impetuous soldier, as both his Brothers were, and steady to his side as neither of them was, had the honor, at a critical time, in the Summer of 1648, while Duke Hamilton and his Scots were about invading us, to do the State good service, as we transiently saw; [3] — to beat down, namely, and quite suppress, in Lancashire, a cer-

[1] "that you" in the hasty original.

[2] From the Archives of Oxford University; communicated by Rev. Dr. Bliss.

[3] Antea, *vol. xvii. p. 317.*

tain Sir Richard Tempest and his hot levyings of "1,000 horse," and indeed thereby to suppress all such levyings on behalf of the said Duke, in those Northern parts. An important, and at the time most welcome service. Letter of thanks, in consequence; reward of £1,000 in consequence, — reward voted, never yet paid, nor, as would seem, likely soon to be. Colonel Robert will take Delinquents' lands for his £1,000; will buy Bear Park, with it and with other debentures or moneys: Bear Park, once *Beaurepaire*, a pleasant manor near native Durham, belongs to the Cathedral land; and might answer both parties, would the Committee of Obstructions move.

"*To the Right Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These.*

"EDINBURGH, 8th March, 1650.

"SIR, — I am informed that Colonel Robert Lilburn is like to be damnified very much, in relation to his purchase of the Manor of Bear Park in the County of Durham, by being employed in the service of the Commonwealth in [1] Scotland: — which business (as I understand), upon his Petition to the Parliament, was referred to the Committee of Obstructions, and a Report thereof hath lain ready in the hands of Mr. John Corbet, a long time, unreported.

"I do therefore humbly desire that the House may be moved to take the said Report into speedy consideration, that so Colonel Lilburn may have redress therein, according as you think fit; and that his readiness and willingness to return to his charge here, and leave his own affairs to serve the Public, may not turn to his disadvantage. I doubt not but those services he hath done in England and here will be a sufficient motive to gratify him herein; which shall be acknowledged by, Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." [2]

Committee of Obstructions, "a Committee for *removing* Obstructions to the Sale of Dean-and-Chapter Lands," does accord-

[1] "*of*" *in orig.*

[2] Baker MSS. (Cambridge), xxxv. 79.

ingly bestir itself; and on Tuesday, 18th March, the due order is given.[1] To which, we doubt not, as the matter then drops, effect was given, — till the Restoration came, and ousted Colonel Robert and some others. Whether the Colonel personally ever lived at Bear Park, or has left any trace of his presence there, the County Histories and other accessible records do not say.

LETTER CLXIX.

HERE next, from another quarter, is a new University matter, — Project of a College at Durham; emerging incidentally like a green fruitful islet from amid the dim storms of War; agreeably arresting the eye for a moment.

Concerning which read in the Commons Journals of May last: "A Letter from the Sheriff and Gentlemen of the County of *Duresme*, dated 24th April, 1650; with a Paper" or Petition of the same date, "'delivered in by the Grand Jury at the Sessions of the Peace holden at Duresme the 24th of April, 1650, To be presented to the Honorable Parliament of this Nation,' — were this day read. *Ordered*, That it be referred to the Committee of Obstructions for Sale of Dean-and-Chapter Lands, to consider these desires of the Gentlemen and others of that County, touching the converting some of the Buildings at Duresme called the 'College,' which were the Houses of the late Dean and Chapter, into some College or School of Literature; to state the business, to"[2] — in short, to get on with it if possible.

This was some ten months ago, but still there is no visible way made; and now in the wild Spring weather here has been, I suppose, some Deputation of the Northern Gentry riding through the wild mountains, with humane intent, to represent the matter to the Lord General at Edinburgh; from whom, if

[1] *Commons Journals*, vi. 492 (7th November, 1650), his "Petition," referred to in this Letter; ib. 549 (18th March, 1650), due "redress" to him.

[2] *Ibid. vi. 410 (8th May, 1650).*

he pleased to help it forward, a word might be very furthersome. The Lord General is prompt with his word; — writes this Letter, as I find, this and the foregoing, in some interval of a painful fit of sickness he has been laboring under.

"*To the Right Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These.*

"EDINBURGH, 11th March, 1650.

"SIR, — Having received information from the Mayor and Citizens of Durham, and some Gentlemen of the Northern Counties, That upon their Petition to the Parliament, 'that the Houses of the late Dean and Chapter in the City of Durham might be converted into a College or School of Literature,' the Parliament was pleased in May last to refer the same to the Committee for removing Obstructions in the sale of Dean-and-Chapter Lands, 'to consider thereon, and to report their opinion therein to the House:'[1] Which said Committee, as I am also informed, have so far approved thereof as that they are of an opinion That the said Houses will be a fit place to erect a College or School for all the Sciences and Literature, and that it will be a pious and laudable work and of great use to the Northern parts; and have ordered Sir Arthur Haselrig to make report thereof to the House accordingly: And the said Citizens and Gentlemen having made some address to me to contribute my assistance to them therein:

"To which, in so good and pious a work, I could not but willingly and heartily concur. And not knowing wherein I might better serve them, or answer their desires, than by recommending the same to the Parliament by, Sir, yourself their Speaker, — I do therefore make it my humble and earnest request that the House may be moved, as speedily as conveniently may be, to hear the Report of the said Committee concerning the said Business, from Sir Arthur Haselrig; that so the House, taking the same into consideration, may do therein what shall seem meet for the good of those poor Countries.

[1] *Commons Journals*, ubi suprà.

"Truly it seems to me a matter of great concernment and importance; as that which, by the blessing of God, may much conduce to the promoting of learning and piety in those poor rude and ignorant parts; — there being also many concurring advantages to this Place, as pleasantness and aptness of situation, healthful air, and plenty of provisions, which seem to favor and plead for their desires therein. And besides the good, so obvious to us, [which] those Northern Counties may reap thereby, who knows but the setting on foot this work at this time may suit with God's present dispensations; and may — if due care and circumspection be used in the right constituting and carrying on the same — tend to, and by the blessing of God produce, such happy and glorious fruits as are scarce thought on or foreseen!

"Sir, not doubting of your readiness and zeal to promote so good and public a work, I crave pardon for this boldness; and rest,

"Your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

Whereupon the Committee for removing Obstructions does bestir itself; manages, in three months hence (for we do nothing rashly), to report[2] by "Sir Arthur Haselrig, touching Duresme College-Buildings to be converted to a College or School for all the Sciences of Literature: That" — that — And, in brief, History itself has to report that the pious Project, thanks mainly to furtherance by the Lord General, whose power to further it increased by and by, did actually, some seven years hence, take effect;[3] — actually began giving Lessons of human Grammar, human Geography, Geometry, and other divine Knowledge, to the vacant human mind, — in

[1] Baker MSS. xxviii. 455: printed also in Hutchinson's *History of Durham*, and elsewhere.

[2] *Commons Journals* (vi. 589), 18th June, 1651.

[3] Protector's *Letters-Patent* of 15th May, 1657, following up his *Ordinance in Council* of the previous Year: Hutchinson's *History of the County Palatine of Durham* (Newcastle, 1785), i. 514–530. See Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 473 (Cambridge Petition against it: 18th April, 1659). "Throve apace," says Hutchinson, "till" &c.

those once sleepy Edifices, dark heretofore, or illuminated mainly by Dr. Cosins's Papistical waxlights or the like: and so continued, in spite of opposition, till the Blessed Restoration put a stop to it, and to some other things. In late years there is again some kind of Durham College giving Lessons, —I hope, with good success.

LETTER CLXX.

By that tempestuous sleety expedition in the beginning of February my Lord General caught a dangerous illness, which hung about him, reappearing in three successive relapses, till June next; and greatly alarmed the Commonwealth and the Authorities. As this to Bradshaw, and various other Letters still indicate.

"To the Right Honorable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.

"Edinburgh, 24th March, 1650.

"My Lord, —I do with all humble thankfulness acknowledge your high favor, and tender respect of me, expressed in your Letter, and the Express sent therewith to inquire after one so unworthy as myself.

"Indeed, my Lord, your service needs not me: I am a poor creature; and have been a dry bone; and am still an unprofitable servant to my Master and you. I thought I should have died of this fit of sickness; but the Lord seemeth to dispose otherwise. But truly, my Lord, I desire not to live, unless I may obtain mercy from the Lord to approve my heart and life to Him in more faithfulness and thankfulness, and [to] those I serve in more profitableness and diligence. And I pray God, your Lordship, and all in public trust, may improve all those unparalleled experiences of the Lord's wonderful Workings in your sight, with singleness of heart to *His glory, and* the refreshment of His People; who are to

Him as the apple of His eye; and upon whom your enemies, both former and latter, who have fallen before you, did split themselves.

"This shall be the unfeigned prayer of,

"My Lord, your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

From Edinburgh, of date 18th March, by special Express we have this comfortable intelligence: "The Lord General is now well recovered: he was in his dining-room to-day with his Officers, and was very cheerful and pleasant." And the symptoms, we see, continue good and better on the 24th. "So that there is not any fear, by the blessing of God, but our General will be enabled to take the field when the Provisions arrive." "Dr. Goddard" is attending him.[2] Before the end of the month he is on foot again; sieging Blackness, sieging the Island of Inchgarvie, or giving Colonel Monk directions to that end.

LETTER CLXXI.

THE following Letter brings its own commentary:—

"*For my beloved Wife Elizabeth Cromwell, at the Cockpit: These.*

"[EDINBURGH,] 12th April, 1651.

"MY DEAREST,—I praise the Lord I am increased in strength in my outward man: But that will not satisfy me except I get a heart to love and serve my heavenly Father better; and get more of the light of His countenance, which is better than life, and more power over my corruptions:—in these hopes I wait, and am not without expectation of a gracious return. Pray for me; truly I do daily for thee and the dear Family; and God Almighty bless you all with His spiritual blessings.

[1] *Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 101).* [2] Ibid. pp. 100, 101.

"Mind poor Betty of the Lord's great mercy. Oh, I desire her not only to seek the Lord in her necessity, but in deed and in truth to turn to the Lord; and to keep close to Him; and to take heed of a departing heart, and of being cozened with worldly vanities and worldly company, which I doubt she is too subject to. I earnestly and frequently pray for her and for him. Truly they are dear to me, very dear; and I am in fear lest Satan should deceive them, — knowing how weak our hearts are, and how subtle the Adversary is, and what way the deceitfulness of our hearts and the vain world make for his temptations. The Lord give them truth of heart to Him. Let them seek Him in truth, and they shall find Him.

"My love to the dear little ones; I pray for grace for them. I thank them for their Letters; let me have them often.

"Beware of my Lord Herbert's resort to your house. If he do so, it may occasion scandal, as if I were bargaining with him. Indeed, be wise, — you know my meaning. Mind Sir Henry Vane of the business of my Estate. Mr. Floyd knows my whole mind in that matter.

"If Dick Cromwell and his Wife be with you, my dear love to them. I pray for them: they shall, God willing, hear from me. I love them very dearly. — Truly I am not able as yet to write much. I am weary; and rest,

"Thine,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." [1]

"Betty" and "he" are Elizabeth Claypole and her Husband; of whom, for the curious, there is a long-winded intricate account by Noble,[2] but very little discoverable in it. They lived at Norborough, which is near Market Deeping, but in Northamptonshire; where, as already intimated, the Lady Protectress, Widow Elizabeth Cromwell, after the Restoration, found a retreat. "They had at least three sons and daughters." Claypole became "Master of the Horse" to Oliver; sat in Parliament; made an elegant appearance in the world: — but dwindled sadly after his widowership; his

[1] Cole MSS. xxxiii. 37: a Copy; Copies are frequent.

[2] *ii. 375, &c.*

second marriage ending in "separation," in a third *quasi-marriage*, and other confusions, poor man! But as yet the Lady Claypole lives; bright and brave. "Truly they are dear to me, very dear."

"Dick Cromwell and his Wife" seem to be up in Town on a visit; — living much at their ease in the Cockpit, they. Brother Henry, in these same days, is out "in the King's County" in Ireland; doing hard duty at "Ballybawn" and elsewhere,[1] — the distinguished Colonel Cromwell. And Deputy Ireton, with his labors, is wearing himself to death. In the same house, one works, another goes idle.

"The Lord Herbert" is Henry Somerset, eldest son of the now Marquis of Worcester, — of the Lord Glamorgan whom we knew slightly at Ragland, in underhand "Irish Treaties" and such like; whose *Century of Inventions* is still slightly known to here and there a reader of Old Books. "This Lord Herbert," it seems, "became Duke of Beaufort after the Restoration." For obvious reasons, you are to "beware of his resort to your house at present." A kind of professed Protestant he, but come of rank Papists and Malignants; which may give rise to commentaries. One stupid Annotator on a certain Copy of this Letter says, "his Lordship had an intrigue with Mrs. Claypole;" — which is evidently downright stupor and falsehood, like so much else.

LETTER CLXXII.

Upon the Surrender of Edinburgh Castle, due provision had been made for conveyance of the Public Writs and Registers to what quarter the Scotch Authorities might direct; and "Passes," under the Lord General's hand, duly granted for that end. Archibald Johnston, Lord Register, we conclude, had superintended the operation; had, after much labor, bundled the Public Writs properly together into masses, packages; and put them on shipboard, considering this the

[1] *Newspapers* (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 102).

eligiblest mode of transport towards Stirling and the Scotch head-quarters at present. But now it has fallen out, in the middle of last month, that the said ship has been taken, as many ships and shallops on both sides now are; and the Public Writs are in jeopardy: whereupon ensues correspondence; and this fair Answer from my Lord General: —

[*To the Honorable Archibald Johnston, Lord Register of Scotland: These*].

"EDINBURGH, 12th April, 1651.

"MY LORD, — Upon the perusal of the Passes formerly given for the safe passing of the Public Writs and Registers of the Kingdom of Scotland, I do think they[1] ought to be restored: and they shall be so, to such persons as you shall appoint to receive them; with passes for persons and vessels, to carry them to such place as shall be appointed: — so that it be done within one month next following.

"I herewith send you a Pass for your Servant to go into Fife, and to return with the other Clerks; and rest,

"Your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[2]

Warriston's answer, written on Monday, the 12th being Saturday, is given also in *Thurloe*. The Lord General's phrase, "perusal of the Passes," we now find is prospective, and means "reperusal," new sight of them by the Lord General; which, Archibald earnestly urges, is impossible; the original Passes being now far off in the hands of the Authorities, and the Writs in a state of imminent danger, lying in a ship at Leith, as Archibald obscurely intimates, which the English Governor has got his claws over, and keeps shut up in dock; with a considerable leak in her, too: very bad stowage for such goods.[3] Which obscure intimation of Archibald's becomes lucid to us, as to the Lord General it already was, when we read this sentence of Bulstrode's, under date 22d March, 1650–1: "Letters that the Books and Goods belonging

[1] The Writs and Registers.

[2] *Thurloe, i.* 117. Records of the Laigh Parliament House. [3] Ibid.

to the" Scotch "King and Register were taken by the Parliament's ships; and another ship, laden with oats, meal, and other provisions; going to Fife: twenty-two prisoners."[1] For captures and small sea-surprisals abound in the Frith at present; the Parliament-ships busy on one hand; and the "Captain of the Bass," the "Shippers of Wemyss," and the like active persons doing their duty on the other, — whereby infinite "biscuit," and such small ware, is from time to time realized.[2]

Without doubt the Public Writs were all redelivered, according to the justice of the case; and the term of "one month," which Archibald pleads hard to get lengthened, was made into two, or the necessary time. Archibald's tone towards the Lord General is anxiously respectful, nay submissive and subject. In fact, Archibald belongs, if not by profession, yet by invincible tendency, to the Remonstrant Ker-and-Strahan Party; and looks dimly forward to a near time when there will be no refuge for him, and the like of him, but Cromwell. Strahan, in the month of January last, is already "excommunicated, and solemnly delivered to the Devil, in the Church of Perth."[3] This is what you have to look for, from a Quasi-Malignant set of men!

This Archibald, as is well known, sat afterwards in Cromwell's Parliaments; became "one of Cromwell's Lords;" and ultimately lost his life for these dangerous services. Archibald Johnston of Warriston; loose-flowing Bishop Burnet's uncle by the Mother's side: a Lord Register of whom all the world has heard. Redactor of the Covenanters' protests, in 1637, and onwards; redactor perhaps of the Covenant itself; canny lynx-eyed Lawyer, and austere Presbyterian Zealot; full of fire, of heavy energy and gloom: in fact, a very notable character; — of whom our Scotch friends might do well to give us farther elucidations. Certain of his Letters edited by Lord Hailes,[4] a man of fine intelligence, though at that time ignorant of this subject, have proved well worth their paper

[1] Whitlocke, p. 490. [2] Balfour, iv. 204, 241, 251, &c.
[3] Ibid. iv. 240.
[4] *Memorials and Letters in the Reign of Charles I.* (Glasgow, 1766).

and ink. Many more, it appears, still lie in the Edinburgh Archives. A good selection and edition of them were desirable. But, alas, will any human soul ever again *love* poor Warriston, and take pious pains with him, in this world? Properly it turns all upon that; and the chance seems rather dubious!—

SECOND VISIT TO GLASGOW.

THAT Note to Warriston, and the Letter to Elizabeth Cromwell, as may have been observed, are written on the same day, Saturday, 12th April, 1651. Directly after which, on Wednesday, the 16th, there is a grand Muster of the Army on Musselburgh Links; preparatory to new operations. Blackness Fort has surrendered; Inchgarvie Island is beset by gunboats: Colonel Monk, we perceive, who has charge of these services, is to be made Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance: and now there is to be an attack on Burntisland with gunboats, which also, one hopes, may succeed. As for the Army, it is to go westward this same afternoon; try whether cautious Lesley, straitened or assaulted from both west and east, will not come out of his Stirling fastness, so that some good may be done upon him. The Muster is held on Musselburgh Links; whereat the Lord General, making his appearance, is received "with shouts and acclamations," the sight of him infinitely comfortable to us.[1] The Lord General's health is somewhat re-established, though he has had relapses, and still tends a little towards ague. "About three in the afternoon" all is on march towards Hamilton; quarters "mostly in the field there." Where the Lord General himself arrives, on Friday night late; and on the morrow afternoon we see Glasgow again.

Concerning which here are two notices from opposite points of the compass, curiously corroborative of one another; which we must not withhold. Face-to-face glimpses into the old dead actualities; worth rescuing with a Cromwell in the centre of them.

[1] *Newspapers* (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 102).

The first is from Baillie;[1] shows us a glance of our old friend Carstairs withal. Read this fraction of a Letter: "Reverend and dear Brother,—For preventing of mistakes," lest you should think us loose-laced, Remonstrant, sectarian individuals, "we have thought meet to advertise you that Cromwell having come to Hamilton on Friday late, and to Glasgow on Saturday with a body of his Army, sooner than we could well with safety have retired ourselves," — there was nothing for it but to stay and abide him here! "On Sunday forenoon he came unexpectedly to the High Inner Kirk; where quietly he heard Mr. Robert Ramsay," unknown to common readers, "preach a very honest sermon, pertinent to his" Cromwell's "case. In the afternoon he came, as unexpectedly, to the High Outer Kirk; where he heard Mr. John Carstairs," our old friend, "lecture, and" a "Mr. James Durham preach, — graciously, and weel to the times as could have been desired." So that you see we are not of the loose-laced species, we! "And generally all who preached that day in the Town gave a fair enough testimony against the Sectaries." — Whereupon, next day, Cromwell sent for us to confer with him in a friendly manner. "All of us did meet to advise," for the case was grave: however, we have decided to go; nay are just going; — but, most unfortunately, do not write any record of our interview! Nothing, except some transient assertion elsewhere that "we had no disadvantage in the thing."[2] — So that now, from the opposite point of the compass, the old London Newspaper must come in; curiously confirmatory: —

"Sir, — We came hither" to Glasgow "on Saturday last, April 19th. The Ministers and Townsmen generally stayed at home, and did not quit their habitations as formerly. The Ministers here have mostly deserted from the proceedings beyond the Water," at Perth, — and are in fact given to Remonstrant ways, though Mr. Baillie denies it: "yet they are equally dissatisfied with us. But though they preach against us in the pulpit to our faces, yet we permit them without disturbance, as willing to gain them by love.

[1] (Glasgow, 22d April, 1651) iii. 165.
[2] *Baillie, iii. 168.*

"My Lord General sent to them to give us a friendly Christian meeting, To discourse of those things which they rail against us for; that so, if possible, all misunderstandings between us might be taken away. Which accordingly they gave us on Wednesday last. There was no bitterness nor passion vented on either side; all was with moderation and tenderness. My Lord General and Major-General Lambert, for the most part, maintained the discourse; and, on their part, Mr. James Guthry and Mr. Patrick Gillespie.[1] We know not what satisfaction they have received. Sure I am, there was no such weight in their arguments as might in the least discourage us from what we have undertaken; the chief thing on which they insisted being our Invasion into Scotland."[2]

The Army quitted Glasgow after some ten days; rather hastily, on Wednesday, 30th April; pressing news, some false alarm of movements about Stirling, having arrived by express from the East. They marched again for Edinburgh;—quenched some foolish Town Riot, which had broken out among the Glasgow Baillies themselves, on some quarrel of their own; and was now tugging and wriggling, in a most unseemly manner, on the open streets, and likely to enlist the population generally, had not Cromwell's soldiers charitably scattered it asunder before they went.[3] In three days they were in Edinburgh again.

When a luminous body, such as Oliver Cromwell, happens to be crossing a dark Country, a dark Century, who knows what he will not disclose to us! For example: On the Western edge of Lanarkshire, in the desolate uplands of the Kirk of Shotts, there dwelt at that time a worshipful Family of Scotch Lairds, of the name of Stewart, at a House called Allertoun,—a lean turreted angry-looking old Stone House, I take it; standing in some green place, in the alluvial hollows of the

[1] "Gelaspy" the Sectarian spells; in all particulars of facts he coincides with Baillie. Guthry and Gillespie, noted men in that time, published a "Sum" of this Interview (Baillie, iii. 168), but nobody now knows it.

[2] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 102).

[3] "Ane Information concerning the late Tumult in Glasgow, Wednesday, *April 30th*," at the very time of Cromwell's Removal (in Baillie, iii. 161).

Auchter Burn or its tributaries: most obscure; standing lean and grim, like a thousand such; entirely unnoticeable by History, — had not Oliver chanced to pass in that direction, and make a call there! Here is an account of that event: unfortunately very vague, not written till the second generation after; indeed, palpably incorrect in some of its details; but indubitable as to the main fact; and too curious to be omitted here. The date, not given or hinted at in the original, seems to fix itself as Thursday, 1st May, 1651. On that day Auchter Burn rushing idly on as usual, the grim old turreted Stone House, and rigorous Presbyterian inmates, and desolate uplands of the Kirk of Shotts in general, — saw Cromwell's face, and have become memorable to us. Here is the record given as we find it.[1]

"There was a fifth Son" of Sir Walter Stewart, Laird of Allertoun: "James; who in his younger years was called 'the Captain of Allertoun,' — from this incident: Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General of the English Sectarian Army, after taking Edinburgh Castle, was making a Progress through the West of Scotland; and came down towards the River Clyde near Lanark, and was on his march back, against King Charles the Second's Army, then with the King at Stirling. Being informed of a near way through Auchtermuir, he came with some General Officers to reconnoitre; and had a Guide along. Sir Walter, being a Royalist and Covenanter, had absconded. As he" Cromwell "passed, he called in at Allertoun for a farther Guide; but no men were to be found, save one valetudinary Gentleman, Sir Walter's Son" — properly a poor valetudinary Boy, as appears, who of course could do nothing for him.

"He found the road not practicable for carriages; and upon his return he called in at Sir Walter's House. There was none to entertain him but the Lady and Sir Walter's sickly Son. The good Woman was as much for the King and Royal Family as her Husband: but she offered the General the civilities of her House; and a glass of canary was presented. The General observed the forms of these times (I have it from good

[1] *Caltness Collections, published by the* Maitland Club (Glasgow, 1842), p. 9.

authority), and he asked a blessing in a long pathetic grace before the cup went round; — he drank his good wishes[1] for the family, and asked for Sir Walter; and was pleased to say, His Mother was a Stewart's Daughter, and he had a relation to the name. All passed easy; and our James, being a lad of ten years, came so near as to handle the hilt of one of the swords: upon which Oliver stroked his head, saying, 'You are my little Captain;' and this was all the Commission our Captain of Allertoun ever had.

"The General called for some of his own wines for himself and other Officers,[2] and would have the Lady try his wine; and was so humane, When he saw the young Gentleman so maigre and indisposed, he said, Changing the climate might do good, and the South of France, Montpellier, was the place.

"Amidst all this humanity and politeness he omitted not, in person, to return thanks to God in a pointed grace after his repast; and after this hasted on his return to join the Army. The Lady had been a strenuous Royalist, and her Son a Captain in command at Dunbar; yet upon this interview with the General she abated much of her zeal. She said she was sure Cromwell was one who feared God, and had that fear in him, and the true interest of Religion at heart. A story of this kind is no idle digression; it has some small connection with the Family concerns, and shows some little of the genius of these distracted times." — And so we leave it; vague, but indubitable; standing on such basis as it has.

LETTER CLXXIII.

[*For my beloved Wife Elizabeth Cromwell, at the Cockpit: These.*]

"EDINBURGH, 3d May, 1651.

"MY DEAREST, — I could not satisfy myself to omit this post, although I have not much to write; yet indeed I love to write to my Dear, who is very much in my heart. It joys me

[1] Certainly incorrect. [2] Imaginary

to hear thy soul prospereth: the Lord increase His favors to thee more and more. The great good thy soul can wish is, That the Lord lift upon thee the light of His countenance, which is better than life. The Lord bless all thy good counsel and example to all those about thee, and hear all thy prayers, and accept thee always.

"I am glad to hear thy Son and Daughter are with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good opportunity of good advice to him. Present my duty to my Mother, my love to all the Family. Still pray for

"Thine,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." [1]

Written the day after his return to Edinburgh. "Thy Son and Daughter" are, to all appearance, Richard and his Wife, who prolong their visit at the Cockpit. The good old "Mother" is still spared with us, to have "my duty" presented to her. A pale venerable Figure; who has lived to see strange things in this world; — can piously, in her good old tremulous heart, rejoice in such a Son.

Precisely in these days, a small ship driven by stress of weather into Ayr Harbor, and seized and searched by Cromwell's Garrison there, discloses a matter highly interesting to the Commonwealth. A Plot, namely, on the part of the English Presbyterian-Royalists, English Royalists Proper, and all manner of Malignant Interests in England, to unite with the Scots and their King: in which certain of the London Presbyterian Clergy, Christopher Love among others, are deeply involved. The little ship was bound for the Isle of Man, with tidings to the Earl of Derby concerning the affair; and now we have caught her within the Bars of Ayr; and the whole matter is made manifest! [2] Reverend Christopher Love is laid hold of, 7th May; he and others: and the Council of State is busy. It is the same Christopher who preached at Uxbridge Treaty long since, That "Heaven might as well think of uniting

[1] Harris, p. 517.

[2] Bates, *History of the late Troubles in England* (Translation of the Elenchus *Motuum; London, 1685), Part ii. 115.*

with Hell." Were a new High Court of Justice once constituted, it will go hard with Christopher.

As for the Lord General, this march to Glasgow has thrown him into a new relapse, which his Doctor counts as the third since March last. The disease is now ague; comes and goes, till, in the end of this month, the Council of State, as ordered by Parliament, requests him to return, in the mean while, to England for milder air;[1] and despatches two London Doctors to him; whom the Lord Fairfax is kind enough to "send in his own coach;" who arrive in Edinburgh on the 30th of May, "and are affectionately entertained by my Lord."[2] The two Doctors are Bates and Wright. Bates, in his loose-tongued *History of the Troubles*, redacted in after-times, observes strict silence as to this Visit. Here is the Lord General's Answer; indicating, with much thankfulness, that he will not now need to return.

LETTER CLXXIV.

[*To the Lord President of the Council of State: These.*]

"EDINBURGH, 3d June, 1651.

"MY LORD, — I have received yours of the 27th of May; with an Order from the Parliament for my Liberty to return into England for change of air, that thereby I might the better recover my health. All which came unto me whilst Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, whom your Lordship sent down, were with me.

"I shall not need to recite the extremity of my last sickness; it was so violent that indeed my nature was not able to bear the weight thereof. But the Lord was pleased to deliver me, beyond expectation; and to give me cause to say once more, 'He hath plucked me out of the grave!'[3] — My Lord, the indulgence of the Parliament expressed by their Order is

[1] Whitlocke, p. 476; *Commons Journals* (vi. 579), 27th May, 1651.

[2] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 103).

[3] Psalm xxx. 3, "has brought up my soul from the grave;" or, lxxxvi. 3, "*delivered my soul* from;" but "plucked" is not in any of the texts.

a very high and undeserved favor: of which although it be fit I keep a thankful remembrance, yet I judge it would be too much presumption in me to [1] return a particular acknowledgment. I beseech you give me the boldness to return my humble thankfulness to the Council for sending two such worthy Persons, so great a journey, to visit me. From whom I have received much encouragement, and good directions for recovery of health and strength, — which I find [now], by the goodness of God, growing to such a state as may yet, if it be His good will, render me useful according to my poor ability, in the station wherein He hath set me.

"I wish more steadiness in your Affairs here than to depend, in the least degree, upon so frail a thing as I am. Indeed they do not, — nor own any instrument. This Cause is of God, and it must prosper. Oh, that all that have any hand therein, being *so* persuaded, would gird up the loins of their mind, and endeavor in all things to walk worthy of the Lord! So prays, my Lord,

"Your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." [2]

The Lord General's case was somewhat grave; at one time, it seemed hopeless for this summer. "My Lord is not sensible that he is grown an old man." The Officers were to proceed without him; directed by him from the distance. Here, however, is an improvement; and two days after, on the 5th of June, the Lord General is seen abroad in his coach again; shakes his ailments and infirmities of age away, and takes the field in person once more. The Campaign is now vigorously begun; though as yet no great result follows from it.

On the 25th of June, the Army from all quarters reassembled "in its old Camp on the Pentland Hills;" marched westward; left Linlithgow July 2d, ever westward, with a view to force the Enemy from his strong ground about Stirling. Much

[1] "not to" in orig.; — dele "not."

[2] Kimber's (anonymous) *Life of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1724), p. 201; — does not say *whence derived.*

pickeering, vaporing, and transient skirmishing ensues; but the Enemy, strongly entrenched at Torwood, secured by bogs and brooks, cannot be forced out. We take Calendar House, and do other insults, before their eyes; they will not come out. Cannonadings there are "from opposite Hills;" but not till it please the Enemy can there be any battle. David Lesley, second in rank, but real leader of the operations, is at his old trade again. The Problem is becoming difficult. We decide to get across into Fife; to take them in flank, and at least cut off an important part of their supplies.

Here is the Lord General's Letter on the result of that enterprise. Farther details of the Battle, which is briefly spoken of here, — still remembered in those parts as the *Battle of Inverkeithing*, — may be found in Lambert's own Letter concerning it.[1] "Sir John Browne, their Major-General," was once a zealous Parliamenteer; "Governor of Abingdon" and much else; but the King gained him, growls Ludlow, "by the gift of a pair of silk stockings," — poor wretch! Besides Browne, there are Massey, and various Englishmen of mark with this Malignant Army. Massey's Brother, a subaltern person in London, is one of the conspirators with Christopher Love. — The Lord General has in the interim made his Third Visit to Glasgow; concerning which there are no details worth giving here.[2] Rev. Christopher Love, on the 5th of this month, was condemned to die.[3]

LETTER CLXXV.

"For the Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

"LINLITHGOW, 21st July, 1651.

"SIR, — After our waiting upon the Lord, and not knowing what course to take, for indeed we know nothing but what God

[1] North Ferry, 22d July, 1651 (Whitlocke, p. 472): the Battle was on Sunday, the 20th. See also Balfour, iv. 313.

[2] Whitlocke, p. 471; *Milton State-Papers*, p. 84 (11th July, 1651).

[3] Wood, iii. 278, &c.

pleaseth to teach us of His great mercy, — we were directed to send a Party to get us a landing [on the Fife coast] by our boats, whilst we marched towards Glasgow.

"On Thursday morning last, Colonel Overton, with about one thousand four hundred foot and some horse and dragoons, landed at the North Ferry in Fife; we with the Army lying near the Enemy (a small river parted us and them), and having consultations to attempt the Enemy within his fortifications: but the Lord was not pleased to give way to that counsel, proposing a better way for us. The Major-General [Lambert] marched, on Thursday night, with two regiments of horse and two regiments of foot, for better securing the place; and to attempt upon the Enemy as occasion should serve. He getting over, and finding a considerable body of the Enemy there (who would probably have beaten our men from the place if he had not come), drew out and fought them; he being about two regiments of horse, with about four hundred of horse and dragoons more, and three regiments of foot; the Enemy five regiments of foot, and about four or five of horse. They came to a close charge, and in the end totally routed the Enemy; having taken about forty or fifty colors,[1] killed near two thousand, some say more; have taken Sir John Browne their Major-General, who commanded in chief, — and other Colonels and considerable Officers killed and taken, and about five or six hundred prisoners. The Enemy is removed from their ground with their whole Army; but whither we do not certainly know.

"This is an unspeakable mercy. I trust the Lord will follow it until He hath perfected peace and truth. We can truly say, we were gone as far as we could in our counsel and action; and we did say one to another, we knew not what to do. Wherefore it 's sealed upon our hearts, that this, as all the rest, is from the Lord's goodness, and not from man. I hope it becometh me to pray, That we may walk humbly and self-denyingly before the Lord, and believingly also. That you whom we serve, as the Authority over us, may do the work committed to you, with uprightness and faithfulness, — and thoroughly,

[1] Farther account of these in Appendix, No. 22.

as to the Lord. That you may not suffer anything to remain that offends the eyes of His jealousy. That common weal may more and more be sought, and justice done impartially. For the eyes of the Lord run to and fro; and as He finds out His enemies here, to be avenged on them, so will He not spare them for whom He doth good, if by His loving-kindness they become not good. I shall take the humble boldness to represent this Engagement of David's, in the Hundred-and-nineteenth Psalm, verse Hundred-and-thirty-fourth, *Deliver me from the oppression of man, so will I keep Thy precepts.*

"I take leave, and rest,

"Sir, your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"P.S. The carriage of the Major-General, as in all other things so in this, is worthy of your taking notice of; as also the Colonels Okey, Overton, Daniel, West, Lydcot, Syler, and the rest of the Officers." [1]

Matters now speedily take another turn. At the Castle of "Dundas" we are still on the South side of the Frith; in front of the Scotch lines, though distant: but Inchgarvie, often tried with gunboats, now surrenders; Burntisland, by force of gunboats and dispiritment, surrenders: the Lord General himself goes across into Fife. The following Letters speak for themselves.

LETTER CLXXVI.

[*To the Right Honorable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.*]

"DUNDAS, 24th July, 1651.

"MY LORD, — It hath pleased God to put your affairs here in some hopeful way, since the last Defeat given to the Enemy.

[1] *Newspapers* (in *Parl. Hist.* xix. 494; and Cromwelliana, p. 105).

"I marched with the Army very near to Stirling, hoping thereby to get the Pass; and went myself with General Dean, and some others, up to Bannockburn; hearing that the Enemy were marched on the other side towards our forces in Fife. Indeed they went four or five miles on towards them; but hearing of my advance, in all haste they retreated back, and possessed the Park, and their other works. Which we viewed; and finding them not advisable to attempt, resolved to march to Queen's Ferry, and there to ship over so much of the Army as might hopefully be master of the field in Fife. Which accordingly we have almost perfected; and have left, on this side, somewhat better than four regiments of horse, and as many of foot.

"I hear now the Enemy's great expectation is to supply themselves in the West with recruits of men, and what victual they can get: for they may expect none out of the North, when once our Army shall interpose between them and St. Johnston. To prevent their prevalency in the West, and making incursions into the Borders of England, . . .[1]

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[2]

LETTER CLXXVII.

OF this Letter Sir Harry Vane and the Council of State judge it improper to publish anything in the Newspapers, except a rough abstract, in words of their own, of the *first two paragraphs* and the *concluding one*. In which state it presents itself in the Old Pamphlets.[3] The Letter copied in full lies among the *Tanner Manuscripts*;—gives us a glimpse into the private wants, and old furnitures, of the Cromwell Army. "Pots" are cavalry helmets; "backs-and-breasts" are still seen on cuirassier regiments; "snaphances" (German *schnapphahn*, snapcock) are a new wonderful invention, giving fire

[1] Sir Harry Vane, who reads the Letter in Parliament, judges it prudent to stop here (*Commons Journals*, vi. 614).

[2] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 107).

[3] In *Parliamentary History*, xix. 498.

by flint-and-steel; — promising, were they not so terribly expensive, to supersede the old slow matchlock in field-service! But, I believe, they wind up like a watch before the trigger acts;[1] and come very high! —

"*To the Right Honorable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.*

"LINLITHGOW, 26th July, 1651.

"MY LORD, — I am able to give you no more account than what you have by my last; only we have now in Fife about thirteen or fourteen thousand horse and foot. The Enemy is at his old lock, and lieth in and near Stirling; where we cannot come to fight him, except he please, or we go upon too-too manifest hazards; he having very strongly laid himself, and having a very great advantage there. Whither we hear he hath lately gotten great provisions of meal, and reinforcement of his strength out of the North under Marquis Huntly. It is our business still to wait upon God, to show us our way how to deal with this subtle Enemy; which I hope He will.

"Our forces on this side the River[2] are not very many: wherefore I have sent for Colonel Rich's; and shall appoint them, with the forces under Colonel Saunders, to embody close upon the Borders, — and to be in readiness to join with those left on this side the Frith, or to be for the security of England, as occasion shall offer; there being little use of them where they lie, as we know.

"Your Soldiers begin to fall sick, through the wet weather which has lately been. It is desired, therefore, that the recruits of foot determined [on] may rather come sooner in time than usually; and may be sure to be full in numbers, according to your appointment, whereof great failing has lately been. For the way of raising them, it is wholly submitted to your pleasure; and we hearing you rather choose to send us Volunteers than Pressed-men, shall be very glad you go that way.

"Our Spades are spent to a very small number: we desire, therefore, that of the five thousand tools we lately sent

[1] *Grose's Military Antiquities.* [2] Means "Frith" always.

for, at the least three thousand of them may be spades, — they wearing most away in our works, and being most useful. Our Horse-arms, especially our pots, are come to a very small number: it is desired we may have a thousand backs-and-breasts and fifteen hundred pots. We have left us in store but four hundred pair of pistols; two hundred saddles; six hundred pikes; two thousand and thirty muskets, whereof thirty snaphances. These are our present stores: and not knowing what you have sent us by this Fleet that is coming, we desire we may be considered therein. — Our cheese and butter is our lowest store of Victual.

"We were necessitated to pay the Soldiery moneys now at their going over into Fife; whereby the Treasury is much exhausted, although we desire to husband it what we can. This being the principal time of action, we desire your Lordship to take a principal care that money may be supplied us with all possible speed, and these other things herewith mentioned; your affairs so necessarily requiring the same.

"The Castle of Inchgarvie, which lieth in the River, almost in the midway between the North and South Ferry, commonly called Queen's Ferry, — was delivered to us on Thursday last. They marched away with their swords and baggage only; leaving us sixteen cannon, and all their other arms and ammunition. I remain, my Lord,

"Your lordship's most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

LETTER CLXXVIII.

[*To my very loving Brother Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These*].

"[BURNTISLAND,] 28th July, 1651.

"DEAR BROTHER, — I was glad to receive a Letter from you; for indeed anything that comes from you is very wel-

[1] *Tanner* MSS., in Cary, ii. 288–290.

come to me. I believe your expectation of my Son's coming is deferred. I wish he may see a happy delivery of his Wife first,[1] for whom I frequently pray.

"I hear my Son hath exceeded his allowance, and is in debt. Truly I cannot commend him therein; wisdom requiring his living within compass, and calling for it at his hands. And in my judgment, the reputation arising from thence would have been more real honor than what is attained the other way. I believe vain men will speak well of him that does ill.

"I desire to be understood that I grudge him not laudable recreations, nor an honorable carriage of himself in them; nor is any matter of charge, like to fall to my share, a stick[2] with me. Truly I can find in my heart to allow him not only a sufficiency but more, for his good. But if pleasure and self-satisfaction be made the business of a man's life, [and] so much cost laid out upon it, so much time spent in it, as rather answers appetite than the will of God, or is comely before His Saints, — I scruple to feed this humor; and God forbid that his being my Son should be his allowance to live not pleasingly to our Heavenly Father, who hath raised me out of the dust to be what I am!

"I desire your faithfulness (he being also your concernment as well as mine) to advise him to approve himself to the Lord in his course of life; and to search His Statutes for a rule of conscience, and to seek grace from Christ to enable him to walk therein. This hath life in it, and will come to somewhat: what is a poor creature without this? This will not abridge of lawful pleasures; but teach such a use of them as will have the peace of a good conscience going along with it. Sir, I write what is in my heart; I pray you communicate my mind herein to my Son, and be his remembrancer in these things. Truly I love him, he is dear to me; so is his Wife; and for their sakes do I thus write. They shall not want comfort nor encouragement from me, so far as I may

[1] Noble's registers are very defective! These Letters, too, were before the poor man's eyes.

[2] *stop*

afford it. But indeed I cannot think I do well to feed a voluptuous humor in my Son, if he should make pleasures the business of his life, — in a time when some precious Saints are bleeding, and breathing out their last, for the safety of the rest. Memorable is the speech of Uriah to David (*Second Samuel*, xi. 11).[1]

"Sir, I beseech you believe I here say not this to save my purse; for I shall willingly do what is convenient to satisfy his occasions, as I have opportunity. But as I pray he may not walk in a course not pleasing to the Lord, so [I] think it lieth upon me to give him, in love, the best counsel I may; and know not how better to convey it to him than by so good a hand as yours. Sir, I pray you acquaint him with these thoughts of mine. And remember my love to my Daughter; for whose sake I shall be induced to do any reasonable thing. I pray for her happy deliverance, frequently and earnestly.

"I am sorry to hear that my Bailiff[2] in Hantshire should do to my Son as is intimated by your Letter. I assure you I shall not allow any such thing. If there be any suspicion of his abuse of the Wood, I desire it may be looked after, and inquired into; that so, if things appear true, he may be removed, — although indeed I must needs say he had the repute of a godly man, by divers that knew him, when I placed him there.

"Sir, I desire my hearty affection may be presented to my Sister; to my Cousin Ann, and her Husband though unknown. — I praise the Lord I have obtained much mercy in respect of my health; the Lord give me a truly thankful heart. I desire your prayers; and rest,

"Your very affectionate brother and servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[3]

[1] "And Uriah said unto David, The Ark, and Israel, and Judah abide in tents; and my lord Joab, and the servants of my lord, are encamped in the open fields; shall I, then, go into mine house, to eat and to drink, and to lie with my wife? As thou livest, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing."

[2] "Baylye."

[3] Harris, p. 513.

My Cousin Ann, then, is wedded! "Her Husband though unknown" is John Dunch; who, on his Father's decease, became John Dunch of Pusey;—to whom we owe this Letter, among the others.

LETTER CLXXIX.

"To the Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

"BURNTISLAND, 29th July, 1651.

"SIR,—The greatest part of the Army is in Fife; waiting what way God will farther lead us. It hath pleased God to give us in Burntisland;[1] which is indeed very conducing to the carrying on of our affairs. The Town is well seated; pretty strong; but marvellous capable of farther improvement in that respect, without great charge. The Harbor, at a high spring, is near a fathom deeper than at Leith; and doth not lie commanded by any ground without the Town. We took three or four small men-of-war in it, and I believe thirty or forty guns.

"Commissary-General Whalley marched along the seaside in Fife, having some ships to go along the coast; and hath taken great store of great artillery, and divers ships. The Enemy's affairs are in some discomposure, as we hear. Surely the Lord will blow upon them. I rest,

"Your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[2]

LETTER CLXXX.

IN effect, the crisis has now arrived. The Scotch King and Army, finding their supplies cut off, and their defences rendered unavailing, by this flank-movement,—break up suddenly from Stirling;[3] march direct towards England,—for a

[1] "Brunt Island" in orig. [2] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 107).
[3] "*Last day of July*" (Bates, ii. 120)

stroke at the heart of the Commonwealth itself. Their game now is, All or nothing. A desperate kind of play. Royalists, Presbyterian-Royalists and the large miscellany of Discontented Interests may perhaps join them there; — perhaps also not! They march by Biggar; enter England by Carlisle,[1] on Wednesday, 6th of August, 1651. "At Girthead, in the Parish of Wamphray, in Annandale," human Tradition, very faintly indeed, indicates some Roman Stones or Mile-stones, by the wayside, as the place where his sacred Majesty passed the Tuesday night; — which are not quite so venerable now as formerly.[2]

"*To the Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*

"LEITH, 4th August, 1651.

"SIR, — In pursuance of the Providence of God, and that blessing lately given to your forces in Fife; and finding that the Enemy, being masters of the Pass at Stirling, could not be gotten out there except by hindering his provisions at St. Johnston, — we, by general advice, thought fit to attempt St. Johnston; knowing that that would necessitate him to quit his Pass. Wherefore, leaving with Major-General Harrison about three thousand horse and dragoons, besides those which are with Colonel Rich, Colonel Saunders, and Colonel Barton, upon the Borders, we marched to St. Johnston;[3] and lying one day before it, we had it surrendered to us.

"During which time we had some intelligence of the Enemy's marching southward; though with some contradictions, as if it had not been so. But doubting it might be true, we (leaving a Garrison in St. Johnston, and sending Lieutenant-General Monk with about five or six thousand to Stirling to reduce that place, and by it to put your affairs into a good posture in Scotland) marched, with all possible expedition, back again; and have passed our foot and many of our horse

[1] Whitlocke, p. 474.

[2] Nicholas Carlisle's *Topographical Dict. of Scotland*, § Wamphray.

[3] 2d August, 1651 (Balfour, iv. 313); "St. Johnston," as we know, is *Perth*.

over the Frith this day; resolving to make what speed we can up to the Enemy, — who, in his desperation and fear, and out of inevitable necessity, is run to try what he can do this way.

"I do apprehend, that if he goes for England, being some few days' march before us, it will trouble some men's thoughts; and may occasion some inconveniences; — which I hope we are as deeply sensible of, and have been, and I trust shall be, as diligent to prevent, as any. And indeed this is our comfort, That in simplicity of heart as towards God, we have done to the best of our judgments; knowing that if some issue were not put to this Business, it would occasion another Winter's war: to the ruin of your soldiery, for whom the Scots are too hard in respect of enduring the Winter difficulties of this country; and to the endless expense of the treasure of England in prosecuting this War. It may be supposed we might have kept the Enemy from this, by interposing between him and England. Which truly I believe we might: but how to remove him out of this place, without doing what we have done, unless we had had a commanding Army on both sides of the River of Forth, is not clear to us; or how to answer the inconveniences aforementioned, we understand not.

"We pray, therefore, that (seeing there is a possibility for the Enemy to put you to some trouble) you would, with the same courage, grounded upon a confidence in God, wherein you have been supported to the great things God hath used you in hitherto, — improve, the best you can, such forces as you have in readiness, or [as] may on the sudden be gathered together, To give the Enemy some check, until we shall be able to reach up to him; which we trust in the Lord we shall do our utmost endeavor in. And indeed we have this comfortable experience from the Lord, That this Enemy is heart-smitten by God; and whenever the Lord shall bring us up to them, we believe the Lord will make the desperateness of this counsel of theirs to appear, and the folly of it also. When England was much more unsteady than now; and when a *much more* considerable Army of theirs, unfoiled, invaded

you; and we had but a weak force to make resistance at Preston, — upon deliberate advice, we chose rather to put ourselves between their Army and Scotland: and how God succeeded that, is not well to be forgotten! This [present movement] is not out of choice on our part, but by some kind of necessity; and, it is to be hoped, will have the like issue. Together with a hopeful end of your work; — in which it 's good to wait upon the Lord, upon the earnest of former experiences, and hope of His presence, which only is the life of your Cause.

"Major-General Harrison, with the horse and dragoons under him, and Colonel Rich and the rest in those parts, shall attend the motions of the Enemy; and endeavor the keeping of them together, as also to impede his march. And will be ready to be in conjunction with what forces shall gather together for this service: — to whom orders have been speeded to that purpose; as this enclosed to Major-General Harrison will show. Major-General Lambert, this day, marched with a very considerable body of horse, up towards the Enemy's rear. With the rest of the horse, and nine regiments of foot, most of them of your old foot and horse, I am hasting up; and shall, by the Lord's help, use utmost diligence. I hope I have left a commanding force under Lieutenant-General Monk in Scotland.

"This account I thought my duty to speed to you; and rest,

"Your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

The Scots found no Presbyterian-Royalists, no Royalists Proper to speak of, nor any Discontented Interest in England disposed to join them in present circumstances. They marched, under rigorous discipline, weary and uncheered, south through Lancashire; had to dispute their old friend the Bridge of Warrington with Lambert and Harrison, who attended them with horse-troops on the left; Cromwell with the main Army steadily advancing behind. They carried the Bridge at War-

[1] *Newspapers (in Cromwelliana*, pp. 107, 108).

rington; they summoned various Towns, but none yielded; proclaimed their King with all force of lungs and heraldry, but none cried, God bless him. Summoning Shrewsbury, with the usual negative response, they quitted the London road; bent southward towards Worcester, a City of slight Garrison and loyal Mayor; there to entrench themselves, and repose a little.

Poor Earl Derby, a distinguished Royalist Proper, had hastened over from the Isle of Man, to kiss his Majesty's hand in passing. He then raised some force in Lancashire, and was in hopes to kindle that country again, and go to Worcester in triumph: — but Lilburn, Colonel Robert, whom we have known here before, fell upon him at Wigan; cut his force in pieces:[1] the poor Earl had to go to Worcester in a wounded and wrecked condition. To Worcester, — and, alas, to the scaffold by and by, for that business. The Scots at Worcester have a loyal Mayor, some very few adventurous loyal Gentry in the neighborhood; and excitable Wales, perhaps again excitable, lying in the rear: but for the present, except in their own poor fourteen thousand right-hands, no outlook. And Cromwell is advancing steadily; by York,[2] by Nottingham, by Coventry and Stratford; "raising all the County Militias," who muster with singular alacrity; — flowing towards Worcester like the Ocean-tide; begirdling it with "upwards of thirty thousand men." His Majesty's royal summons to the Corporation of London is burnt there by the hands of the common hangman; Speaker Lenthall and the Mayor have a copy of it burnt by that functionary at the head of every regiment, at a review of the Trainbands in Moorfields.[3] London, England generally, seems to have made up its mind.

At London on the 22d of August, a rigorous thing was done: Reverend Christopher Love, eloquent zealous Minister of St. Lawrence in the Jewry, was, after repeated respites and negotiations, beheaded on Tower Hill. To the unspeakable emotion

[1] Lilburn's two Letters, in Cary, ii. 338–345.

[2] See Appendix, No. 21.

[3] Bates, ii. 122; Whitlocke, p. 492; see also *Commons Journals*, vii. 6 (23d *August, 1651*).

of men. Nay the very Heavens seemed to testify a feeling of it, — by a thunder-clap, by two thunder-claps. When the Parliament passed their vote on the 4th of July, That he should die according to the sentence of the Court, there was then a terrible thunder-clap, and darkening of daylight. And now when he actually dies, "directly after his beheading," arises thunder-storm that threatens the dissolution of Nature! Nature, as we see, survived it.

The old Newspaper says, It was on the 22d August, 1642, that Charles late King erected his Standard at Nottingham: and now on this same day, 22d August, 1651, Charles Pretender erects his at Worcester; and the Reverend Christopher dies. Men may make their reflections. — There goes a story, due to Carrion Heath or some such party, That Cromwell being earnestly solicited for mercy to this poor Christopher, did, while yet in Scotland, send a Letter to the Parliament, recommending it; which Letter, however, was seized by some roving outriders of the Scottish Worcester Army; who reading it, and remembering Uxbridge Sermon, tore it, saying, "No, let the villain die!" — after the manner of Heath. Which could be proved, if time and paper were of no value, to be, like a hundred other very wooden *myths* of the same Period, without truth. *Guarda e passa.* Glance at it here for the last time, and never repeat it more! —

Charles's Standard, it would seem then, was erected at Worcester on Friday, the 22d, the day of poor Christopher's death. On which same Friday, about sunrise, "our Messenger [the Parliament's] left the Lord General at Mr. Pierpoint's House," — William Pierpoint, of the Kingston Family, much his friend, — the House called Thoresby, "near Mansfield;" just starting for Nottingham, to arrive there that night. From Nottingham, by Coventry, by Stratford and Evesham, to "the southeast side of Worcester," rallying Country forces as we go, will take till Thursday next. Here at Stratford on the Wednesday, eve of that, is a Letter accidentally preserved.

LETTER CLXXXI.

DUBITATING Wharton, he also might help to rally forces; his name, from "Upper Winchington in Bucks," or wherever he may be, might do something. Give him, at any rate, a last chance. — "Tom Westrow," here accidentally named; once a well-known man, familiar to the Lord General and to men of worth and quality; now, as near as may be, swallowed forever in the Night-Empires; — is still visible, strangely enough, through one small chink, and recoverable into daylight as far as needful. A Kentish man, a Parliament Soldier once, named in military Kent Committees; sat in Parliament too, [recruiter] for Hythe, though at present in abeyance owing to scruples. Above all, he was the Friend of poor George Wither, stepson of the Muses; to whom in his undeserved distresses he lent beneficent princely sums; and who, in poor splay-footed doggerel, — very poor, but very grateful, pious, true, and on the whole noble, — preserves some adequate memory of him for the curious.[1] By this chink Tom Westrow and the ancient figure of his Life, is still recoverable if needed.

Westrow, we find by good evidence, did return to his place in Parliament;[2] — quitted it too, as Wither informs us, foreseeing the great Catastrophe; and retired to country quiet, up the River at Teddington. Westrow and the others returned: Wharton continued to dubitate; — and we shall here take leave of him. "Poor foolish Mall," young Mary Cromwell, one of "my two little Wenches," has been on a visit at Winchington, I think; — "thanks to you and the dear Lady" for her.

[1] *Westrow Revived: a Funeral Poem without Fiction, composed by George Wither, Esq.; that God may be glorified in His Saints, and that* — &c. &c. (King's Pamphlets, 12mo, no. 390: London, 1653–4, dated with the pen, "3d January"): unadulterated doggerel; but really *says* something, and even something *just*; — by no means your insupportablest "poetic" reading, as times go!

[2] "Admitted to sit;" means, readmitted after Pride's Purge: *Commons Journals* (vii. 27, 29), 10th October, 1651.

"For my Honored Lord Wharton: These.

"STRATFORD-ON-AVON, 27th August, 1651.

"MY LORD, — I know I write to my Friend, — therefore give me leave to say one bold word.

"In my very heart: Your Lordship, Dick Norton, Tom Westrow, Robert Hammond have, though not intentionally, helped one another to stumble at the dispensations of God, and to reason yourselves out of His service! —

"Now [again] you have opportunity to associate with His people in His work; and to manifest your willingness and desire to serve the Lord against His and His people's enemies. Would you be blessed out of Zion, and see the good of His people, and rejoice with His inheritance, — I advise you all in the bowels of love, Let it appear you offer yourselves willingly to His work! Wherein to be accepted, is more honor from the Lord than the world can give or hath. I am persuaded it needs you not, — save as your Lord and Master needed the Ass's Colt, to show His humility, meekness and condescension: but you need it, to declare your submission to, and owning yourself the Lord's and His people's![1] —

"If you can break through old disputes, — I shall rejoice if you help others to do so also. Do not say, You are now satisfied because it is the *old* Quarrel; — as if it had not been so all this while!

"I have no leisure; but a great deal of entire affection to you and yours, and those named [here], — which I thus plainly express. Thanks to you and the dear Lady, for all loves, — and for poor foolish Mall. I am in good earnest [thankful]; and so also your Lordship's

"Faithful friend and most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[2]

[1] Grammar, in this last clause, lost in the haste: "Ass's Colt" is "Beast" in orig.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1814), lxxxiv. p. 419. — In Appendix, No. 26, there is *now (1857)* another Letter to his Lordship.

Charles's standard has been floating over Worcester some six days; and now on Thursday, 28th of August, comes in sight Cromwell's also; from the Evesham side; with upwards of thirty thousand men now near him; and some say, upwards of eighty thousand rising in the distance to join him if need were.

LETTERS CLXXXII.–CLXXXIII.

BATTLE OF WORCESTER.

THE Battle of Worcester was fought on the evening of Wednesday, 3d September, 1651; anniversary of that at Dunbar last year. It could well have but one issue; defeat for the Scots and their Cause; — either swift and complete; or else incomplete, ending in slow sieges, partial revolts, and much new misery and blood. The swift issue was the one appointed; and complete enough; severing the neck of the Controversy now at last, as with one effectual stroke, no need to strike a second time.

The Battle was fought on both sides of the Severn; part of Cromwell's forces having crossed to the Western bank, by Upton Bridge, some miles below Worcester, the night before. About a week ago, Massey understood himself to have ruined this Bridge at Upton: but Lambert's men "straddled across by the parapet," — a dangerous kind of *saddle* for such riding, I think! — and hastily repaired it; hastily got hold of Upton Church, and maintained themselves there; driving Massey back with a bad wound in the hand. This was on Thursday night last, the very night of the Lord General's arrival in those parts; and they have held this post ever since. Fleetwood crosses here with a good part of Cromwell's Army, on the evening of Tuesday, September 2d; shall, on the morrow, attack the Scotch posts on the Southwest, about the Suburb of St. John's, across the River; while Cromwell, in person, on this side, plies them from the Southeast. St. John's Suburb [illegible] some distance from Worcester; west, or southwest as

we say, on the Herefordshire Road; and connects itself with the City by Severn Bridge. Southeast of the City again, near the then and present London Road, is "Fort Royal" an entrenchment of the Scots: on this side Cromwell is to attempt the Enemy, and second Fleetwood, as occasion may serve. Worcester City itself is on Cromwell's side of the River; stands high, surmounted by its high Cathedral; close on the left or eastern margin of the Severn; surrounded by fruitful fields, and hedges unfit for cavalry-fighting. This is the posture of affairs on the eve of Wednesday, 3d September, 1651.

But now, for Wednesday itself, we are to remark that between Fleetwood at Upton, and the Enemy's outposts at St. John's on the west side of Severn, there runs still a River Teme; a western tributary of the Severn, into which it falls about a mile below the City. This River Teme Fleetwood hopes to cross, if not by the Bridge at Powick which the Enemy possesses, then by a Bridge of Boats which he is himself to prepare lower down, close by the mouth of Teme. At this point also, or "within pistol-shot of it," there is to be a Bridge of Boats laid across the Severn itself, that so both ends of the Army may communicate. Boats, boatmen, carpenters, aquatic and terrestrial artificers and implements, in great abundance, contributed by the neighboring Towns, lie ready on the River, about Upton, for this service. Does the reader now understand the ground a little?

Fleetwood, at Upton, was astir with the dawn, September 3d. But it was towards "three in the afternoon" before the boatmen were got up; must have been towards five before those Bridges were got built, and Fleetwood set fairly across the Teme to begin business. The King of Scots and his Council of War, "on the top of the Cathedral," have been anxiously viewing him all afternoon; have seen him build his Bridges of Boats; see him now in great force got across Teme River, attacking the Scotch on the South, fighting them from hedge to hedge towards the Suburb of St. John's. In great force: for new regiments, horse and foot, now stream across the Severn Bridge of Boats to assist Fleetwood: nay, if the Scots knew it, my Lord General himself is come across, "did lead

the van in person, and was the first that set foot on the Enemy's ground." — The Scots, obstinately struggling, are gradually beaten there; driven from hedge to hedge. But the King of Scots and his War-Council decide that most part of Cromwell's Army must now be over in that quarter, on the West side of the River, engaged among the hedges; — decide that they, for their part, will storm out, and offer him battle on their own East side, now while he is weak there. The Council of War comes down from the top of the Cathedral; their trumpets sound: Cromwell also is soon back, across the Severn Bridge of Boats again; and the deadliest tug of war begins.

Fort Royal is still known at Worcester, and Sudbury Gate at the southeast end of the City is known, and those other localities here specified; after much study of which and of the old dead Pamphlets, this Battle will at last become conceivable. Besides Cromwell's Two Letters, there are plentiful details, questionable and unquestionable, in *Bates* and elsewhere, as indicated below.[1] The fighting of the Scots was fierce and desperate. "My Lord General did exceedingly hazard himself, riding up and down in the midst of the fire; riding, himself in person, to the Enemy's foot to offer them quarter, whereto they returned no answer but shot." The small Scotch Army, begirdled with overpowering force, and cut off from help or reasonable hope, storms forth in fiery pulses, horse and foot; charges now on this side of the River, now on that; — can on no side prevail. Cromwell recoils a little; but only to rally, and return irresistible. The small Scotch Army is, on every side, driven in again. Its fiery pulsings are but the struggles of death: agonies as of a lion coiled in the folds of a boa!

"As stiff a contest, for four or five hours, as ever I have seen." But it avails not. Through Sudbury Gate, on Cromwell's side, through St. John's Suburb, and over Severn Bridge on Fleetwood's, the Scots are driven in again to Worcester Streets; desperately struggling and recoiling, are driven

[1] Bates, Part ii. 124–127. King's Pamphlets; small 4to, no. 507, § 12 (given mostly in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 114, 115); large 4to, no. 54, §§ 15, 18 Letter from Stapylton the Chaplain, in *Cromwelliana*, p. 112.

through Worcester Streets, to the North end of the City, — and terminate there. A distracted mass of ruin: the foot all killed or taken; the horse all scattered on flight, and their place of refuge very far! His Sacred Majesty escaped, by royal oaks and other miraculous appliances well known to mankind: but fourteen thousand other men, sacred too after a sort though not majesties, did not escape. One could weep at such a death for brave men in such a Cause! But let us now read Cromwell's Letters.

LETTER CLXXXII.

"*For the Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*

"NEAR WORCESTER, 3d Sept. 1651 (10 at night).

"SIR, — Being so weary, and scarce able to write, yet I thought it my duty to let you know thus much. That upon this day, being the 3d of September (remarkable for a mercy vouchsafed to your Forces on this day twelvemonth in Scotland), we built a Bridge of Boats over Severn, between it and Teme, about half a mile from Worcester; and another over Teme, within pistol-shot of our other Bridge. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and Major-General Dean marched from Upton on the southwest side of Severn up to Powick, a Town which was a Pass the Enemy kept. We [from our side of Severn] passed over some horse and foot, and were in conjunction with the Lieutenant-General's Forces. We beat the Enemy from hedge to hedge till we beat him into Worcester.

"The Enemy then drew all his Forces on the other side the Town, all but what he had lost; and made a very considerable fight with us, for three hours' space: but in the end we beat him totally, and pursued him to his Royal Fort, which we took, — and indeed have beaten his whole Army. When we took this Fort, we turned his own guns upon him. The Enemy hath had great loss: and certainly is scattered, and run several ways. We are in pursuit of him, and have laid forces in several places, that we hope will gather him up.

"Indeed this hath been a very glorious mercy; — and as stiff a contest, for four or five hours, as ever I have seen. Both your old Forces and those new raised have behaved themselves with very great courage; and He that made them come out, made them willing to fight for you. The Lord God Almighty frame our hearts to real thankfulness for this, which is alone His doing. I hope I shall within a day or two give you a more perfect account.

"In the mean time I hope you will pardon, Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

On Saturday the 6th comes a farther Letter from my Lord General; "the effect whereof speaketh thus:" —

LETTER CLXXXIII.

"For the Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

"WORCESTER, 4th September, 1651.

"SIR, — I am not able yet to give you an exact account of the great things the Lord hath wrought for this Commonwealth and for His People: and yet I am unwilling to be silent; but, according to my duty, shall represent it to you as it comes to hand.

"This Battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on your part; and in the end became an absolute victory, — and so full an one as proved a total defeat and ruin of the Enemy's Army; and a possession of the Town, our men entering at the Enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage. We took all their baggage and artillery. What the slain are, I can give you no account, because we have not taken an exact view; but they are very many: — and must needs be so; because the

[1] *Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 113)*; Tanner MSS. (Cary, iii. 355).

dispute was long and very near at hand; and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about six or seven thousand prisoners taken here; and many Officers and Noblemen of very great quality: Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Rothes, and divers other Noblemen, — I hear, the Earl of Lauderdale; many Officers of great quality; and some that will be fit subjects for your justice.

"We have sent very considerable parties after the flying Enemy; I hear they have taken considerable numbers of prisoners, and are very close in the pursuit. Indeed, I hear the Country riseth upon them everywhere; and I believe the forces that lay, through Providence, at Bewdley, and in Shropshire and Staffordshire, and those with Colonel Lilburn, were in a condition, as if this had been foreseen, to intercept what should return.

"A more particular account than this will be prepared for you as we are able. I hear they had not many more than a thousand horse in their body that fled: and I believe you have near four thousand forces following, and interposing between them and home; — what fish they will catch, Time will declare.[1] Their Army was about sixteen thousand strong; and fought ours on the Worcester side of Severn almost with their whole, whilst we had engaged about half our Army on the other side but with parties of theirs. Indeed it was a stiff business; yet I do not think we have lost two hundred men. Your new-raised forces did perform singular good service; for which they deserve a very high estimation and acknowledgment; as also for their willingness thereunto, — forasmuch as the same hath added so much to the reputation of your affairs. They are all despatched home again; which I hope will be much for the ease and satisfaction of the Country; which is a great fruit of these successes.

"The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy. Surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness; and the Parliament to do the

[1] Phrase omitted in the Newspaper. In orig., an official hand has written on the margin "*omitt this.*"

will of Him who hath done His will for it, and for the Nation; — whose good pleasure it is to establish the Nation and the Change of the Government, by making the People so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally blessing the endeavors of your servants in this late great work. I am bold humbly to beg, That all thoughts may tend to the promoting of His honor who hath wrought so great salvation; and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen Nation;[1] but that the fear of the Lord, even for His mercies, may keep an Authority and a People so prospered, and blessed, and witnessed unto, humble and faithful; and that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth may flow from you, as a thankful return to our gracious God. This shall be the prayer of, — Sir,

"Your most humble and obedient servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Your Officers behaved themselves with much honor in this service; and the Person[2] who is the Bearer hereof was equal, in the performance of his duty, to most that served you that day."[3]

"On Lord's-day next, by order of Parliament," these Letters are read from all London Pulpits, amid the general thanksgiving of men. At Worcester, the while, thousands of Prisoners are getting ranked, "penned up in the Cathedral," with sad outlooks: carcasses of horses, corpses of men, frightful to sense and mind, encumber the streets of Worcester; "we are plucking Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen from their lurking-

[1] "But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked: — (and thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness:) then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation" (*Deuteronomy*, xxxii. 15).

[2] Major Cobbet, "who makes a relation," and gets £100 (*Commons Journals*, vii. 12, 13).

[3] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 113, 114); Tanner MSS. (in Cary, *ii. 359–362*).

holes," into the unwelcome light.[1] Lords very numerous; a Peerage sore slashed. The Duke of Hamilton has got his thigh broken; dies on the fourth day. The Earl of Derby, also wounded, is caught, and tried for Treason against the State; lays down his head at Bolton, where he had once carried it too high. Lauderdale and others are put in the Tower; have to lie there, in heavy dormancy, for long years. The Earls of Cleveland and Lauderdale came to Town together, about a fortnight hence. "As they passed along Cornhill in their coaches with a guard of horse, the Earl of Lauderdale's coach made a stand near the Conduit: where a Carman gave his Lordship a visit, saying, 'Oh, my Lord, you are welcome to London! I protest, off goes your head, as round as a hoop!' But his Lordship passed off the fatal compliment only with a laughter, and so fared along to the Tower."[2] His Lordship's big red head has yet other work to do in this world. Having, at the Ever-blessed Restoration, managed, not without difficulty, "to get a new suit of clothes,"[3] he knelt before his now triumphant Sacred Majesty on that glorious Thirtieth of May; learned from his Majesty, that "Presbytery was no religion for a gentleman;" gave it up, not without pangs; and resolutely set himself to introduce the exploded Tulchan Apparatus into Scotland again, by thumbikins, by bootikins, by any and every method, since it was the will of his Sacred Majesty;—failed in the Tulchan Apparatus, as is well known; earned for himself new plentiful clothes-suits, Dukedoms and promotions, from the Sacred Majesty; and from the Scotch People deep-toned universal sound of curses, not yet become inaudible; and shall, in this place, and we hope elsewhere, concern us no more.

On Friday, the 12th of September, the Lord General arrived in Town. Four dignified Members, of whom Bulstrode was one, specially missioned by vote of Parliament,[4] had met him

[1] Original Commission, signed "O. Cromwell," and dated 8th September, 1651, appointing "Collonel John James" Governor of Worcester, is now among the MSS. of Trin. Coll. Cambridge (copy *penes me*).

[2] King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 507, § 18.

[3] Roger Coke's *Detection of the Court and State of England.*

[4] *Commons Journals, vii. 13 (9th Sept. 1651).*

the day before with congratulations, on the other side Aylesbury; "whom he received with all kindness and respect; and after ceremonies and salutations passed, he rode with them across the fields; — where Mr. Winwood the Member for Windsor's hawks met them; and the Lord General, with the other Gentlemen, went a little out of the way a-hawking. They came that night to Aylesbury; where they had much discourse; especially my Lord Chief Justice St. John," the dark Ship-money Lawyer, now Chief Justice, "as they supped together." To me Bulstrode, and to each of the others, he gave a horse and two Scotch prisoners: the horse I kept for carrying me; the two Scots, unlucky gentlemen of that country, I handsomely sent home again without any ransom whatever.[1] And so on Friday we arrive in Town, in very great solemnity and triumph: Speaker and Parliament, Lord President and Council of State, Sheriffs, Mayors, and an innumerable multitude, of quality and not of quality, eagerly attending us; once more splitting the welkin with their human shoutings, and volleys of great shot and small: in the midst of which my Lord General "carried himself with much affability; and now and afterwards, in all his discourses about Worcester, would seldom mention anything of himself; mentioned others only; and gave, as was due, the glory of the Action unto God."[2] — Hugh Peters, however, being of loose-spoken, somewhat sibylline turn of mind, discerns a certain inward exultation and irrepressible irradiation in my Lord General, and whispers to himself, "This man will be King of England yet." Which, unless Kings are entirely superfluous in England, I should think very possible, O Peters! To wooden Ludlow Mr. Peters confessed so much, long afterwards; and the wooden head drew its inferences therefrom.[3]

This, then, is the last of my Lord General's Battles and Victories technically so called. Of course his Life, to the very end of it, continues, as from the beginning it had always been, a *battle*, and a dangerous and strenuous one, with due modicum of victory assigned now and then; but it will be

[1] Whitlocke, p. 484; see also 2d edit. p. 509.
[2] Ibid. p. 485. [3] Ludlow.

with other than the steel weapons henceforth. He here sheathes his war-sword; with that, it is not his Order from the Great Captain that he fight any more.

The distracted Scheme of the Scotch Governors to accomplish their Covenant by this Charles-Stuart method has here ended. By and by they shall have their Charles Stuart back, as a general Nell-Gwynn Defender of the Faith to us all; — and shall see how they will like him! But as Covenanted King he is off upon his travels, and will never return more. Worcester Battle has cut the heart of that affair in two: and Monk, an assiduous Lieutenant to the Lord General in his Scotch affairs, is busy suppressing the details.

On Monday, the 1st of September, two days before the Battle of Worcester, Lieutenant-General Monk had stormed Dundee, the last stronghold of Scotland; where much wealth, as in a place of safety, had been laid up. Governor Lumsden would not yield on summons: Lieutenant-General Monk stormed him; the Town took fire in the business; there was once more a grim scene, of flame and blood, and rage and despair, transacted in this Earth: and taciturn General Monk, his choler all up, was become surly as the Russian bear; nothing but negatory growls to be got out of him: nay, to one clerical dignitary of the place he not only gave his "No!" but audibly threatened a slap with the fist to back it, — "ordered him, Not to speak one word, or he would scobe his mouth for him!"[1]

Ten days before, some Shadow of a new Committee of Estates attempting to sit at Alyth on the border of Angus, with intent to concert some measures for the relief of this same Dundee, had been, by a swift Colonel of Monk's, laid hold of; and the members were now all shipped to the Tower. It was a snuffing out of the Government-light in Scotland. Except some triumph come from Worcester to rekindle it: — and, alas, no triumph came from Worcester, as we see; nothing but ruin and defeat from Worcester! The Government-light of Scotland remains snuffed out. — Active Colonel

[1] Balfour, iv. 316.

Alured, a swift devout man, somewhat given to Anabaptist notions, of whom we shall hear again, was he that did this feat at Alyth; a kind of feather in his cap. Among the Captured in that poor Committee or Shadow of Committee was poor old General Leven, time-honored Lesley, who went to the Tower with the others; his last appearance in Public History. He got out again, on intercession from Queen Christina of Sweden; retired to his native fields of Fife; and slept soon and still sleeps in Balgony Kirk under his stone of honor, — the excellent "crooked little Feldtmarshal" that he was. Excellent, though unfortunate. He bearded the grim Wallenstein at Stralsund once, and rolled him back from the bulwarks there, after long tough wrestle; — and, in fact, did a thing or two in his time. Farewell to him.[1]

But with the light of Government snuffed out in Scotland, and no rekindling of it from the Worcester side, resistance in Scotland has ended. Lambert, next summer, marched through the Highlands, pacificating them.[2] There rose afterwards rebellion in the Highlands, rebellion of Glencairn, of Middleton, with much moss-troopery and horse-stealing; but Monk, who had now again the command there, by energy and vigilance, by patience, punctuality, and slow methodic strength, put it down, and kept it down. A taciturn man; speaks little; thinks more or less; — does whatever is doable here and elsewhere.

Scotland therefore, like Ireland, has fallen to Cromwell to be administered. He had to do it under great difficulties; the Governing Classes, especially the Clergy or Teaching Class, continuing for most part obstinately indisposed to him, so baleful to their formulas had he been. With Monk for an assiduous Lieutenant in secular matters, he kept the country in peace; — it appears on all sides, he did otherwise what was possible for him. He sent new Judges to Scotland; "a pack

[1] Scotch Peerages; Forster's *Wallenstein als Feldherr* (Potsdam, 1834), p. 124. Granger (*Biographic History of England*) has some nonsense about Leven, — in his usual neat style.

[2] Whitlocke, p. 514.

of kinless loons," who minded no claim but that of fair play. He favored, as was natural, the *Remonstrant* Ker-and-Strahan Party in the Church; — favored, above all things, the Christian-Gospel Party, who had some good message in them for the soul of man. Within wide limits he tolerated the *Resolutioner* Party; and beyond these limits would not tolerate them; — would not suffer their General Assembly to sit; marched the Assembly out bodily to Burntisfield Links, and sent it home again, when it tried such a thing.[1] He united Scotland to England by act of Parliament; tried in all ways to unite it by still deeper methods. He kept peace and order in the country; was a little heavy with taxes: — on the whole, did what he could; and proved, as there is good evidence, a highly beneficial though unwelcome phenomenon there.

Alas, may we not say, In circuitous ways he proved the Doer of what this poor Scotch Nation really wished and willed, could it have known so much at sight of him! The true Governor of this poor Scotch Nation; accomplishing their Covenant *without* the Charles Stuart, since *with* the Charles Stuart it was a flat impossibility. But they knew him not; and with their stiff-necked ways obstructed him as they could. How seldom can a Nation, can even an individual man, understand what at heart his own real will is: such masses of superficial bewilderment, of respectable hearsay, of fantasy and pedantry, and old and new cobwebbery, overlie our poor will; much hiding *it* from us, for most part! So that if we can once get eye on *it*, and walk resolutely towards fulfilment of it, the battle is as good as gained! —

For example, who, of all Scotch or other men, is he that verily understands the "real ends of the Covenant," and discriminates them well from the superficial forms thereof; and with pious valor does them, — and continually struggles to see them done? I should say, this Cromwell, whom we call Sectary and Blasphemer! The Scotch Clergy, persisting in their own most hide-bound formula of a Covenanted Charles Stuart, bear clear testimony, that at no time did Christ's Gospel

[1] Whitlocke, 25th July, 1653; *Life of Robert Blair* (Edinburgh, 1754), pp. 118, 119; Blencowe's *Sidney Papers*, pp. 153–155.

so flourish in Scotland as now under Cromwell the Usurper. "These bitter waters," say they, "were sweetened by the Lord's remarkably blessing the labors of His faithful servants. A great door and an effectual was opened to many."[1] Not otherwise in matters civil. "Scotland," thus testifies a competent eye-witness, "was kept in great order. Some Castles in the Highlands had Garrisons put into them, which were so careful of their discipline, and so exact to their rules," the wild Highlanders were wonderfully tamed thereby. Cromwell built three Citadels, Leith, Ayr and Inverness, besides many little Forts, over Scotland. Seven or eight thousand men, well paid, and paying well; of the strictest habits, military, spiritual and moral: these it was everywhere a kind of Practical Sermon to take note of! "There was good justice done; and vice was suppressed and punished. So that we always reckon those eight years of Usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity,"[2] — though we needed to be twice beaten, and to have our foolish Governors flung into the Tower, before we would accept the same. We, and mankind generally, are an extremely wise set of creatures.

[1] *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 120; Livingston's *Life of Himself* (Glasgow, 1754), pp. 54, 55; &c. &c.

[2] Bishop Burnet's *History of his own Time*, book i.

PART VII.

THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT.

1651–1653.

LETTERS CLXXXIV.–CLXXXVIII.

THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT.

BETWEEN Worcester Battle on the 3d of September, 1651, and the Dismissal of the Long Parliament on the 20th of April, 1653, are nineteen very important months in the History of Oliver, which, in all our Books and Historical rubbish-records, lie as nearly as possible dark and vacant for us. Poor Dryasdust has emitted, and still emits, volumes of confused noise on the subject; but in the way of information or illumination, of light in regard to any fact, physiognomic feature, event or fraction of an event, as good as nothing whatever. Indeed, onwards from this point where Oliver's own Letters begin to fail us, the whole History of Oliver, and of England under him, becomes very dim; — swimming most indistinct in the huge Tomes of *Thurloe* and the like, as in shoreless lakes of ditchwater and bilgewater; a stagnancy, a torpor, and confused horror to the human soul! No historical genius, not even a Rushworth's, now presides over the matter: nothing but bilgewater *Correspondences;* vague jottings of a dull fat Bulstrode; vague printed babblements of this and the other Carrion Heath, or Flunky Pamphleteer of the Blessed-Restoration Period, writing from ignorant rumor, and for ignorant rumor, from the winds and to the winds. After long reading in very many Books, of very unspeakable quality, earning *for yourself only* incredibility, inconceivability, and

darkness visible, you begin to perceive that in the Speeches of Oliver himself once well read, such as they are, some shadowy outlines, authentic prefigurements of what the real History of the Time may have been, do first, in the huge inane night, begin to loom forth for you, — credible, conceivable in some measure, there for the first time. My reader's patience is henceforth to be still more severely tried: there is unluckily no help for it, as matters stand.

Great lakes of watery *Correspondence* relating to the History of this Period, as we intimate, survive in print; and new are occasionally issued upon mankind;[1] but the essence of them has never yet in the smallest been elaborated by any man; — will require a succession and assiduous series of many men to elaborate it. To pluck up the great History of Oliver from it, like drowned Honor by the locks; and show it to much-wondering and, in the end, right thankful England! The richest and noblest thing England hitherto has. The basis England will have to start from again, if England is ever to struggle Godward again, instead of struggling Devilward, and Mammonward merely. Serene element of Cant has been tried now for two Centuries; and fails. Serene element, general completed life-atmosphere, of Cant religious, Cant moral, Cant political, Cant universal, where England vainly hoped to live in a serene soft-spoken manner, — England now finds herself on the point of choking there; large masses of her People no longer able to get even potatoes in that serene element. England will have to come out of that; England, too terribly awakened at last, is everywhere preparing to come out of that. England, her Amazon-eyes once more flashing strange Heaven's-light, like Phœbus Apollo's fatal to the Pythian mud-serpents, will lift her hand, I think, and her heart, and swear "By the Eternal, I will not die in that! I had once men who knew better than that!" —

But with regard to the History of Oliver, as we were saying, for those Nineteen months there is almost no light

[1] Thurloe's *State-papers*, Milton's, Clarendon's, Ormond's, Sidney's, &c. &c. are old and very watery; new and still waterier are Vaughan's *Protectorate, and others not* even worth naming here.

to be communicated at present. Of Oliver's own uttering, I have found only Five Letters, short, insignificant, connected with no phasis of Public Transactions: there are Two Dialogues recorded by Whitlocke, of dubious authenticity; certain small splinters of Occurrences not pointing very decisively any-whither, sprinkling like dust of stars the dark vacancy: these, and Dryasdust's vociferous commentaries new and old; —and of discovered or discoverable, nothing more. Oliver's own *Speech*, which the reader is by and by to hear, casts backwards some straggling gleams; well accordant, as is usual, with whatever else we know; and worthy to be well believed and meditated by Historical readers, among others. Out of these poor elements the candid imagination must endeavor to shape some not inconceivable scheme and genesis of this very indubitable Fact, the Dismissal of the Long Parliament, as best it may. Perhaps if Dryasdust were once well gagged, and his vociferous commentaries all well forgotten, such a feat might not be very impossible for mankind!—

Concerning this Residue, Fag-end, or "Rump" as it had now got nicknamed, of the Long Parliament, into whose hands the Government of England had been put, we have hitherto, ever since the King's Death-Warrant, said almost nothing: and in fact there was not much to be said. "Statesmen of the Commonwealth" so called: there wanted not among them men of real mark; brave men, of much talent, of true resolution, and nobleness of aim: but though their title was chief in this Commonwealth, all men may see their real function in it has been subaltern all along. Not in St. Stephen's and its votings and debatings, but in the battle-field, in Oliver Cromwell's fightings, has the destiny of this Commonwealth decided itself. One unsuccessful Battle, at Preston or at any time since, had probably wrecked it;—one stray bullet hitting the life of a certain man had soon ended this Commonwealth. Parliament, Council of State, they sat like diligent Committees of Ways and Means, in a very wise and provident manner; but the soul of the Commonwealth was at *Dunbar, at Worcester, at* Tredah: Destiny, there questioned,

"Life or Death for this Commonwealth?" has answered, "Life yet for a time!"—That is a fact which the candid imagination will have to keep steadily in view.

And now, if we practically ask ourselves, What is to become of this small junto of men, somewhat above a hundred in all,[1] hardly above half a hundred the active part of them, who now sit in the chair of authority? the shaping out of any answer will give rise to considerations. These men have been raised thither by miraculous interpositions of Providence; they may be said to sit there only by a continuance of the like. They cannot sit there forever. They are not Kings by birth, these men; nor in any of them have I discovered qualities as of a very indisputable King by attainment. Of dull Bulstrode, with his lumbering law-pedantries, and stagnant official self-satisfactions, I do not speak; nor of dusky tough St. John, whose abstruse fanaticisms, crabbed logics, and dark ambitions, issue all, as was very natural, in "decided avarice" at last:—not of these. Harry Marten is a tight little fellow, though of somewhat loose life: his witty words pierce yet, as light-arrows, through the thick oblivious torpor of the generations; testifying to us very clearly, Here was a right hard-headed, stout-hearted little man, full of sharp fire and cheerful light; sworn foe of Cant in all its figures; an indomitable little Roman Pagan if no better:—but Harry is not quite one's King either; it would have been difficult to be altogether loyal to Harry! Doubtful too, I think, whether without great effort you could have worshipped even the Younger Vane. A man of endless virtues, says Dryasdust, who is much taken with him, and of endless intellect;—but you must not very specially ask, How or Where? Vane was the Friend of Milton: that is almost the only answer that can now be given. A man, one rather finds, of light fibre, this Sir Harry Vane. Grant all manner of purity and elevation; subtle high discourse; much intellectual and prac-

[1] One notices division-numbers as high as 121, and occasionally lower than even 40. Godwin (iii. 121), "by careful scrutiny of the Journals," has found that the utmost number of all that had still the right to come "could not be less than 150."

tical dexterity: there is an amiable, devoutly zealous, very pretty man;—but not a royal man; alas, no! On the whole, rather a thin man. Whom it is even important to keep strictly subaltern. Whose tendency towards the Abstract, or Temporary-Theoretic, is irresistible; whose hold of the Concrete, in which lies always the Perennial, is by no means that of a giant, or born Practical King;—whose "astonishing subtlety of intellect" conducts him not to new clearness, but to ever new abstruseness, wheel within wheel, depth under depth; marvellous temporary empire of the air,—wholly vanished now, and without meaning to any mortal. My erudite friend, the astonishing intellect that occupies itself in splitting hairs, and not in twisting some kind of cordage and effectual draught-tackle to take the road with, is not to me the most astonishing of intellects! And if, as is probable, it get into narrow fanaticisms; become irrecognizant of the Perennial because not dressed in the fashionable Temporary; become self-secluded, atrabiliar, and perhaps shrill-voiced and spasmodic,—what can you do but get away from it, with a prayer, "The Lord deliver me from thee!" I cannot do with *thee*. I want twisted cordage, steady pulling, and a peaceable bass tone of voice: not split hairs, hysterical spasmodics, and treble! Thou amiable, subtle, elevated individual, the Lord deliver me from thee!

These men cannot continue Kings forever; nor in fact did they in the least design such a thing; only they find a terrible difficulty in getting abdicated. Difficulty very conceivable to us. Some weeks after Pride's Purge, which may be called the constituting of this remnant of members into a Parliament and Authority, there had been presented to it, by Fairfax and the Army, what we should now call a Bentham-Sieyès Constitution, what was then called an "Agreement of the People,"[1] which might well be imperative on honorable members sitting there; whereby it was stipulated for one thing, That this present Parliament should dissolve itself, and give place to another "equal Representative of the People,"—in some three months

[1] *Commons Journals*, 20th January, 1648–9: some six weeks after the Purge, ten days before the King's Death.

hence; on the 30th of April, namely. The last day of April, 1649: this Parliament was then to have its work finished, and go its ways, giving place to another. Such was our hope.

They did accordingly pass a vote to that effect; fully intending to fulfil the same: but, alas, it was found impossible. How summon a new Parliament, while the Commonwealth is still fighting for its existence? All we can do is to resolve ourselves into Grand Committee, and consider about it. After much consideration, all we can decide is, That we shall go weekly into Grand Committee, and consider farther. Duly every Wednesday we consider, for the space of eleven months and odd; find, more and more, that it is a thing of some considerableness! In brief, when my Lord General returns to us from Worcester, on the 16th of September, 1651, no advance whatever towards a dissolution of ourselves has yet been made. The Wednesday Grand Committees had become a thing like the meeting of Roman augurs, difficult to go through with complete gravity; and so, after the eleventh month, have silently fallen into desuetude. We sit here very immovable. We are scornfully called the Rump of a Parliament by certain people; but we have an invincible Oliver to fight for us: we can afford to wait here, and consider to all lengths; and by one name we shall smell as sweet as by another.

I have only to add at present, that on the morrow of my Lord General's reappearance in Parliament, this sleeping question was resuscitated;[1] new activity infused into it; some show of progress made; nay, at the end of three months, after much labor and struggle, it was got decided, by a neck-and-neck division,[2] That the present *is* a fit time for fixing a limit beyond which this Parliament shall not sit. Fix a limit therefore; give us the *non-plus-ultra* of you. Next Parliament-day we do fix a limit, three years hence, 3d November, 1654; three years of rope still left us: a somewhat wide limit; which, under conceivable contingencies, may perhaps be tightened a little. My honorable friends, you ought really to get on with

[1] *Commons Journals*, 17th September, 1651.

[2] 49 to 47; *Commons Journals*, 14th November, 1651: "Lord General and *Lord Chief Justice*," Cromwell and St. John, are Tellers for the Yea.

despatch of this business; and know of a surety that not being, any of you, Kings by birth, nor very indubitably by attainment, you will actually have to go, and even in case of extremity to be shoved and sent!

LETTER CLXXXIV.

At this point the law of dates requires that we introduce Letter Hundred-and-eighty-fourth; though it is as a mere mathematical point, marking its own whereabouts in Oliver's History; and imparts little or nothing that is new to us.

Reverend John Cotton is a man still held in some remembrance among our New-England friends. He had been Minister of Boston in Lincolnshire; carried the name across the Ocean with him; fixed it upon a new small Home he had found there, — which has become a large one since; the big busy Capital of Massachusetts, *Boston*, so called. *John Cotton his Mark*, very curiously stamped on the face of this Planet; likely to continue for some time! — For the rest, a painful Preacher, oracular of high Gospels to New England; who in his day was well seen to be connected with the Supreme Powers of this Universe, the word of him being as a live-coal to the hearts of many. He died some years afterwards; — was thought, especially on his death-bed, to have manifested gifts even of Prophecy,[1] — a thing not inconceivable to the human mind that well considers Prophecy and John Cotton.

We should say farther, that the Parliament, that Oliver among and before them, had taken solemn anxious thought concerning Propagating of the Gospel in New England; and, among other measures, passed an Act to that end;[2] not unworthy of attention, were our hurry less. In fact, there are traceable various small threads of relation, interesting reciprocities and mutualities, connecting the poor young Infant, New England, with its old Puritan Mother and her affairs, in those years. Which ought to be disentangled, to be made conspicuous and beautiful, by the Infant herself now that she has

[1] Thurloe, *i. 565; — in 1653.* [2] Scobell (27th July, 1649), ii. 66.

grown big; the busy old Mother having had to shove them, with so much else of the like, hastily out of her way for the present! — However, it is not in reference to this of Propagating the Gospel in New England; it is in congratulation on the late high Actings, and glorious Appearances of Providence in Old England, that Cotton has been addressing Oliver: introduced to him, as appears, by some small mediate or direct acquaintanceship, old or new; — founding too on their general relationship as Soldier of the Gospel and Priest of the Gospel, high brother and humble one; appointed, both of them, to fight for it to the death, each with such weapons as were given him. The Letter of Cotton, with due details, is to be seen in Hutchinson's *Collection*.[1] The date is "Boston in New England, 28th of Fifth [*Fifth Month*, or *July*], 1651:" the substance, full of piety and loyalty, like that of hundreds of others, must not concern us here, — except these few interesting words, upon certain of our poor old Dunbar friends: "The Scots whom God delivered into your hands at Dunbar," says Cotton, "and whereof sundry were sent hither, — we have been desirous, as we could to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy, or other diseases, have not wanted physic and chirurgery. They have not been sold for Slaves, to *perpetual* servitude; but for six, or seven, or eight years, as we do our own. And he that bought the most of them, I hear, buildeth Houses for them, for every Four a House; and layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their own, requiring them three days in the week to work for him by turns, and four days for themselves; and promiseth, as soon as they can repay him the money he laid out for them, he will set them at liberty." Which really is a mild arrangement, much preferable to Durham Cathedral and the raw cabbages at Morpeth; and may turn to good for the poor fellows, if they can behave themselves! —

[1] *Papers relative to the History of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1769), p. 236.

"*For my Esteemed Friend, Mr. Cotton, Pastor of the Church at Boston in New England: These.*

"[LONDON,] 2d October, 1651.

"WORTHY SIR, AND MY CHRISTIAN FRIEND, — I received yours a few days since. It was welcome to me because signed by you, whom I love and honor in the Lord: but more [so] to see some of the same grounds of our Actings stirring in you that are in us, to quiet us to our work, and support us therein. Which hath had the greatest difficulty in our engagement in Scotland; by reason we have had to do with some who were, I verily think, Godly, but, through weakness and the subtlety of Satan, [were] involved in Interests against the Lord and His People.

"With what tenderness we have proceeded with such, and that in sincerity, our Papers (which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest; and I give you some comfortable assurance of [the same]. The Lord hath marvellously appeared even against them.[1] And now again when all the power was devolved into the Scottish King and the Malignant Party, — they invading England, the Lord rained upon them such snares as the Enclosed[2] will show. Only the Narrative in short is this, That of their whole Army, when the Narrative was framed, not five men were returned.

"Surely, Sir, the Lord is greatly to be feared and to be praised! We need your prayers in this as much as ever. How shall we behave ourselves after such mercies? What is the Lord a-doing? What Prophecies are now fulfilling?[3] Who is a God like ours? To know His will, to do His will, are both of Him.

"I took this liberty from business, to salute you thus in a word. Truly I am ready to serve you and the rest of our Brethren and the Churches with you. I am a poor weak

[1] From Preston downward.

[2] Doubtless the Official Narrative of Worcester Battle; published about a week ago, as Preamble to the Act appointing a Day of Thanksgiving; 26th September, 1651; reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 59–65.

[3] See *Psalm Hundred-and-tenth.*

creature, and not worthy the name of a worm; yet accepted to serve the Lord and His People. Indeed, my dear Friend, between you and me, you know not me, — my weaknesses, my inordinate passions, my unskilfulness, and every way unfitness to my work. Yet, yet the Lord, who will have mercy on whom He will, does as you see! Pray for me. Salute all Christian friends though unknown. I rest,

"Your affectionate friend to serve you,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

About this time, for there is no date to it but an evidently vague and erroneous one, was held the famous Conference of Grandees, called by request of Cromwell; of which Bulstrode has given record. Conference held "one day" at Speaker Lenthall's house in Chancery Lane, to decide among the leading Grandees of the Parliament and Army, How this Nation *is* to be settled, — the Long Parliament having now resolved on actually dismissing itself by and by. The question is really complex: one would gladly know what the leading Grandees did think of it; even what they found good to say upon it! Unhappily our learned Bulstrode's report of this Conference is very dim, very languid: nay Bulstrode, as we have found elsewhere, has a kind of dramaturgic turn in him, indeed an occasional poetic friskiness; most unexpected, as if the hippopotamus should show a tendency to dance; — which painfully deducts from one's confidence in Bulstrode's entire accuracy on such occasions! Here and there the multitudinous Paper Masses of learned Bulstrode do seem to smack a little of the date when he redacted them, — posterior to the Ever-blessed Restoration, not prior to it. We shall, nevertheless, excerpt this dramaturgic Report of Conference: the reader will be willing to examine with his own eyes, even as in a glass darkly, any feature of that time; and he can remember always that a learned Bulstrode's fat terrene mind imaging a heroic Cromwell and his affairs is a very dark glass indeed!

[1] *Harris, p. 518*; Birch's Original, — copied in Additional Ayscough MSS. *no. 4156, § 70.*

The Speakers in this Conference, — Desborow, Oliver's Brother-in-law; Whalley, Oliver's Cousin; fanatical Harrison, tough St. John, my learned Lord Keeper or Commissioner Whitlocke himself, — are mostly known to us. Learned Widdrington, the mellifluous orator, once Lord Commissioner too, and like to be again, though at present "excused from it owing to scruples," will by and by become better known to us. A mellifluous, unhealthy, seemingly somewhat scrupulous and timorous man.[1] He is of the race of that Widdrington whom we still lament in doleful dumps, — but does not fight upon the stumps like him. There were "many other Gentlemen," who merely listened.

"Upon the defeat at Worcester," says Bulstrode vaguely,[2] "Cromwell desired a Meeting with divers Members of Parliament, and some chief Officers of the Army, at the Speaker's house. And a great many being there, he proposed to them, That now the old King being dead, and his Son being defeated, he held it necessary to come to a Settlement of the Nation. And in order thereunto, had requested this Meeting; that they together might consider and advise, What was fit to be done, and to be presented to the Parliament.

"SPEAKER. My Lord, this Company were very ready to attend your Excellence, and the business you are pleased to propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our Forces under your command; and if we do not improve these mercies to some Settlement, such as may be to God's honor, and the good of this Commonwealth, we shall be very much blameworthy.

"HARRISON. I think that which my Lord General hath propounded, is, To advise as to a Settlement both of our Civil and Spiritual Liberties; and so, that the mercies which the Lord hath given in to us may not be cast away. How this may be done is the great question.

"WHITLOCKE. It is a great question indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved! Yet it were pity that a meeting of so

[1] Wood, *in voce*.

[2] Whitlocke, p. 491; the date, 10th December, 1651, is that of the Paper merely, *and as applied to the Conference* itself cannot be correct.

many able and worthy persons as I see here, should be fruitless. — I should humbly offer, in the first place, Whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this Settlement is desired? Whether of an absolute Republic, or with any mixture of Monarchy.

"CROMWELL. My Lord Commissioner Whitlocke hath put us upon the right point: and indeed it is my meaning, that we should consider, Whether a Republic or a mixed Monarchical Government will be best to be settled? And if anything Monarchical, then, In whom that power shall be placed?

"SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. I think a mixed Monarchical Government will be most suitable to the Laws and People of this Nation. And if any Monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the Sons of the late King.

"COLONEL FLEETWOOD. I think that the question, Whether an absolute Republic, or a mixed Monarchy, be best to be settled in this Nation, will not be very easy to be determined!

"LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE ST. JOHN. It will be found, that the Government of this Nation, without something of Monarchical power, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundation of our Laws, and the Liberties of the People.

"SPEAKER. It will breed a strange confusion to settle a Government of this Nation without something of Monarchy.

"COLONEL DESBOROW. I beseech you, my Lord, why may not this, as well as other Nations, be governed in the way of a Republic?

"WHITLOCKE. The Laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of Monarchy, that to settle a Government without something of Monarchy in it, would make so great an alteration in the Proceedings of our Law that you will scarce have time[1] to rectify it, nor can we well foresee the inconveniences which will arise thereby.

"COLONEL WHALLEY. I do not well understand matters of Law: but it seems to me the best way, Not to have anything of Monarchical power in the Settlement of our Government. And if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch

[1] Between this and November, 1654.

upon? The King's Eldest Son hath been in arms against us, and his Second Son [1] likewise is our enemy.

"SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. But the late King's Third Son, the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us; and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies.

"WHITLOCKE. There may be a day given for the King's Eldest Son,[2] or for the Duke of York his Brother, to come in to the Parliament. And upon such terms as shall be thought fit, and agreeable both to our Civil and Spiritual liberties, a Settlement may be made with them.

"CROMWELL. That will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty! But really I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our Rights, both as Englishmen and as Christians, That a Settlement with somewhat of Monarchical power in it would be very effectual."

Much other discourse there was, says my learned friend; — but amounting to little. The Lawyers all for a mixed Government, with something of Monarchy in it; tending to call in one of the King's Sons, — I especially tending that way; secretly loyal in the worst of times. The Soldiers, again, were all for a Republic; thinking they had had enough of the King and his Sons. My Lord General always checked that secret-loyalty of mine, and put off the discussion of the King's Son; yet did not declare himself for a Republic either; — was indeed, as my terrene fat mind came at length to image him, merely "fishing for men's opinions," and for provender to himself and his appetites, as I in the like case should have been doing! — The Conference broke up, with what of "fish" in this kind my Lord General had taken, and no other result arrived at.

[1] James; who has fled to the Continent some time ago, "in women's clothes," with one Colonel Bamfield, and is getting fast into Papistry and other confusions.

[2] Charles Stuart: "a day" for him, upon whose *head* there was, not many weeks ago, a Reward of £1000? Did you actually *say* this, my learned friend? Or merely strive to think, and redact, at an after-period, that you had said it, — that you had thought it, meant to say it, which was virtually all the same, in a case of difficulty!

Many Conferences held by my Lord General have broken up so. Four years ago, he ended one in King Street by playfully "flinging a cushion" at a certain solid head of our acquaintance, and running down-stairs.[1] Here too it became ultimately clear to the solid head that he had been "fishing." Alas, a Lord General has many Conferences to hold; and in terrene minds, ligneous, oleaginous, and other, images himself in a very strange manner! — The candid imagination, busy to shape out some conceivable Oliver in these nineteen months, will accept thankfully the following small indubitabilities, or glimpses of definite events.

December 8th, 1651. In the beginning of December (Whitlocke dates it 8th December) came heavy tidings over from Ireland, dark and heavy in the house of Oliver especially: that Deputy Ireton, worn out with sleepless Irish services, had caught an inflammatory fever, and suddenly died. Fell sick on the 16th of November, 1651; died, at Limerick, on the 26th.[2] The reader remembers Bridget Ireton, the young wife at Cornbury:[3] she is now Widow Ireton; a sorrowful bereaved woman. One brave heart and subtle-working brain has ended: to the regret of all the brave. A man able with his pen and his sword; "very stiff in his ways."

Dryasdust, who much loves the brave Ireton in a rather blind way, intimates that Ireton's "stern virtue" would probably have held Cromwell in awe; that had Ireton lived, there had probably been no sacrilege against the Constitution on Oliver's part. A probability of almost no weight, my erudite friend. The "stern virtue" of Ireton was not sterner on occasion than that of Oliver; the probabilities of Ireton's disapproving what Oliver did, in the case alluded to, are very small, resting on solid Ludlow mainly; and as to those of Ireton's holding Cromwell "in awe," in this or in any matter he had himself decided to do, I think we may safely reckon them at zero, my erudite friend!

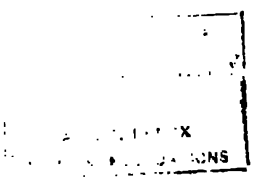
[1] Ludlow, i. 240.

[2] Wood, iii. 300; Whitlocke, p. 491. — Letter (Oliver to his Sister) in *Appendix, No. 23.*

[3] *Letter XLI.* vol xvii. 247; and antea, p. 149.

CROMWELL IN WHITEHALL

Carlyle, Vol. Eight, p. 190.



Lambert, now in Scotland, was appointed Deputy in Ireton's room; and meant to go; but did not. Some say the Widow Ireton, irritated that the beautiful and showy Lady Lambert should *already* "take precedence of her in St. James's Park," frustrated the scheme: what we find certain is, That Lambert did not go, that Fleetwood went; and farther, that the Widow Ireton in due time became Wife of the Widower Fleetwood: the rest hangs vague in the head of zealous Mrs. Hutchinson, solid Ludlow, and empty Rumor.[1] Ludlow, already on the spot, does the Irish duties in the interim. Ireton has solemn Public Funeral in England; copious moneys settled on his Widow and Family; all honors paid to him, for his own sake and his Father-in-law's.

March 25th, 1652. Above two years ago, when this Rump Parliament was in the flush of youthful vigor, it decided on reforming the Laws of England, and appointed a working Committee for that object, our learned friend Bulstrode one of them. Which working Committee finding the job heavy, gradually languished; and after some Acts for having Law-proceedings transacted in the English tongue, and for other improvements of the like magnitude, died into comfortable sleep. On my Lord General's return from Worcester, it had been poked up again; and, now rubbing its eyes, set to work in good earnest; got a subsidiary Committee appointed, of twenty-one persons not members of this House at all, To say and suggest what improvements were really wanted: such improvements they the working Committee would then, with all the readiness in life, effectuate and introduce in the shape of specific Acts. Accordingly, on March 25th, first day of the new year 1652, learned Bulstrode, in the name of this working Committee, reports that the subsidiary Committee has suggested a variety of things: among others, some improvement in our method of Transferring Property, — of enabling poor John Doe, who finds at present a terrible difficulty in doing it, to inform Richard Roe, "I John Doe do, in very fact, sell to thee Richard Roe, such and such a Property, — according to

[1] Hutchinson's *Memoirs* (London, 1806), p. 195; Ludlow, pp. 414, 449, 450, &c.

the usual human meaning of the word *sell;* and it is hereby, let me again assure thee, indisputably SOLD to thee Richard, by me John:" which, my learned friend thinks, might really be an improvement. To which end he will introduce an Act: nay there shall farther be an Act for the "Registry of Deeds in each County," — if it please Heaven. "Neglect to register your Sale of Land in this promised County-Register within a given time," enacts the learned Bulstrode, "such Sale shall be void. Be exact in registering it, the Land shall not be subject to any incumbrance." Incumbrance: yes, but what is "incumbrance"? asks all the working Committee, with wide eyes, when they come actually to sit upon this Bill of Registry, and to hatch it into some kind of perfection: What is "incumbrance"? No mortal can tell. They sit debating it, painfully sifting it, "for three months;"[1] three months by Booker's Almanac, and the Zodiac Horologe: March violets have become June roses; and still they debate what "incumbrance" is; — and indeed, I think could never fix it at all; and are perhaps debating it, if so doomed, in some twilight foggy section of Dante's Nether World, to all Eternity, at this hour! — Are not these a set of men likely to reform English Law? Likely these to strip the accumulated owl-droppings and foul guano-mountains from your rock-island, and lay the reality bare, — in the course of Eternities! The wish waxes livelier in Colonel Pride that he could see a certain addition made to the Scots Colors hung in Westminster Hall yonder.

I add only, for the sake of Chronology, that on the fourth day after this appearance of Bulstrode as a Law-reformer, occurred the famous *Black Monday;* fearfulest eclipse of the Sun ever seen by mankind. Came on about nine in the morning; darker and darker: ploughmen unyoked their teams, stars came out, birds sorrowfully chirping took to roost, men in amazement to prayers: a day of much obscurity; *Black Monday*, or *Mirk Monday*, 29th March, 1652.[2] Much noised of by Lilly, Booker, and the buzzard Astrologer tribe. Betokening

[1] Ludlow, i. 430; *Parliamentary History*, xx. 84; *Commons Journals*, vii. 67, *110, &c.*

[2] *Balfour, iv. 349;* Law's *Memorials*, p. 6.

somewhat? Belike that Bulstrode and this Parliament will, in the way of Law-reform and otherwise, make a Practical Gospel, or real Reign of God, in this England? —

July 9th, 1652. A great external fact, which, no doubt, has its effect on all internal movements, is the War with the Dutch. The Dutch, ever since our Death-Warrant to Charles First, have looked askance at this New Commonwealth, which wished to stand well with them; and have accumulated offence on offence against it. Ambassador Dorislaus was assassinated in their country; Charles Second was entertained there; evasive slow answers were given to tough St. John, who went over as new Ambassador: to which St. John responding with great directness, in a proud, brief and very emphatic manner, took his leave, and came home again. Came home again; and passed the celebrated Navigation Act,[1] forbidding that any goods should be imported into England except either in English ships or in ships of the country where the goods were produced. Thereby terribly maiming the "Carrying Trade of the Dutch;" and indeed, as the issue proved, depressing the Dutch Maritime Interest not a little, and proportionally elevating that of England. Embassies in consequence, from their irritated High Mightinesses; sea-fightings in consequence; and much negotiating, apologizing, and bickering mounting ever higher; — which at length, at the date above given, issues in declared War. Dutch War: cannonadings and fierce sea-fights in the narrow seas; land-soldiers drafted to fight on shipboard; and land-officers, Blake, Dean, Monk, who became very famous sea-officers; Blake a thrice-famous one; — poor Dean lost his life in this business. They doggedly beat the Dutch, and again beat them: their best Van Tromps and De Ruyters could not stand these terrible Puritan Sailors and Gunners. The Dutch gradually grew tame. The public mind, occupied with sea-fights and sea-victories, finds again that the New Representative must be patiently waited for; that this is not a time for turning out the old Representative, which has so many affairs on its hands.

[1] *Introduced 5th August, 1651*; passed 9th October, 1651: given in Scobell, *ii. 178.*

But the Dutch War brings another consequence in the train of it: renewed severity against Delinquents. The necessities of cash for this War are great: indeed, the grand business of Parliament at present seems to be that of Finance, — finding of sinews for such a War. Any remnants of Royal lands, of Dean-and-Chapter lands, — sell them by rigorous auction; the very lead of the Cathedrals one is tempted to sell; nay almost the Cathedrals themselves,[1] if any one would buy them. The necessities of the Finance Department are extreme. Money, money: our Blakes and Monks, in deadly wrestle with the Dutch, must have money!

Estates of Delinquents, one of the readiest resources from of old, cannot, in these circumstances, be forgotten. Search out Delinquents: in every County make stringent inquest after them! Many, in past years, have made light settlements with lax Committee-men; neighbors, not without pity for them. Many of minor sort have been overlooked altogether. Bring them up, every Delinquent of them; up hither to the Rhadamanthus-bar of Goldsmiths' Hall and Haberdashers' Hall; sift them, search them; riddle the last due sixpence out of them. The Commons Journals of these months have formidable ell-long Lists of Delinquents; List after List; who shall, on rigorous terms, be ordered to compound. Poor unknown Royalist Squires, from various quarters of England; whose names and surnames excite now no notion in us except that of No. 1 and No. 2: my Lord General has seen them "crowding by thirties and forties in a morning"[2] about these Haberdasher-Grocer Halls of Doom, with haggard expression of countenance; soliciting, from what austere official person they can get a word of, if not mercy, yet at least swift judgment. In a way which affected my Lord General's feelings. We have now the third year of Peace in our borders: is this what you call Settlement of the Nation?

[1] *Parliamentary History*, xx. 90. [2] Speech, postea.

LETTER CLXXXV.

THE following Letter "to my honored Friend Mr. Hungerford the Elder," which at any rate by order of time introduces itself here, has probably some reference to these Committee businesses: — at all events, there hangs by it a little tale.

Some six miles from Bath, in the direction towards Salisbury, are to be seen, "on the northeast slope of a rocky height called Farley Hill," the ruins of an old Castle, once well known by the name of *Farley Montfort* or *Farley Hungerford:* Mansion once of the honorable Family of Hungerfords, while there was such a Family. The Hungerfords are extinct above a century ago; and their Mansion stands there as a Ruin, knowing little of them any more. But it chanced, long since, before the Ruin became quite roofless, some Land-Steward or Agent of a new Family, tapping and poking among the melancholy lumber there, — found "an old loose Chest" shoved loosely "under the old Chapel-altar;" and bethought him of opening the same. Masses of damp dust; unclean accumulation of beetle-and-spider exuviæ, to the conceivable amount: under these, certain bundles of rubbish-papers, extinct lease-records, marriage-contracts, all extinct now, — among which, however, were Two Letters bearing Oliver Cromwell's signature. These Two the Land-Steward carefully copied, — thanks to him; — and here, out of *Collinson's History of Somersetshire,* the first of them now is. Very dark to the Land-Steward, to Collinson, and to us. For the Hungerfords are extinct; their Name and Family, like their old Mansion, a mouldering ruin, — almost our chief light in regard to it, the two little bits of Paper, rescued from the old Chest under the Chapel-altar, in that romantic manner! —

There were three Hungerfords in Parliament; all for Wiltshire constituencies. Sir Edward, "Knight of the Bath," Puritan original Member for Chippenham; Lord of this Mansion of Farley, as we find:[1] then Henry, Esq., "recruiter" for

[1] Collinson (iii. 357 *n.*) *gives his* Epitaph copied from the old Chapel; but *is very dark and even self-contradictory* in what he says farther.

Bedwin since 1646; probably a cadet of the House, perhaps heir to it: both these are now "secluded Members;" purged away by Pride; nay it seems Sir Edward was already dead, about the time of Pride's Purge. The third, Anthony Hungerford, original Member for Malmesbury, declared for the King in 1642; was of course disabled, cast into the Tower when caught; — made his composition, by repentance and due fine, "fine of £2,532," in 1646,[1] when the First Civil War ended; and has lived ever since a quiet repentant man. He is of "Blackbourton in Oxfordshire," this Anthony; but I judge by his Parliamentary connection and other circumstances, likewise a cadet of the House of Farley. Of him by and by, when we arrive at the next Letter.

For the present, with regard to Sir Edward, lord of the Farley Mansion, we have to report, by tremulous but authentic lights, that he stood true for the Parliament; had controversies, almost duels, in behalf of it; among other services, lent it £500. Furthermore, that he is now dead, "died in 1648;" and that his Widow cannot yet get payment of that £500; that she is yet only struggling to get a Committee to sit upon it.[2] One might guess, but nobody can know, that this Note was addressed to Henry Hungerford, in reference to that business of Sir Edward's Widow. Or possibly it may be Anthony Hungerford, the repentant Royalist, that is now the "Elder Hungerford;" a man with whom the Lord General is not without relations! Unimportant to us, either way. A hasty Note, on some "business" now unknown, about which an unknown "gentleman" has been making inquiry and negotiation; for the answer to which an unknown "servant" of some "Mr. Hungerford the Elder" is waiting in the hall of Oliver's House, — the Cockpit, I believe, at this date: — in such faintly luminous state, revealing little save its own existence, must this small Document be left.

[1] *Commons Journals*, iv. 565 (5th June, 1646); ib. iii. 526, &c.

[2] Committee got, 18th February, 1652–3, "The Lord General" Cromwell in it (*Commons Journals*, vii. 260): Danger of Duel (ib. ii. 928, 981; iii. 185, *January–June*, 1643). See ib. iv. 161, v. 618, &c.

"*For my Honored Friend Mr. Hungerford the Elder, at his House: These.*

"[LONDON,] 30th July, 1652.

"SIR, — I am very sorry my occasions will not permit me to return[1] to you as I would. I have not yet fully spoken with the Gentleman I sent to wait upon you; when I shall do it, I shall be enabled to be more particular. Being unwilling to detain your servant any longer, — with my service to your Lady and Family, I take my leave, and rest,

"Your affectionate servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[2]

It is a sad reflection with my Lord General, in this Hungerford and other businesses, that the mere justice of any matter will so little avail a man in Parliament: you can make no way till you have got up some party on the subject there![3] In fact, red-tape has, to a lamentable extent, tied up the souls of men in this Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. They are becoming hacks of office; a savor of Godliness still on their lips, but seemingly not much deeper with some of them. I begin to have a suspicion *they* are no Parliament! If the Commonwealth of England had not still her Army Parliament, rigorous devout Council of Officers, men in right life-and-death earnest, who have spent their blood in this Cause, who in case of need can assemble and act again, — what would become of the Commonwealth of England? Earnest persons, from this quarter and that, make petition to the Lord General and Officers, That they would be pleased to take the matter in hand, and see right done. To which the Lord General and Officers answer always: Wait, be patient; the Parliament itself will yet do it.

What the "state of the Gospel in Wales" is, in Wales or elsewhere, I cannot with any accuracy ascertain; but see well

[1] reply.

[2] Collinson's *History of Somersetshire* (Bath, 1791), iii. 357 note — See Appendix, No. 25.

[3] *Speech, postea.*

that this Parliament has shown no zeal that way; has shackled rather, and tied up with its sorrowful red-tape the movements of men that had any zeal.[1] Lamentable enough. The light of the Everlasting Truth was kindled; and you do not fan the sacred flame, you consider *it* a thing which may be left to itself! Unhappy: and for what did we fight, then, and wrestle with our souls and our bodies as in strong agony; besieging Heaven with our prayers and Earth and its Strengths, from Naseby on to Worcester, with our pikes and cannon? Was it to put an Official Junto of some Threescore Persons into the high saddle in England; and say, Ride ye? They would need to be Threescore beautifuler men! Our blood shed like water, our brethren's bones whitening a hundred fields; Tredah Storm, Dunbar death-agony, and God's voice from the battle-whirlwind: did they mean no more but you! —My Lord General urges us always to be patient: Patience, the Parliament itself will yet do it. That is what we shall see! —

On the whole, it must be seriously owned by every reader, this present Fag-end of a Parliament of England has failed altogether to realize the high dream of those old Puritan hearts. "Incumbrance," it appears, cannot in the abstract be defined: but if you would know in the concrete what it is, look there! The thing we fought for, and gained as if by miracle, it is ours this long while, and yet not ours; within grasp of us, it lies there unattainable, enchanted under Parliamentary formulas. Enemies are swept away; extinguished as in the brightness of the Lord: and no Divine Kingdom, and no clear incipiency of such, has yet in any measure come! —These are sorrowful reflections.

For, alas, such high dream is difficult to realize! Not the Stuart Dynasty alone that opposes it; all the Dynasties of the Devil, the whole perversions of this poor Earth, without us and within us, oppose it. —Yea, answers with a sigh the heart of my Lord General: yea, it is difficult, and thrice difficult; —and yet woe to us, if we do not with our whole soul *try it, make* some clear beginning of it; if we sit defining

[1] Speech, postea.

"incumbrances," instead of bending every muscle to the wheel that is incumbered! Who art thou that standest still; that having put to thy hand, turnest back? In these years of miracle in England, were there not great things, as if by divine voices, audibly promised? "The Lord said unto my Lord!"—And is it all to end here? In Juntos of Threescore; in Grocers-Hall Committees, in red-tape, and official shakings of the head?

My Lord General, are there no voices, dumb voices from the depths of poor England's heart, that address themselves to you, even you? My Lord General hears voices; and would fain distinguish and discriminate them. Which, in all these, is the God's voice? That were the one to follow. My Lord General, I think, has many meditations, of a very mixed, and some of a very abstruse nature, in these months.

August 13th, 1652. This day came a "Petition from the Officers of my Lord General's Army," which a little alarmed us. Petition craving for some real reform of the Law; some real attempt towards setting up a Gospel Ministry in England; real and general ousting of scandalous, incompetent and plainly diabolic persons from all offices of Church and State; real beginning, in short, of a Reign of Gospel Truth in this England;—and for one thing, a swift progress in that most slow-going Bill for a New Representative; an actual ending of this present Fag-end of a Parliament, which has now sat very long! So, in most respectful language, prays this Petition[1] of the Officers. Petition prefaced, they say, with earnest prayer to God: that was the preface or prologue they gave it;—what kind of epilogue they might be prepared to give it, one does not learn: but the men carry swords at their sides; and we have known them!—"Many thought this kind of Petition dangerous; and counselled my Lord General to put a stop to the like: but he seemed to make light of it," says Bulstrode. In fact, my Lord General does not disapprove of it: my Lord General, after much abstruse meditation, has decided on putting himself at the head of it. He, and a serious minority in Parliament, and

[1] Whitlocke, p. 516.

in England at large, think with themselves, once more, If it were not for this Army Parliament, what would become of us? —Speaker Lenthall "thanked" these Officers, with a smile which I think must have been of the grimmest, like that produced in certain animals by the act of eating thistles.

September 14th, 1652. The somnolent slow-going Bill for a New Representative, which has slept much, and now and then pretended to move a little, for long years past, is resuscitated by this Petition; comes out, rubbing its eyes, disposed for decided activity;—and in fact sleeps no more; cannot think of sleep any more, the noise round it waxing ever louder. Settle how your Representative shall be; for be it now actually must!

This Bill, which has slept and waked so long, does not sleep again: but, How to settle the conditions of the New Representative?—there is a question! My Lord General will have good security against "the Presbyterial Party," that they come not into power again; good security against the red-tape Party, that they sit not for three months defining an incumbrance again. How shall we settle the New Representative; —on the whole, what or how shall we do? For the old stagnancy is verily broken up: these petitioning Army Officers, with all the earnest armed and unarmed men of England in the rear of them, have verily torn us from our moorings; and we do go adrift,—with questionable havens, on starboard and larboard, very difficult of entrance; with Mahlstroms and Niagaras very patent right ahead! We are become to mankind a Rump Parliament; sit here we cannot much longer; and we know not what to do!

"During the month of October, some ten or twelve conferences took place,"—private conferences between the Army Officers and the Leaders of the Parliament: wherein nothing could be agreed upon. Difficult to settle the New Representative; impossible for this Old Misrepresentative or Rump to continue! What shall or can be done? Summon, without popular intervention, by earnest selection on your and our *part, a Body* of godly wise Men, the Best and Wisest we *can find in* England; to them intrust the whole question;

and do you abdicate, and depart straightway, say the Officers. forty good Men, or a hundred and forty; choose them well, — they will define an incumbrance in less than three months, we may hope, and tell us what to do! Such is the notion of the Army Officers, and my Lord General; a kind of Puritan "Convention of the Notables," so the French would call it; to which the Parliament Party see insuperable objections. What other remedy, then? The Parliament Party mournfully insinuate that there is no remedy, except, — except continuance of the present Rump![1]

November 7th, 1652. "About this time," prior or posterior to it, while such conferences and abstruse considerations are in progress, my Lord General, walking once in St. James's Park, beckons the learned Bulstrode, who is also there; strolls gradually aside with him, and begins one of the most important Dialogues. Whereof learned Bulstrode has preserved some record; which is unfortunately much dimmed by just suspicion of dramaturgy on the part of Bulstrode; and shall not be excerpted by us here. It tends conspicuously to show, *first*, how Cromwell already entertained most alarming notions of "making oneself a King," and even wore them pinned on his sleeve, for the inspection of the learned; and *secondly*, how Bulstrode, a secret-royalist in the worst of times, advised him by no means to think of that, but to call in Charles Stuart, — who had an immense popularity among the Powerful in England just then! "My Lord General did not in words express any anger, but only by looks and carriage; and turned aside from me to other company," — as this Editor, in quest of certainty and insight, and not of doubt and fat drowsy pedantry, will now also do!

LETTER CLXXXVI

Here, from the old Chest of Farley Castle, is the other Hungerford Letter; and a dim glance into the domesticities again. *Anthony* Hungerford, as we saw, was the Royalist

[1] Speech, postea.

Hungerford, of Blackbourton in Oxfordshire; once Member for Malmesbury; who has been living these six or seven years past in a repentant wholesomely secluded state. "Cousin Dunch" is young Mrs. Dunch of Pusey, once Ann Mayor of Hursley; she lives within visiting distance of Blackbourton, when at Pusey; does not forget old neighbors while in Town, — and occasionally hears gloomy observations from them. "Your Lord General is become a great man now!" — From the Answer to which we gather at least one thing: That the "offer of a very great Proposition" as to Son Richard's marriage, which we once obscurely heard of,[1] was, to all appearance, made by this Anthony Hungerford, — perhaps in behalf of his kinsman Sir Edward, who, as he had no Son,[2] might have a Daughter that would be a very great Proposition to a young man. Unluckily "there was not that assurance of Godliness" that seemed to warrant it: however, the nobleness of the Overture is never to be forgotten.

"*For my honored Friend Anthony Hungerford, Esquire: These.*

"COCKPIT, 10th December, 1652.

"SIR, — I understand, by my Cousin Dunch, of so much trouble of yours, and so much unhandsomeness (at least seeming so) on my part, as doth not a little afflict me, until I give you this account of my innocency.

"She was pleased to tell my Wife of your often resorts to my house to visit me, and of your disappointments. Truly, Sir, had I but once known of your being there, and [had concealed myself], it had been an action so below a gentleman or an honest man, so full of ingratitude for your civilities I have received from you, as would have rendered me unworthy of human society! Believe me, Sir, I am much ashamed that the least color of the appearance of such a thing should have happened; and [I] could not take satisfaction but by this plain-dealing for my justification, which I ingenuously offer you. And although Providence did not dispose other matters to our mutual satisfaction, yet your nobleness in that Overture

[1] *Antea*, vol. xvii. p. 291. [2] Epitaph in Collinson's Somersetshire.

obligeth me, and I hope ever shall whilst I live, to study upon all occasions to approve myself your Family's and your

"Most affectionate and humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"My Wife and I desire our service be presented to your Lady and Family."[1]

LETTER CLXXXVII.

SEEMINGLY belonging to the same neighborhood is the following altogether domestic Letter to Fleetwood; which still survives in Autograph; but has no date whatever, and no indication that will enable us to fix its place with perfect exactness. Fleetwood's Commission for Ireland is dated 10th July, 1652;[2] the precise date of his marriage with Bridget Ireton, of his departure for Ireland, or of any ulterior proceedings of his, is not recoverable, in those months. Of Henry Cromwell, too, we know only that he sat in the *Little Parliament;* and, indisputably therefore, was home from Ireland before summer next. From the total silence as to Public Affairs, in this Letter, it may be inferred that nothing decisive had yet been done or resolved upon; — that through this strange old Autograph, as through a dim Horn-Gate (not of Dreams but of Realities), we are looking into the interior of the Cromwell Lodging, and the Cromwell heart, in the Winter of 1652.

"*For the Right Honorable Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland: These.*

[COCKPIT, —— 1652.]

"DEAR CHARLES, — I thank you for your loving Letter. The same hopes and desires, upon your planting into my Family, were much the same in me that you express in yours towards me. However, the dispensation of the Lord is, to

[1] Oliver Cromwell's *Memoirs of the Protector* (3d edition, London, 1822), iii. 488; see Collinson's *History of Somersetshire*, iii. 357 note.

[2] *Thurloe*, i. 212.

have it otherwise for the present; and therein I desire to acquiesce; — not being out of hope that it may lie in His good pleasure, in His time, to give us the mutual comfort of our relation: the want whereof He is able abundantly to supply by His own presence; which indeed makes up all defects, and is the comfort of all our comforts and enjoyments.

"Salute your dear Wife from me. Bid her beware of a *bondage* spirit.[1] Fear is the natural issue of such a spirit; — the antidote is Love. The voice of Fear is: If I had done this; if I had avoided that, how well it had been with me! — I know this hath been her vain reasoning. [Poor Biddy!]

"Love argueth in this wise: What a Christ have I; what a Father in and through Him! What a Name hath my Father: *Merciful, gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth; forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin.* What a Nature hath my Father: *He is* LOVE; — free in it, unchangeable, infinite! What a Covenant between Him and Christ, — for all the Seed, for every one: wherein He undertakes all, and the poor Soul nothing. The new Covenant is *Grace*, — to or upon the Soul; to which it [the Soul] is passive and receptive: *I'll do away their sins; I'll write my Law, &c.; I'll put it in their hearts: they shall never depart from me, &c.*[2]

"This commends the Love of God: it's Christ dying for men *without* strength, for men whilst sinners, whilst enemies. And shall we seek for the root of our comforts within us, — What God hath done, what He is to us in Christ, is the root of our comfort: in this is stability; in us is weakness. Acts of obedience are not perfect, and therefore yield not perfect Grace. Faith, as an act, yields it not; but [only] as it carries us into Him, who is our perfect rest and peace; in whom we are accounted of, and received by, the Father, — even as Christ Himself. This is our high calling. Rest we here, and here only.[3]

[1] A Secretary has written hitherto; the Lord General now begins, himself, with a new pen.

[2] Has been crowding, for the last line or two, very close upon the bottom of the page; finds now that it will not do; and takes to the margin.

[3] *Even so, my* noble one! The noble soul will, one day, again come to *understand these* old words of yours.

"Commend me to Harry Cromwell: I pray for him, That he may thrive, and improve in the knowledge and love of Christ. Commend me to all the Officers. My prayers indeed are daily for them. Wish them to beware of bitterness of spirit; and of all things uncomely for the Gospel. The Lord give you abundance of wisdom, and faith and patience. Take heed also of your natural inclination to compliance.

"Pray for me. I commit you to the Lord; and rest,

"Your loving father,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

"The Boy and Betty are very well. Show what kindness you well may to Colonel Clayton, to my nephew Gregory, to Claypole's Brother."[2]

And so the miraculous Horn-Gate, not of Dreams but of Realities and old dim Domesticities, closes again, into totally opaque; — and we return to matters public.

December, 1652–*March*, 1653. The Dutch War prospers and has prospered, Blake and Monk beating the Dutch in tough sea-fights; Delinquents, monthly Assessments, and the lead of Cathedrals furnishing the sinews: the Dutch are about sending Ambassadors to treat of Peace. With home affairs, again, it goes not so well. Through winter, through spring, that Bill for a New Representative goes along in its slow gestation; reappearing Wednesday after Wednesday; painfully struggling to take a shape that shall fit both parties, Parliament Grandees and Army Grandees both at once. A thing difficult; a thing impossible! Parliament Grandees, now become a contemptible Rump, wish they could grow into a Reputable Full Parliament again, and have the Government and the Govern-

[1] Has exhausted the long broad margin; inverts now, and writes atop.

[2] Ayscough MSS. no. 4165, f. 1. On the inner or blank leaf of this curious old Sheet are neatly pasted two square tiny bits of Paper: on one of them, "Fairfax" in autograph; on the other these words, "God blesse the now Lord Protector;" and crosswise, "Marquis Worcester writt it;" — concerning which Marquis, once "Lord Herbert," see antea, p. 221.

ing Persons go on as they are now doing; this naturally is their wish. Naturally too the Army Party's wish is the reverse of this: that a Full free Parliament, with safety to the Godly Interests, and due subordination of the Presbyterian and other factions, should assemble; but also that the present Governing Persons, with their red-tape habits unable to define an incumbrance in three months, should for most part be out of it. Impossible to shape a Bill that will fit both of these Parties: Tom Thumb and the Irish Giant, you cannot, by the art of Parliamentary tailoring, clip out a coat that will fit them both! We can fancy "conferences," considerations deep and almost awful; my Lord General looking forward to possibilities that fill even him with fear. Puritan Notables they will not have; these present Governing men are clear against that: not Puritan Notables; — and if they themselves, by this new Bill or otherwise, insist on staying there, what is to become of them?

Dryasdust laments that this invaluable Bill, now in process of gestation, is altogether lost to Posterity; no copy even of itself, much less any record of the conferences, debates, or contemporaneous considerations on it, attainable even in fractions by mankind. Much is lost, my erudite friend; — and we must console ourselves! The substantial essence of the Bill came out afterwards into full practice, in Oliver's own Parliaments. The present form of the Bill, I do clearly perceive, had one clause, That all the Members of this present Rump should continue to sit without re-election; and still better, another, That they should be a general Election Committee, and have power to say to every new Member, "Thou art dangerous, thou shalt not enter; go!" This clearly in the Bill: and not less clearly that the Lord General and Army Party would in no wise have a Bill with this in it, — or indeed have any Bill that was to be the old story over again under a new name. So much, on good evidence, is very clear to me; — the rest, which is all obliterated, becomes not inconceivable. Cost what it may cost, this Rump Parliament, which has by its conduct abundantly "defined what an incumbrance *is*," *shall go* about its business. Terrible Voices, supernal and

other, have said it, awfully enough, in the hearts of some men! Neither under its own shabby figure, nor under another more plausible, shall it guide the Divine Mercies and Miraculous Affairs of this Nation any farther.

The last of all the conferences was held at my Lord General's house in Whitehall, on Tuesday evening, 19th of April, 1653. Above twenty leading Members of Parliament present, and many Officers. Conference of which we shall have some passing glimpse, from a sure hand, by and by.[1] Conference which came to nothing, as all the others had done. Your Bill, with these clauses and visible tendencies in it, cannot pass, says the one party: Your Scheme of Puritan Notables seems full of danger, says the other. What remedy? "No remedy except, —except that you leave us to sit as we are, for a while yet!" suggest the Official persons.—"In no wise!" answer the Officers, with a vehemence of look and tone, which my Lord General, seemingly anxious to do it, cannot repress. You must not, and cannot sit longer, say the Officers;—and their look says even, Shall not! Bulstrode went home to Chelsea, very late, with the tears in his big dull eyes, at thought of the courses men were getting into. Bulstrode and Widdrington were the most eager for sitting; Chief-Justice St. John, strange thing in a Constitutional gentleman, declared that there could be no sitting for us any longer. We parted, able to settle on nothing, except the engagement to meet here again to-morrow morning, and to leave the Bill asleep till something were settled on. "A leading person," Sir Harry Vane or another, undertook that nothing should be done in it till then.

Wednesday, 20th April, 1653. My Lord General accordingly is in his reception-room this morning, "in plain black clothes and gray worsted stockings;" he, with many Officers: but few Members have yet come, though punctual Bulstrode and certain others are there. Some waiting there is; some impatience that the Members would come. The Members do not come: instead of Members, comes a notice that they are busy getting on with their Bill in the House, hurrying it double-quick through all the stages. Possible? New message that

[1] *Speech, postea*; see also Whitlocke, p. 529.

it will be Law in a little while, if no interposition take place! Bulstrode hastens off to the House: my Lord General, at first incredulous, does now also hasten off, — nay orders that a Company of Musketeers of his own regiment attend him. Hastens off, with a very high expression of countenance, I think; — saying or feeling: Who would have believed it of them? "It is not honest; yea, it is contrary to common honesty!" — My Lord General, the big hour is come!

Young Colonel Sidney, the celebrated Algernon, sat in the House this morning; a House of some Fifty-three.[1] Algernon has left distinct note of the affair; less distinct we have from Bulstrode, who was also there, who seems in some points to be even wilfully wrong. Solid Ludlow was far off in Ireland, but gathered many details in after-years; and faithfully wrote them down, in the unappeasable indignation of his heart. Combining these three originals, we have, after various perusals and collations and considerations, obtained the following authentic, moderately conceivable account:[2] —

"The Parliament sitting as usual, and being in debate upon the Bill with the amendments, which it was thought would have been passed that day, the Lord General Cromwell came into the House, clad in plain black clothes and gray worsted stockings, and sat down, as he used to do, in an ordinary place." For some time he listens to this interesting debate on the Bill; beckoning once to Harrison, who came over to him, and answered dubitatingly. Whereupon the Lord General sat still, for about a quarter of an hour longer. But now the question being to be put, That this Bill do now pass, he beckons again to Harrison, says, "This is the time; I must do it!" — and so "rose up, put off his hat, and spake. At the first, and for a good while, he spake to the commendation of the Parliament for their pains and care of the public good; but afterwards he changed his style, told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults," — rising higher and higher,

[1] That is Cromwell's number; Ludlow, far distant, and not credible on this occasion, says "Eighty or a Hundred."

[2] *Blencowe's Sidney Papers* (London, 1825), pp. 139–141; Whitlocke, p. 529; *Ludlow, ii. 456*; — the last two are reprinted in Parliamentary History, xx. 128.

into a very aggravated style indeed. An honorable Member, Sir Peter Wentworth by name, not known to my readers, and by me better known than trusted, rises to order, as we phrase it; says, "It is a strange language this; unusual within the walls of Parliament this! And from a trusted servant too; and one whom we have so highly honored; and one" — "Come, come!" exclaims my Lord General in a very high key, "we have had enough of this," — and in fact my Lord General now blazing all up into clear conflagration, exclaims, "I will put an end to your prating," and steps forth into the floor of the House, and "clapping on his hat," and occasionally "stamping the floor with his feet," begins a discourse which no man can report! He says — Heavens! he is heard saying: "It is not fit that you should sit here any longer! You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing lately. You shall now give place to better men! — call them in!" adds he briefly, to Harrison, in word of command: and "some twenty or thirty" grim musketeers enter, with bullets in their snaphances; grimly prompt for orders; and stand in some attitude of Carry-arms there. Veteran men: men of might and men of war, their faces are as the faces of lions, and their feet are swift as the roes upon the mountains; — not beautiful to honorable gentlemen at this moment!

"You call yourselves a Parliament," continues my Lord General in clear blazes of conflagration: "You are no Parliament; I say you are no Parliament! Some of you are drunkards," and his eye flashes on poor Mr. Chaloner, an official man of some value, addicted to the bottle; "some of you are —" and he glares into Harry Marten, and the poor Sir Peter who rose to order, lewd livers both; "living in open contempt of God's Commandments. Following your own greedy appetites, and the Devil's Commandments. Corrupt unjust persons," and here I think he glanced "at Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, giving him and others very sharp language, though he named them not:" — "Corrupt unjust persons; scandalous to the profession of the Gospel: how can you be a Parliament for God's People? Depart, I say; *and let us have done with* you. In the name of God, — go!"

The House is of course all on its feet, — uncertain almost whether not on its head: such a scene as was never seen before in any House of Commons. History reports with a shudder that my Lord General, lifting the sacred Mace itself, said, "What shall we do with this bauble? Take it away!" — and gave it to a musketeer. And now, — "Fetch him down!" says he to Harrison, flashing on the Speaker. Speaker Lenthall, more an ancient Roman than anything else, declares, He will not come till forced. "Sir," said Harrison, "I will lend you a hand;" on which Speaker Lenthall came down, and gloomily vanished. They all vanished; flooding gloomily, clamorously out, to their ulterior businesses and respective places of abode: the Long Parliament is dissolved! "It 's you that have forced me to this," exclaims my Lord General: "I have sought the Lord night and day, that He would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work." At their going out, some say the Lord General said to young Sir Harry Vane, calling him by his name, That *he* might have prevented this; but that he was a juggler, and had not common honesty. "Oh, Sir Harry Vane," thou with thy subtle casuistries and abstruse hair-splittings, thou art other than a good one, I think! "The Lord deliver me from thee, Sir Harry Vane!" — "All being gone out, the door of the House was locked, and the Key with the Mace, as I heard, was carried away by Colonel Otley;" — and it is all over, and the unspeakable Catastrophe has come, and remains.

Such was the destructive wrath of my Lord General Cromwell against the Nominal Rump Parliament of England. Wrath which innumerable mortals since have accounted extremely diabolic; which some now begin to account partly divine. Divine or diabolic, it is an indisputable fact; left for the commentaries of men. The Rump Parliament has gone its ways; — and truly, except it be in their own, I know not in what eyes are tears at their departure. They went very softly, softly as a Dream, say all witnesses. "We did not hear a dog bark at their going!" asserts my Lord General elsewhere.

It is said, my Lord General did not, on his entrance into the *House*, contemplate quite as a certainty this strong measure;

but it came upon him like an irresistible impulse, or inspiration, as he heard their Parliamentary eloquence proceed. "Perceiving the spirit of God so strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood." [1] He has done it, at all events; and is responsible for the results it may have. A responsibility which he, as well as most of us, knows to be awful: but he fancies it was in answer to the English Nation, and to the Maker of the English Nation and of him; and he will do the best he may with it.

LETTER CLXXXVIII.

We have to add here an Official Letter, of small significance in itself, but curious for its date, the Saturday after this great Transaction, and for the other indications it gives. Except the Lord General, "Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces raised and to be raised," there is for the moment no Authority very clearly on foot in England; — though Judges, and all manner of Authorities whatsoever do, after some little preliminary parleying, consent to go on as before.

The Draining of the Fens had been resumed under better auspices when the War ended; [2] and a new Company of Adventurers, among whom Oliver himself is one, are vigorously proceeding with a New Bedford Level, — the same that yet continues. A "Petition" of theirs, addressed "To the Lord General," in these hasty hours, sets forth that upon the "20th of this instant April [exactly while Oliver was turning out the Parliament], about a hundred and fifty persons," from the Towns of Swaffham and Botsham, — which Towns had petitioned about certain rights of theirs, and got clear promise of redress in fit time, — did "tumultuously assemble," to seek redress for themselves; did "by force expel your Petitioners' workmen from their diking and working in the said Fens;" did

[1] Godwin, iii. 456 (who cites Echard; not much of an Authority in such matters).

[2] *Act for that object* (*Scobell*, ii. 33), 29th May, 1649.

tumble in again "the dikes by them made;" and in fine did peremptorily signify that if they or any other came again to dike in these Fens, it would be worse for them. "The evil effects of which"—are very apparent indeed. Whereupon this Official Letter, or Warrant; written doubtless in the press of much other business.

[*To Mr. Parker, Agent for the Company of Adventurers for Draining the Great Level of the Fens.*]

"[WHITEHALL], 23d April, 1653.

"MR PARKER,—I hear some unruly persons have lately committed great outrages in Cambridgeshire, about Swaffham and Botsham, in throwing down the works making by the Adventurers, and menacing those they employ thereabout. Wherefore I desire you to send one of my Troops, with a Captain, who may by all means persuade the people to quiet, by letting them know, They must not riotously do anything, for that must not be suffered: but [that] if there be any wrong done by the Adventurers,—upon complaint, such course shall be taken as appertains to justice, and right will be done. I rest,

"Your loving friend,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

The *Declaration of the Lord General and his Council of Officers*,[2] which came out on the Friday following the grand Catastrophe, does not seem to be of Oliver's composition: it is a Narrative of calm pious tone, of considerable length; promises, as a second Declaration still more explicitly does,[3] a Real Assembly of the Puritan Notables;—and, on the whole, can be imagined by the reader; nay we shall hear the entire substance of it from Oliver's own mouth, before long. These Declarations and other details we omit. Conceive that all manner of Authorities, with or without some little preambling, agree to go on as heretofore; that adherences arrive from Land-Generals and Sea-Generals by return of post; that the old Council

[1] From the Records of the Fen Office, in Sergeants' Inn, London; communicated with other Papers relating thereto, by Samuel Wells, Esq.

[2] 23d April, *Cromwelliana*, p. 120. [3] 30th April, *ibid.* p. 122.

of State having vanished with its Mother, a new Interim Council of State, with "Oliver Cromwell, Captain General," at the head of it, answers equally well; in a word, that all people are looking eagerly forward to those same "Known Persons, Men fearing God, and of approved Integrity," who are now to be got together from all quarters of England, to say what *shall* be done with this Commonwealth, — whom there is now no Fag-end of a corrupt Parliament to prevent just men from choosing with their best ability. Conceive all this; and read the following

SUMMONS.

"*To* —— ——.

"FORASMUCH as, upon the dissolution of the late Parliament, it became necessary that the peace, safety and good government of this Commonwealth should be provided for: And in order thereunto, divers Persons fearing God, and of approved Fidelity and Honesty, are, by myself with the advice of my Council of Officers, nominated; to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed: And having good assurance of your love to, and courage for, God and the interest of His Cause, and [that] of the good People of this Commonwealth:

"I, Oliver Cromwell, Captain General and Commander-in-Chief of all the Armies and Forces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require You, —— ——, being one of the Persons nominated, — Personally to be and appear at the Council-Chamber, commonly known or called by the name of the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, within the City of Westminster, upon the Fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof; Then and there to take upon you the said Trust; unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a Member for the County of ——. And hereof you are not to fail.

"Given under my hand and seal the 6th day of June, 1653.

"OLIVER CROMWELL."[1]

[1] *Newspapers* (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 125).

SPEECH FIRST.

A HUNDRED and forty of these Summonses were issued; and of all the Parties so summoned, "only two" did not attend. Disconsolate Bulstrode says, "Many of this Assembly being persons of fortune and knowledge, it was much wondered at by some that they would, at this Summons, and from such hands, take upon them the Supreme Authority of this Nation: considering how little right Cromwell and his Officers had to give it, or those Gentlemen to take it."[1] My disconsolate friend, it is a sign that Puritan England in general accepts this action of Cromwell and his Officers, and thanks them for it, in such a case of extremity; saying as audibly as the means permitted: Yea, we did wish it so! Rather mournful to the disconsolate official mind! — Lord Clarendon again, writing with much latitude, has characterized this Convention as containing in it "divers Gentlemen who had estates, and such a proportion of credit" in the world as might give some color to the business; but consisting, on the whole, of a very miserable beggarly sort of persons, acquainted with nothing but the art of praying; "artificers of the meanest trades," if they even had any trade: — all which the reader shall, if he please, add to the general *guano*-mountains, and pass on not regarding.

The undeniable fact is, these men were, as Whitlocke intimates, a quite reputable Assembly; got together by anxious "consultation of the godly Clergy" and chief Puritan lights in their respective Counties; not without much earnest revision, and solemn consideration in all kinds, on the part of men adequate enough for such a work, and desirous enough to do it well. The List of the Assembly exists;[2] not yet entirely gone dark for mankind. A fair proportion of them still recognizable to mankind. Actual Peers one or two: founders of Peerage Families two or three, which still exist among us, —

[1] *Whitlocke*, p. 534. [2] Somers Tracts, i. 218.

Colonel Edward Montague, Colonel Charles Howard, Anthony Ashley Cooper. And, better than King's Peers, certain Peers of Nature; whom if not the King and his pasteboard Norroys have had the luck to make Peers of, the living heart of England has since raised to the Peerage, and means to keep there, — Colonel Robert Blake the Sea-King, for one. "Known persons," I do think; "of approved integrity, men fearing God;" and perhaps not entirely destitute of sense any one of them! Truly it seems rather a distinguished Parliament, — even though Mr. Praisegod Barbone, "the Leather-merchant in Fleet Street," be, as all mortals must admit, a member of it. The fault, I hope, is forgivable! Praisegod, though he deals in leather, and has a name which can be misspelt, one discerns to be the son of pious parents; to be himself a man of piety, of understanding and weight, — and even of considerable private capital, my witty flunky friends! We will leave Praisegod to do the best he can, I think. — And old Francis Rouse is there from Devonshire; once member for Truro; Provost of Eton College; whom by and by they make Speaker; — whose Psalms the Northern Kirks still sing. Richard Mayor of Hursley is there, and even idle Dick Norton; Alexander Jaffray of Aberdeen, Laird Swinton of the College of Justice in Edinburgh; Alderman Ireton, brother of the late Lord Deputy, colleague of Praisegod in London. In fact, a real Assembly of the Notables in Puritan England; a Parliament, *Parliamentum*, or real *Speaking-Apparatus* for the now dominant Interest in England, as exact as could well be got, — much more exact, I suppose, than any ballot-box, free hustings or ale-barrel election usually yields.

Such is the Assembly called the Little Parliament, and wittily *Barebones's Parliament;* which meets on the 4th of July. Their witty name survives; but their history is gone all dark; and no man, for the present, has in his head or in his heart the faintest intimation of what they did, or what they aimed to do. They are very dark to us; and will never be illuminated much! Here is one glance of them face to face; here in this Speech of Oliver's, — if we can read it, and listen *along with them to it.* There is this one glance; and for six

generations, we may say, in the English mind there has not been another.

Listening from a distance of two Centuries, across the Death-chasms and howling kingdoms of Decay, it is not easy to catch everything! But let us faithfully do the best we can. Having once packed Dryasdust, and his unedifying cries of "Nonsense! Mere hypocrisy! Ambitious dupery!" &c. &c., about his business; closed him safe under hatches, and got silence established, — we shall perhaps hear a word or two; have a real glimpse or two of things long vanished; and *see* for moments this fabulous Barebones's Parliament itself, standing dim in the heart of the extinct Centuries, as a recognizable fact, once flesh and blood, now air and memory; not untragical to us.

Read this first, from the old Newspapers; and then the Speech itself, which a laborious Editor has, with all industry, copied and corrected from Two Contemporaneous Reports by different hands, and various editions of these. Note, however: The *Italic* sentences in brackets, most part of which, and yet perhaps not enough of which I have suppressed, are evidently by an altogether modern hand!

"*July 4th*, 1653. This being the day appointed, by the Letters of Summons from his Excellency the Lord General, for the meeting of the Persons called to the Supreme Authority, there came about a hundred and twenty of them to the Council-Chamber in Whitehall. After each person had given in a Ticket of his Name, they all entered the room, and sat down in chairs appointed for them, round about the table. Then his Excellency the Lord General, standing by the window opposite to the middle of the table, and as many of the Officers of the Army as the room could well contain, some on his right hand, and others on his left, and about him, — made the following Speech to the Assembly:" —

"GENTLEMEN, — I suppose the Summons that hath been instrumental to bring you hither gives you well to understand *the occasion* of your being here. Howbeit, I have something *farther to* impart to you, which is an Instrument drawn up by

the consent and advice of the principal Officers of the Army; which is a little (as we conceive) more significant than the *Letter* of the Summons. We have that here to tender you; and somewhat likewise to say farther for our own exoneration;[1] which we hope may be somewhat farther for your satisfaction. And withal seeing you sit here somewhat uneasily by reason of the scantness of the room and heat of the weather, I shall contract myself with respect thereunto.

"We have not thought it amiss a little to remind you of that Series of Providences wherein the Lord hath appeared, dispensing wonderful things to these Nations from the beginning of our Troubles to this very day.

"If I should look much backward, we might remind you of the state of affairs as they were before the Short, that is the last, Parliament, — in what posture the things of this Nation then stood: but they do so well, I presume, occur to all your memories and knowledge, that I shall not need to look so far backward. Nor yet to those hostile occasions which arose between the King that was and the Parliament[2] that then followed. And indeed, should I begin much later, the things that would fall very necessarily before you, would rather be for a History than for a verbal Discourse at this present.

"But thus far we may look back. You very well know, it pleased God, much about the midst of this War, to winnow (if I may so say) the Forces of this Nation;[3] and to put them into the hands of other men of other principles than those that did engage at the first. By what ways and means that was brought about, would ask more time than is allotted me to mind you of it. Indeed, there are Stories that do recite those Transactions, and give you narratives of matters of fact: but those things wherein the life and power of them lay; those strange windings and turnings of Providence; those very great appearances of God, in crossing and thwarting the

[1] "exoneration" does not here mean "excuse" or "shifting away of blame," but mere laying down of office with due form.

[2] The Long Parliament.

[3] *Self-denying Ordinance*; beginning of 1645: see vol. xvii. p. 188 et seq.

purposes of men, that He might raise up a poor and contemptible company of men,[1] neither versed in military affairs, nor having much natural propensity to them [into wonderful success — !]. Simply by their owning a Principle of Godliness and Religion; which so soon as *it* came to be owned, and the state of affairs put upon the foot of that account,[2] how God blessed them, furthering all undertakings, yet using the most improbable and the most contemptible and despicable means (for that we shall ever own): is very well known to you.

"What the several Successes and Issues have been, is not fit to mention at this time neither; — though I confess I thought to have enlarged myself upon that subject; forasmuch as Considering the works of God, and the operations of His hands, is a principal part of our duty; and a great encouragement to the strengthening of our hands and of our faith, for that which is behind.[3] And among other ends which those marvellous Dispensations have been given us for, that 's a principal end, which ought to be minded by us.

"[Certainly] in this revolution of affairs, as the issue of those Successes which God was pleased to give to the Army, and [to] the Authority that then stood, there were very great things brought about; — besides those dints that came upon the Nations[4] and places where the War itself was, very great things in Civil matters too. [As first,] the bringing of Offenders to justice, — and the Greatest of them. Bringing of the State of this Government to the name (at least) of a Commonwealth. Searching and sifting of all persons and places. The King removed, and brought to justice; and many great ones with him. The House of Peers laid aside. The House of Commons itself, the representative of the People of England, winnowed, sifted, and brought to a handful; as you very well remember.

"And truly God would not rest there: — for, by the way, although it 's fit for us to ascribe[5] our failings and miscarriages to ourselves, yet the gloriousness of the work may well

[1] Fairfax's Army.
[2] upon that footing.
[3] *still* to come.
[4] England, Ireland, Scotland.
[5] "*intitle*" in orig.

be attributed to God Himself, and may be called His strange work. You remember well that at the Change of the Government there was not an end of our Troubles, [*No!*] — although in that year were such high things transacted as indeed made it to be the most memorable year (I mean the Year 1648) that this Nation ever saw. So many Insurrections,[1] Invasions, secret Designs, open and public Attempts, all quashed in so short a time, and this by the very signal appearance of God Himself; which, I hope, we shall never forget! — You know also, as I said before, that, as the first effect of that memorable year of 1648 was to lay a foundation, by bringing Offenders to Punishment, so it brought us likewise to the Change of Government: — although it were worth the time [perhaps, if one had time], to speak of the carriage of some in places of trust, in most eminent places of trust, which was such as (had not God miraculously appeared) would have frustrated us of the hopes of all our undertakings. I mean by the closure of the Treaty that was endeavored with the King;[2] whereby they would have put into his hands all that we had engaged for, and all our security should have been a little piece of Paper! That thing going off, you very well know how it kept this Nation still in broils by sea and land. And yet what God wrought in Ireland and Scotland you likewise know; until He had finished these Troubles, upon the matter,[3] by His marvellous salvation wrought at Worcester.

"I confess to you, that I am very much troubled in my own spirit that the necessity of affairs requires I should be so short in those things: because, as I told you, this is the *leanest* part of the Transactions, this mere historical Narrative of them; there being in every particular; in the King's first going from the Parliament, in the pulling down of the Bishops, the House of Peers, in every step towards that Change of the Government, — I say there is not any one of these things, thus removed and

[1] Kent, St. Neot's, Colchester, Welsh Poyer at Pembroke, Scotch Hamilton at Preston, &c. &c.

[2] Treaty of the Isle of Wight, again and again endeavored.

[3] Means "so to speak;" a common phrase of those times; a perpetual one *with Clarendon, for instance.*

reformed, but hath an evident print of Providence set upon it, so that he who runs may read it. I am sorry I have not an opportunity to be more particular on these points, which I principally designed, this day; thereby to stir up your hearts and mine to gratitude and confidence.

"I shall now begin a little to remind you of the passages that have been transacted since Worcester. Coming from whence, with the rest of my fellow Officers and Soldiers, we did expect, and had some reasonable confidence our expectations would not be frustrated, That, having such an history to look back unto, such a God, so eminently visible, even our enemies confessing that 'God Himself was certainly engaged against them, else they should never have been disappointed in *every* engagement,' — and that may be used by the way, That if we had but miscarried in the least,[1] all our former mercies were in danger to be lost: — I say, coming up then, we had some confidence That the mercies God had shown, and the expectations which were upon our hearts, and upon the hearts of all good men, would have prompted those who were in Authority to do those good things which might, by honest men, have been judged fit for such a God, and worthy of such mercies; and indeed been a discharge of duty from those to whom all these mercies had been shown, for the true interest of this Nation! [*Yes!*] — If I should now labor to be particular in enumerating how businesses have been transacted from that time to the Dissolution of the late Parliament, indeed I should be upon a theme which would be troublesome to myself. For I think I may say for myself and my fellow Officers, That we have rather desired and studied Healing and Looking-forward than to rake into sores and to look backward, — to give things forth in those colors that would not be very pleasing to any good eye to look upon. Only this we shall say for our own vindication, as pointing out the ground for that unavoidable necessity, nay even that duty that was incumbent upon us, to make this last great Change — I think it will not be *amiss to offer* a word or two to that. [*Hear, hear!*] As I

[1] lost one battle of these many.

said before, we are loath to rake into businesses, were there not a necessity so to do.

"Indeed, we may say that, ever since the coming up of myself and those Gentlemen who have been engaged in the military part, it hath been full in our hearts and thoughts, To desire and use all the fair and lawful means we could to have the Nation reap the fruit of all the blood and treasure that had been spent in this Cause: and we have had many desires, and thirstings in our spirits, to find out ways and means wherein we might be anywise instrumental to help it forward. We were very tender, for a long time, so much as to petition. For some of the Officers being Members; and others having very good acquaintance with, and some relations to, divers Members of Parliament, — we did, from time to time, solicit such; thinking if there had been nobody to prompt them, nor call upon them, these things might have been attended to, from ingenuity[1] and integrity in those that had it in their power to answer such expectations.

"Truly, when we saw nothing would be done, we did, as we thought according to our duty, a little, to remind them by a Petition; which I suppose you have seen: it was delivered, as I remember, in August last.[2] What effect that had, is likewise very well known. The truth is, we had no return at all for our satisfaction, — a few words given us; the things presented by us, or the most of them, we were told 'were under consideration:' and those not presented by us had very little or no consideration at all. Finding the People dissatisfied in every corner of the Nation, and [all men] laying at our doors the non-performance of these things, which had been promised, and were of duty to be performed, — truly we did then think ourselves concerned, if we would (as becomes honest men) keep up the reputation of honest men in the world. And therefore we, divers times, endeavored to obtain meetings with divers Members of Parliament; — and we did not begin those till about October last. And in these meetings we did, with all faithfulness and sincerity, beseech them that they

[1] ingennousness.

[2] *Antea, p. 283; Commons Journals*, vii. 164 (13th August, 1652).

would be mindful of their duty to God and men, in the discharge of the trust reposed in them. I believe (as there are many gentlemen here know), we had at least ten or twelve meetings; most humbly begging and beseeching of them, That by their own means they would bring forth those good things which had been promised and expected; that so it might appear they did not do them by any suggestion from the Army, but from their own ingenuity: so tender were we to preserve them in the reputation of the People. Having had very many of those meetings; and declaring plainly that the issue would be the displeasure and judgment of God, the dissatisfaction of the People, the putting of [all] things into a confusion: yet how little we prevailed, we very well know, and we believe it 's not unknown to you.

"At last, when indeed we saw that things would not be laid to heart, we had a very serious consideration among ourselves what other ways to have recourse unto [*Yea, that is the question!*]; and when we grew to more closer considerations, then they [the Parliament men] began to take the Act for a Representative[1] to heart, and seemed exceeding willing to put it on. And had it been done with integrity, there could nothing have happened more welcome to our judgments than that. But plainly the intention was, Not to give the People a right of choice; it would have been but a seeming right: that [semblance] of giving them a choice was only to recruit the House, the better to perpetuate *themselves*. And truly, having been, divers of us, spoken unto to give way hereunto, to which we made perpetual aversions, indeed abominating the thoughts of it, — we declared our judgments against it, and our dissatisfaction with it. And yet they that would not hear of a Representative formerly, when it lay three years before them, without proceeding one line, or making any considerable progress, — I say, those that would not hear of this Bill formerly, did now, when they saw us falling into more closer considerations, make, instead of protracting their Bill, as much preposterous haste with it on the other side, and run into that [opposite] *extremity*.

[1] For a New Parliament and Method of Election.

"Finding that this spirit was not according to God; and that the whole weight of this Cause — which must needs be very dear unto us who had so often adventured our lives for it, and we believe it was so to you — did hang upon the business now in hand; and seeing plainly that there was not here any consideration to assert this Cause, or provide security for *it*, but only to cross the troublesome people of the Army, who by this time were high enough in their displeasures: Truly, I say, when we saw all this, having power in our hands [we could not resolve] to let such monstrous proceedings go on, and so to throw away all our liberties into the hands of those whom we had fought against [*Presbyterian-Royalists; at Preston and elsewhere, — "fought against," yea and beaten to ruin, your Excellency might add!*]; we came, first, to this conclusion among ourselves, That if we had been *fought* out of our liberties and rights, Necessity would have taught us patience; but that to deliver them [sluggishly] up would render us the basest persons in the world, and worthy to be accounted haters of God and of His People. When it pleased God to lay this close to our hearts; and indeed to show us that the interest of His People was grown cheap, [that *it* was] not at all laid to heart, but that if things came to real competition, His Cause, even among themselves, would also in every point go to the ground: indeed, this did add more considerations to us, That there was a duty incumbent upon us [even upon us]. And — I speak here in the presence of some that were at the closure of our consultations, and as before the Lord — the thinking of an act of violence was to us worse than any battle that ever we were in, or that could be, to the utmost hazard of our lives [*Hear him!*]: so willing were we, even very tender and desirous, if possible, that these men might quit their places with honor.

"I am the longer upon this; because it hath been in our own hearts and consciences, justifying us, and hath never been yet thoroughly imparted to any; and we had rather begin with you than have done it before; — and do think indeed that this Transaction is more proper for a verbal communication than to have it put into writing. I doubt, he whose

pen is most gentle in England would, in recording that, have been tempted, whether he would or no, to dip it deep in anger and wrath. [*Stifled cries from Dryasdust.*]—But affairs being at this posture; we seeing plainly, even in some critical cases,[1] that the Cause of the People of God was a despised thing;—truly we did believe then that the hands of other men [than these] must be the hands to be used for the work. And we thought then, it was very high time to look about us, and to be sensible of *our* duty. [*Oliver's voice somewhat rising; Major-General Harrison and the others looking rather animated!*]

"If, I say, I should take up your time to tell you what instances we have to satisfy our judgments and consciences, That these are not vain imaginations, nor things fictitious, but which fell within the compass of our own certain knowledge, it would bring me, I say, to what I would avoid, to rake into these things too much. Only this. If anybody was in competition for any place of real and signal trust, [if any really public interest was at stake in that Parliament,] how hard and difficult a matter was it to get anything carried without making parties,—without practices[2] indeed unworthy of a Parliament! When things must be carried so in a Supreme Authority, indeed I think it is not as it ought to be, to say no worse [*Nor do I*]!—Then, when we came to other trials, as in that case of Wales [of establishing a Preaching Ministry in Wales] which, I must confess for my own part, I set myself upon,—if I should relate what discountenance that business of the poor People of God there had (who had men[2] watching over them like so many wolves, ready to catch the lambs so soon as they were brought forth into the world); how signally that Business was trodden under foot [in Parliament], to the discountenancing of the Honest People, and the countenancing of the Malignant Party, of this Commonwealth—! I need but say it was so. For many of you know, and by sad experience have felt it to be so. And somebody I hope will, at leisure, better impart to you the state of that *Business* [of Wales]; which really, to myself and Officers,

[1] "things" in orig. [2] Clergymen so called.

was as plain a trial of their spirits [the Parliament's spirits] as anything, — it being known to many of us that God had kindled a seed there,[1] indeed hardly to be paralleled since the Primitive time. —

"I would these had been all the instances we had! Finding [however] which way the spirits of men went, finding that good was never intended to the People of God, — I mean, when I say the People of God, I mean the *large* comprehension of them, under the several Forms of Godliness in this Nation; — finding, I say, that all tenderness was forgotten to the Good People (though it was by *their* hands and their means, under the blessing of God, that *those* sat where they did), — we thought this very bad requital: I will not say, they were come to an utter inability of working Reformation, — though I might say so in regard to one thing: the Reformation of the Law, so much groaned under in the posture it now is in. [*Hear, hear!*] That was a thing we had many good words spoken for; but we know that many months together were not enough for the settling of one word, 'Incumbrances' [*Three calendar months! A grim smile on some faces*], — I say, finding that this was the spirit and complexion of men, — although these were faults for which no man should lift up his hand against the Superior Magistrate; not simply for these faults and failings, — yet when we saw that this [New Representative of theirs] was meant to perpetuate men of such spirits; nay when we had it from their own mouths, That they could not endure to hear of the Dissolution of this Parliament: we thought this an high breach of trust. If they had been a Parliament never violence was upon,[2] sitting as free and clear as any in former ages, it was thought, this, to be a breach of trust, such as a greater could not be.

"And that we might not be in doubt about these matters; having had that Conference among ourselves which I gave you

[1] Expression then correct enough: "kindle" = *kindeln* (German), meaning "give birth to," "create." Occurs in Shakspeare more than once.

[2] Had *no Pride's Purge*, Apprentice-riot, or the like, ever come upon *them*.

an account of, we did desire one more, — and indeed it was the night before the Dissolution; it had been desired two or three nights before: we did desire that we might speak with some of the principal persons of the House. That we might with ingenuity open our hearts to them; that we might either be convinced of the certainty of their intentions; or else that they would be pleased to hear our expedients to prevent these inconveniences. And indeed we could not attain our desire till the night before the Dissolution. There is a touch of this in our Declaration.[1] As I said before, at that time we had often desired it, and at that time we obtained it: where about twenty of them were, none of the least in consideration for their interest and ability; with whom we desired some discourse upon these things; and had it. And it pleased these Gentlemen, who are here, the Officers of the Army, to desire me to offer their sense for them, which I did, and it was shortly thus: We told them 'the reason of our desire to wait upon them now was, that we might know from them, What security lay in their manner of proceeding, so hastened, for a New Representative; wherein they had made a few qualifications, such as they were: and How the whole business would [in actual practice] be executed: Of which we had as yet no account; and yet we had our interest, our lives, estates and families therein concerned; and, we thought likewise, the Honest People had interest in us: "How all this was to be?" That so, if it did seem they meant to appear in such honest and just ways as might be security to the Honest Interest, we might therein acquiesce: or else that they would hear what we had to offer.' Indeed, when this desire was made, the answer was, 'That nothing would do good for this Nation but the continuance of this Parliament!' We wondered we should have such a return. We said little to that: but, seeing they would not give us satisfaction that their ways were honorable and just, we craved their leave to make our objections. We then told them, That the way they were going in would be impracticable. [That] we could not tell how to send out an Act with such *qualifications* as to be a rule for electing and for being elected,

[1] *Of* April 22d; referred to, not given, as p. 206.

Until we first knew who the persons were that should be admitted to elect. And above all, Whether any of the qualifications reached [so far as to include] the Presbyterian Party.[1] And we were bold to tell them, That none of that judgment who had deserted this Cause and Interest [2] should have any power therein. We did think we should profess it, That we had as good deliver up our Cause into the hands of any as into the hands of those who had deserted us, or who were as neuters! For it 's one thing to love a brother, to bear with and love a person of different judgment in matters of religion; and another thing to have anybody so far set in the saddle on that account, as to have all the rest of his brethren at mercy.

"Truly, Gentlemen, having this discourse concerning the impracticableness of the thing, the bringing in of neuters, and such as had deserted this Cause, whom we very well knew; objecting likewise how dangerous it would be by drawing concourses of people in the several Counties (every person that was within the qualification or without); and how it did fall obvious to us that the power would come into the hands of men who had very little affection to this Cause: the answer again was made, and that by very eminent persons, 'That nothing would save the Nation but the continuance of this Parliament.' This being so, we humbly proposed, — since neither our counsels, our objections to their way of proceeding, nor their answers to justify that, did give us satisfaction; nor did we think they ever intended to give us any, which indeed some of them have since declared [to be the fact], — we proposed to them, I say, *our* expedient; which was indeed this: That the Government of the Nation being in such a condition as we saw, and things [being] under so much ill sense abroad, and likely to end in confusion [if we so proceeded], — we desired they would devolve the trust over to some Well-affected Men, such as had an interest in the Nation, and were known to be of good affection to the Commonwealth. Which, we told them, was no new thing when this Land was under the like hurly-burlies. And we had been laboring to get precedents

[1] "*Presbytery*" *in orig.*

[2] *Name of your Royalists*, Hamilton-Invasion Presbyteriana.

[out of History] to convince them of it; and it was confessed by them it had been no new thing. This expedient we offered out of the deep sense we had of the Cause of Christ; and were answered so as I told you, That nothing would save this Nation but the continuance of that Parliament. [The continuance:] they would not [be brought to] say the *perpetuating* of it, at this time; yet we found their endeavors did directly tend that way; they gave us this answer, 'That the thing we offered was of a very high nature and of tender consideration: How would money be raised?' — and made some other objections. We told them [how]; and that we here offered an expedient five times better than that [of theirs], for which no reason was given, nor we thought could be given [*Why should the Fag-end of this poor old Parliament, now fallen impotent except to raise money for itself, continue? No reason is given, nor we think can be, that will convince mankind*]; — and desired them that they would lay things seriously to heart! They told us, They would take time for the consideration of these things till to-morrow; they would sleep upon them, and consult some friends; [some friends,] — though, as I said, there were about twenty-three [of them here], and not above fifty-three in the House. And at parting, two or three of the chief of them, one of the chief [*O Sir Harry Vane!*], and two or three more, did tell us, That they would endeavor to suspend farther proceedings about their Bill for a New Representative until they had another conference with us. And upon this we had great satisfaction; and had hope, if our expedient could receive a loving debate, that the next day we should have some such issue thereof as would give satisfaction to all.[1] And herewith they went away, [it] being late at night.

"The next morning, we considering how to order what we had farther to offer to them in the evening, word was brought us that the House was proceeding with all speed upon the New Representative! We could not believe it, that such persons would be so unworthy; we remained there till a second and third messenger came, with tidings That the House *was really* upon that business, and had brought it near to the

[1] "*hoping* by conference to have satisfaction to all" in orig.

issue, — and with that height[1] as was never before exercised; leaving out all things relating to the due exercise of the qualifications (which had appeared all along [in it till now]); and [meaning], as we heard, to pass it only on paper, without engrossing, for the quicker despatch of it. — Thus, as we apprehend, would the liberties of the Nation have been thrown away into the hands of those who had never fought for it. And upon this we thought it our duty not to suffer it. [*No!*] — And upon this the House was dissolved, even when the Speaker was going to put the last question. [*Let* HIM *travel at any rate!*]

"I have too much troubled you with this: but we have made this relation, that you might know that what hath been done in the Dissolution of the Parliament was as necessary to be done as the preservation of this Cause. And the necessity which led us to do that, hath brought us to this [present] issue, Of exercising an extraordinary way and course to draw You together [here]; upon this account, that you are men who know the Lord, and have made observations of His marvellous Dispensations; and may be trusted, as far as men may be trusted, with this Cause.

"It remains now for me to acquaint you [a little] farther with what relates to your taking upon you this great Business. [But indeed] that is contained in the Paper[2] here in my hand, which will be offered presently to you to read.[3] But having done that we have done [*Dissolving of the Parliament; which cannot be repented of, and need not be boasted of!*] upon such ground of necessity as we have [now] declared, which was not a feigned necessity but a real, — [it did behoove us,]

[1] violence, height of temper.

[2] An Indenture or Instrument of Government, some account of which can be found, if any one is curious about it, in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 175.

[3] Considerable discrepancies in the Two Reports throughout this paragraph; indicating some embarrassment and intricacy in the Speaker. Which with our best industry we endeavor to reconcile; to elicit from them what the real utterance, or thought and attempted utterance, of the Speaker may have been. The two Reporters being faithful according to their ability, and the Speaker faithful according to his, all discrepancies ought to dissolve themselves in clearer insight and conviction; as we hope they do.

to the end we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts and our integrity who did these things, Not to grasp at the power ourselves, or keep it in military hands, no not for a day; but, as far as God enabled us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands of Proper Persons that might be called from the several parts of the Nation. This necessity; and I hope we may say for ourselves, this integrity of concluding to divest the Sword of all power in the Civil Administration, — hath been that that hath moved us to put You to this trouble [of coming hither]: and having done that, truly we think we cannot, with the discharge of our own consciences, but offer somewhat to you on the devolving of the burden on your shoulders.[1] It hath been the practice of others who have, voluntarily and out of a sense of duty, divested themselves, and devolved the Government into new hands; I say, it hath been the practice of those that have done so; it hath been practised, and is very consonant to reason, To lay [down] together with their Authority, some Charge [how to employ it][2] (as we hope we have done), and to press the duty [of employing it well]: concerning which we have a word or two to offer you.

"Truly God hath called you to this Work by, I think, as wonderful providences as ever passed upon the sons of men in so short a time. And truly I think, taking the argument of necessity, for the Government must not *fall;* taking the appearance of the hand of God in this thing, — [I think] you would have been loath it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies! I am sure, God would not have it so. It 's come, therefore, to you by the way of necessity; by the way of the wise Providence of God, — through weak hands. And therefore, I think, coming through our hands, though such as we are, it may not be ill taken if

[1] "for our own exoneration" in orig.

[2] He seems embarrassed lest he be thought to have some authority over this new Little Parliament, and to treat them as if he were their King. The dissolving of the old Parliament has also its embarrassment, though not so *prominent here;* and both together make an intricate paragraph. Our Two *Reports, from* this point, virtually coincide again.

we do offer somewhat (as I said before) as to the discharge of the Trust which is now incumbent upon you. [*Certainly not!*] And although I seem to speak of that which may have the face and interpretation of a Charge, it 's a very humble one: and if he that means to be a Servant to you, who hath now called you to the exercise of the Supreme Authority, discharge what he conceives to be a duty to you, we hope you will take it in good part.

"And truly I shall not hold you long in it; because I hope it 's written in your hearts to approve yourselves to God. Only this Scripture I shall remember to you, which hath been much upon my spirit: *Hosea*, xi. 12, 'Judah yet ruleth with God, and is faithful with the Saints.' It 's said before, that 'Ephraim compassed God about with lies, and the house of Israel with deceit.' How God hath been compassed about by fastings and thanksgivings,[1] and other exercises and transactions, I think we have all cause to lament. Truly you are called by God, [as Judah was,] to 'rule with Him,' and for Him. And you are called to be faithful with the Saints who have been instrumental to your call. [Again,] *Second Samuel*, xxi. 3, 'He that ruleth over men,' the Scripture saith, 'must be just, ruling in the fear of God.' [*Groans from Dryasdust. Patience, my friend! Really, does not all this seem an incredibility;— a palpable hypocrisy, since it is not the mouth of an imbecile that speaks it? My estimable, timber-headed, leaden-hearted friend, can there be any doubt of it?*]

"And truly it 's better to *pray* for you than to *counsel* you in that matter, That you may exercise the judgment of mercy and truth! It 's better, I say, to pray for you than counsel you; to ask wisdom from Heaven for you; which I am confi-

[1] There was a Monthly Fast, the Last Wednesday of every month, held duly for about Seven Years; till, after the King's Death, we abolished it Immense preaching and howling, all over the country, there has been on these stated Wednesdays; sincere and insincere. Not to speak of due Thanksgivings for victories and felicities innumerable; all ending in this infelicitous condition! His Excellency thinks we ought to restrain such habits; not to imitate *Ephraim, or the Long* Parliament, in such. The rest of this Discourse *is properly a Sermon of his;* and one conceived in a different style.

dent many thousands of Saints do this day, [and] have done, and will do, through the permission of God and His assistance. I say it 's better to pray than advise: yet truly I think of another Scripture, which is very useful, though it seems to be for a common application to every man as a Christian, — wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom;[1] and he is told what that is. That 's 'from Above,' we are told; it 's 'pure, peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits;' it 's 'without partiality and without hypocrisy.' Truly my thoughts run much upon this place, that to the execution of judgment (the judgment of truth, for that 's the judgment) you must have wisdom 'from Above;' and that 's 'pure.' That will teach you to exercise the judgment of truth; it 's 'without partiality.' Purity, impartiality, sincerity: these are the effects of 'wisdom,' and these will help you to execute the judgment of truth. And then if God give you hearts to be 'easy to be entreated,' to be 'peaceably spirited,' to be 'full of good fruits,' bearing good fruits to the Nation, to men as men, to the People of God, to all in their several stations, — *this* will teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth. [*Yes, if thou understand it; still yes, — and nothing else will!*] And I have little more to say to this. I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf, as I said; and many others will.

"Truly the 'judgment of truth,' it will teach you to be as just towards an Unbeliever as towards a Believer; and it 's our duty to do so. I confess I have said sometimes, foolishly it may be: I had rather miscarry to a Believer than an Unbeliever.[2] This may seem a paradox: — but let 's take heed of doing that which is evil to either! Oh, if God fill your hearts with such a spirit as Moses had, and as Paul had, — which was not a spirit for Believers only, but for the whole People! Moses, he could die for them; wish himself 'blotted

[1] "But the Wisdom that is from Above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated; full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of *them that make peace*" (*James*, iii. 17, 18).

[2] *Do wrong to a good than to a bad man*; a remarkable sentiment.

out of God's Book:'[1] Paul could wish himself 'accursed for his countrymen after the flesh'[2] [*Let us never forget that, in Moses and Paul. — Are not these amazing sentiments, on their part, my estimable, timber-headed, leaden-hearted friend?*]: so full of affection were their spirits unto all. And truly this would help you to execute the judgment of truth, and of mercy also.

"A second thing is, To desire you would be faithful with the Saints; to be touched with them. And I hope, whatever others may think, it may be a matter to us all of rejoicing to have our hearts touched (with reverence be it spoken) as Christ, 'being full of the spirit,' was 'touched with our infirmities,' that He might be merciful. So should we be; we should be pitiful. Truly, this calls us to be very much touched with the infirmities of the Saints; that we may have a respect unto all, and be pitiful and tender towards all, though of different judgments. And if I did seem to speak something that reflected on those of the Presbyterial judgment, — truly I think if we have not an interest of love for them too, we shall[3] hardly answer this of being faithful to the Saints.

"In my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad, I did read that Scripture often, Forty-first of *Isaiah;* where God gave me, and some of my fellows, encouragement [as to] what He would do there and elsewhere; which He hath performed for us. He said, 'He would plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah-tree, and the myrtle and the oil-tree; and He would set in the desert the fir-tree, and the pine-tree, and the box-tree together.' For what end will the Lord do all this? 'That they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, That the hand of the Lord hath done this;' — that it is He who hath wrought all the salvations and deliverances we have received. For what end? To see, and know, and understand together, that He hath done and wrought all this for the good of the Whole Flock. [*Even so. For "Saints" read "Good Men;" and it is true to the end of the world.*] Therefore, I beseech you, — but I think I need not, — have a care of the Whole Flock! Love the sheep, love the lambs; love all, tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things

[1] *Exodus, xxxii. 32.* [2] Romans, ix. 3. [3] "will" in orig.

that are good. And if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you, — I say, if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected.

"I think I need not advise, much less press you, to endeavor the Promoting of the Gospel; to encourage the Ministry;[1] such a Ministry and such Ministers as be faithful in the Land; upon whom the true character is. Men that have received the Spirit, which Christians will be able to discover, and do [the will of]; men that 'have received Gifts from Him who is ascended up on high, who hath led captivity captive, to *give* gifts to men,'[2] even for this same work of the Ministry! And truly the Apostle, speaking in another place, in the Twelfth of the *Romans*, when he has summed up all the mercies of God, and the goodness of God; and discoursed, in the former Chapters, of the foundations of the Gospel, and of those things that are the subject of those first Eleven Chapters, — he beseecheth them to 'present their bodies a living sacrifice.' [*Note that!*] He beseecheth them that they would not esteem highly of themselves, but be humble and sober-minded, and not stretch themselves beyond their line; and also that they would have a care for those that 'had received gifts' to the uses there mentioned. I speak not — I thank God it is far from my heart — for a Ministry deriving itself from the Papacy, and pretending to that which is so much insisted on, 'Succession.' ["*Hear, hear!*" *from the Puseyites.*] The true Succession is through the Spirit — [*I should say so!*] — given in its measure. The Spirit is given for that use [To make proper Speakers-forth of God's eternal Truth]; and that's right Succession. But I need not discourse of these things to you; who, I am persuaded, are taught of God, much more and in a greater measure than myself, concerning these things.

"Indeed I have but one word more to say to you; though in that perhaps I shall show my weakness: it's by way of encouragement to go on in this Work. And give me leave to begin thus. I confess I never looked to see such a Day as *this*, — *it* may be nor you neither, — when Jesus Christ should

[1] Preaching Clergy. [2] Ephesians, iv. 8.

be so owned as He is, this day, in this Work. Jesus Christ is owned this day by the Call of You; and you own Him by your willingness to appear for Him. And you manifest this, as far as poor creatures may do, to be a Day of the Power of Christ. I know you well remember that Scripture, 'He makes His People willing in the day of His power.'[1] God manifests this to be the Day of the Power of Christ; having, through so much blood, and so much trial as hath been upon these Nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof: To have His People called to the Supreme Authority. [*A thing, I confess, worth striving for; and the one thing worth striving for!*] He makes this to be the greatest mercy, next to His own Son. God hath owned His Son; and He hath owned you, and made you own Him. I confess I never looked to have seen such a day; I did not. — Perhaps you are not known by face to one another; [indeed] I am confident you are strangers, coming from all parts of the Nation as you do: but we shall tell you that indeed we have not allowed ourselves the choice of one person in whom we had not this good hope, That there was in him faith in Jesus Christ, and love to all His People and Saints. [*What a Parliament; unexampled before and since in this world!*]

"Thus God hath owned you in the eyes of the world; and thus, by coming hither, you own Him: and, as it is in *Isaiah*, xliii. 21, — it's an high expression; and look to your own hearts whether, now or hereafter, God shall apply it to *you*: 'This People,' saith God, 'I have formed for Myself, that they may show forth my praise.' I say, it's a memorable passage; and, I hope, not unfitly applied: the Lord apply it to each of your hearts! I shall not descant upon the words; they are plain: indeed you are as like the 'forming of God' as ever people were. If a man should tender a Book to you [to swear you upon], I dare appeal to all your consciences, Neither directly nor indirectly did you seek for your coming hither. You have been passive in coming hither; being *called*, — and indeed that's an active work, — [though not on your part!]

[1] Psalm cx. 3; a favorite Psalm of Oliver's, — as we know already, and as Ludlow knows.

'This People have *I formed:*' consider the circumstances by which you are 'called' hither; through what strivings [*At Marston Moor, at Naseby, Dunbar and elsewhere*], through what blood you are come hither, — where neither you nor I, nor no man living, three months ago, had any thought to have seen such a company taking upon them, or rather being called to take, the Supreme Authority of this Nation? Therefore, own your call! Indeed, I think it may be truly said that there never was a Supreme Authority consisting of such a Body, above one hundred and forty, I believe; [never such a Body] that came into the Supreme Authority [before] under such a notion [as this] in such a way of owning God, and being owned by Him. And therefore I may also say, never such a 'People' so 'formed,' for such a purpose, [were] thus called before. [*These are lucent considerations; lucent, nay radiant!*]

"If it were a time to compare your standing with [that of] those that have been 'called' by the Suffrages of the People — [*He does not say what the result would be*] — Which who can tell how soon God may fit the People for such a thing? None can desire it more than I! Would all were the Lord's People; as it was said, 'Would all the Lord's People were Prophets!' [*Fit to sit in Parliament and make Laws: alas, hitherto but few of them can "prophesy"!*] I would all were fit to be called. It ought to be the longing of our hearts to see men brought to own the Interest of Jesus Christ. And give me leave to say: If I know anything in the world, what is there likelier to win the People to the interest of Jesus Christ, to the love of Godliness (and therefore what stronger duty lies on you, being thus called), than an humble and godly conversation? So that they may see [that] you love them; [that] you lay yourselves out, time and spirits, for them! Is not this the likeliest way to bring them to their liberties? [*To make them free by being servants of God; free, and fit to elect for Parliament!*] And do not you, by this, put it upon God to find out times and seasons for you; [fit seasons] by putting forth His Spirit? At least you convince them that, as men fearing God have *fought them* out of their bondage under the Regal Power, so *men fearing* God do now rule them in the fear of God, and take

care to administer Good unto them. — But this is some digression. I say, own your call; for it is of God! Indeed, it is marvellous, and it hath been unprojected. It 's not long since either you or we came to know of it. And indeed this hath been the way God dealt with us all along, To keep things from our eyes all along, so that we have seen nothing, in all His dispensations, long beforehand; — which is also a witness, in some measure, to our integrity. ["*Integrity!*" *from Dryasdust.* — *Husht, my friend, it is incredible! A flat impossibility, how can it be believed? To the human Owl, living in his perennial London Fog, in his Twilight of all imaginable corrupt Exhalations, and with his poor head, too, overspun to such extent with red-tape, parliamentary eloquence, force of public opinion and such like, how shall the Azure Firmaments and Everlasting Stars become credible? They are and remain incredible. From his shut sense all light-rays are victoriously repelled; no light shall get admittance there. In no Heaven's light will he, for his part, ever believe; — till at last, as is the necessity withal, it come to him as lightning! Then he will believe it.*] — I say, you are called with an high calling. And why should we be afraid to say or think, That *this* may be the door to usher in the Things that God has promised; which have been prophesied of; which He has set the hearts of His People to wait for and expect?[1] We know who they are that shall war with the Lamb, 'against His enemies:' they shall be 'a people called, and chosen and faithful.' And God hath, in a Military way, — we may speak it without flattering ourselves, and I believe you know it, — He hath appeared with them, [with that same "people,"] and for them; and now in these Civil Powers and Authorities [does not He appear]? These are not ill prognostications of the God we wait for. Indeed I do think somewhat is at the door: we are at the threshold; and therefore it becomes us to lift up our heads, and encourage ourselves in the Lord. And we have thought, some of us, That it is our duties to *endeavor* this way; not merely to *look* at that Prophecy in Daniel, 'And the Kingdom shall not be delivered to another people' [and passively

[1] Hundred-and-tenth *Psalm*, and other Scriptures, are known to Ludlow and us.

wait]. Truly God hath brought this to your hands; by the owning of your call; blessing the Military Power. The Lord hath directed their [*our*] hearts to be instrumental to call you; and set it upon our hearts to deliver over the Power 'to another people.' [*Therefore "we" are not the persons prophesied of?*] — But I may appear to be beyond my line here; these things are dark. Only, I desire my thoughts [1] to be exercised in these things, and so I hope are yours.

"Truly seeing things are thus, that you are at the edge of the Promises and Prophecies — [*Does not say what results*] — At least, if there were neither Promise nor Prophecy, yet you are carrying on the best things, you are endeavoring after the best things; and, as I have said elsewhere,[2] if I were to choose any servant, the meanest Officer for the Army or the Commonwealth, I would choose a godly man that hath principles. Especially where a trust is to be committed. Because I know where to *have* a man that hath principles. I believe if any one of you should choose a servant, you would do thus. And I would all our Magistrates were so chosen: — this may be done; there may be good effects of this! Surely it's our duty to choose men that fear the Lord, and will praise the Lord: such hath the Lord 'formed for Himself;' and He expects no praises from *other* [than such]. [*Oh, Secretary of the Home Department, my right honorable friend!*]

"This being so, truly it puts me in mind of another Scripture, that famous Psalm, Sixty-eighth Psalm;[3] which indeed

[1] "senses" in orig.

[2] In some Speech now lost: — probably in many Speeches; certainly in all manner of Practice and Action.

[3] We remember it ever since Dunbar morning; let us read a passage or two of it again: His Excellency and the Little Parliament will perhaps wait a moment; and it may do us good!

"Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered: let them also that hate Him flee before Him. As smoke is driven away, so drive them away; as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish before the presence of God." The unhappy!

"But let the righteous be glad: let them rejoice before God, yea let them rejoice exceedingly. Sing unto God, sing praises to His name. A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows, is God in His holy habitation. —

"O God, when Thou wentest forth before Thy People, — the Earth shook,

is a glorious Prophecy, I am persuaded, of the Gospel Churches, — it may be, of the Jews also. There it prophesies that 'He will bring His People again from the depths of the Sea, as once He led Israel through the Red Sea.' And it may be, as some think, God will bring the Jews home to their station 'from the isles of the sea,' and answer their expectations 'as from the depths of the sea.' But [at all events], sure I am, when the Lord shall set up the glory of the Gospel Church, it shall be a gathering of people as 'out of deep waters,' 'out of the multitude of waters:' such are His People, drawn out of the multitudes of the Nations and People of this world. — And truly that Psalm is very glorious in many other parts of it: When He gathers them, 'great was the company' of them that publish His word. 'Kings of Armies did flee apace, and she that tarried at home divided the spoil' [*Consider Charles Stuart, First and Second; and what we see this day!*]; and 'Although ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove, covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold.' [*Hah!*] And indeed the triumph of that Psalm is exceeding high and great; and God is accomplishing it. And the close of it, that closeth with my heart, and I do not doubt with yours, 'The Lord shakes the hills and mountains, and they reel.' And God hath a Hill too; 'an high Hill as the Hill of Bashan: and the chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of Angels, and God will dwell upon this Hill forever!' — [PROCUL PROFANI! *The man is without a soul that looks into this Great Soul of a man, radiant with the splendors of very Heaven, and sees nothing there but the shadow of his own mean darkness. Ape of the Dead Sea, peering asquint into the Holy*

the Heavens also dropped. Kings of Armies did flee apace; and she that tarried at home divided the spoil." Ye poor and brave, be ye of courage! "Though ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove, covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold.

"The Hill of God is as the Hill of Bashan; an high Hill as the Hill of Bashan." Inexpugnable, that! "Why leap ye, ye high Hills? This is the Hill of God, which God desireth to dwell in: yea the Lord will dwell in it forever. The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of Angels: the *Lord is among them, as in* Sinai in the holy place."

of Holies, let us have done with THY *commentaries! Thou canst not fathom it.*]

"I am sorry I have troubled you, in such a place of heat as this is, so long. All I have to say, in my own name, and that of my fellow Officers who have joined with me in this work, is: That we shall commend you to the grace of God, to the guidance of His Spirit: [That] having thus far served you, or rather our Lord Jesus Christ [in regard to you], we shall be ready in our stations, according as the Providence of God shall lead us, to be subservient to the [farther] work of God, and to that Authority which we shall reckon God hath set over us. And though we have no formal thing to present you with, to which the hands, or visible expressions, of the Officers and Soldiers of the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland [are set]; yet we may say of them, and we may say also with confidence for our brethren at Sea, — with whom neither in Scotland, Ireland, nor at Sea, hath there been any artifice used to persuade their consents to this work, — that nevertheless their consents have flowed in to us from all parts, beyond our expectations: and we may with all confidence say, that as we have their approbation and full consent to the other work, so you have their hearts and affections unto this.[1] And not only theirs: we have very many Papers from the Churches of Christ throughout the Nation; wonderfully both approving what hath been done in removing of obstacles, and approving what we have done in this very thing. And having said this, we shall trouble you no more. But if you will be pleased that this Instrument[2] be read to you, which I have signed by the advice of the Council of Officers, — we shall then leave you to your own thoughts and the guidance of God; to dispose of yourselves for a farther meeting, as you shall see cause."[3]

[1] "other work" delicately means *dissolving the old Parliament*; "this" is *assembling of you*, "this very thing."

[2] The Instrument is to be found among the Old Pamphlets; but being of a much lower strain, mere constitutionalities, &c. in phrase and purport alike leaden, we do not read it.

[3] *Report in Parliamentary History*, and the common Pamphlets, ends here.

"I have only this to add. The affairs of the Nation lying on our hands to be taken care of; and we knowing that both the Affairs at Sea, the Armies in Ireland and Scotland, and the providing of things for the preventing of inconveniences, and the answering of emergencies, did require that there should be no Interruption, but that care ought to be taken for these things; and foreseeing likewise that before you could digest yourselves into such a method, both for place, time and other circumstances, as you shall please to proceed in, some time would be required, — which the Commonwealth could not bear in respect to the managing of things: I have, within a week [past] set up a Council of State, to whom the managing of affairs is committed. Who, I may say, very voluntarily and freely, before they see how the issue of things will be, have engaged themselves in business; eight or nine of them being Members of the House that late was. — I say I did exercise that power which, I thought, was devolved upon me at that time; to the end affairs might not have any interval [or interruption]. And now when you are met, it will ask some time for the settling of your affairs and your way. And [on the other hand] a day cannot be lost [or left vacant], but they must be in continual Council till you take farther order. So that the whole matter of their consideration also which regards them is at your disposal, as you shall see cause. And therefore I thought it my duty to acquaint you with thus much, to prevent distractions in your way: That things have been thus ordered; that your affairs will [not stop, but] go on [in the mean while], — till you see cause to alter this Council; they having no authority or continuance of sitting, except simply until you take farther order."[1]

The reader has now struggled through this First Speech of my Lord General's; not without astonishment to find that he

[1] *Milton State-Papers*, pp. 106–114: and *Parliamentary History*, xx. 153–175; which latter is identical with *Harleian Miscellany* (London, 1810), vi. 331–344. Our Report, in some cramp passages, which could not always be indicated without confusion, is a *tertium quid* between these two. Generally throughout we adhere to Milton's, which is the more concise, intelligible and every way better Report.

has some understanding of it. The Editor has had his difficulties: but the Editor too is astonished to consider how such a Speech should have lain so long before the English Nation, asking, "Is there no meaning whatever in me, then?" — with negatory response from almost all persons. Incompetent Reporters; — still more the obscene droppings of an extensive Owl-population, the accumulated *guano* of Human Stupor in the course of ages, do render Speeches unintelligible! It ought to be added, that my Lord General always spoke extempore; ready to speak, if his mind were full of meaning; very careless about the words he put it into. And never, except in one instance, which we shall by and by come upon, does he seem to have taken any charge as to what Report might be published of it. One of his Parliaments once asks him for a correct Report of a certain Speech, spoken some days before: he declares, "He cannot remember four lines of it."[1] It appears also that his meaning, much as Dryasdust may wonder, was generally very well understood by his audience: — it was not till next generation, when the owl-droppings already lay thick, and Human Stupor had decidedly set in, that the cry of Unintelligibility was much heard of. Tones and looks do much: — yes, and the *having* a meaning in you is also a great help! Indeed, I fancy he must have been an opaque man to whom these utterances of such a man, all in a blaze with such a conviction of heart, had remained altogether dark.

The printed state of this Speech, and still more of some others, will impose hard duties on an Editor; which kind readers must take their share of. In the present case, it is surprising how little change has been needed, beyond the mere punctuation, and correct division into sentences. Not the slightest change of meaning has, of course, anywhere seemed, or shall anywhere seem, permissible; nor indeed the twentieth part of that kind of liberty which a skilful Newspaper Reporter takes with every speech he commits to print in our day.

A certain Critic, whom I sometimes cite from, but seldom *without some* reluctance, winds up his multifarious Com-

[1] *Burton's Diary.* Postea, Speech XVII.

mentaries on the present Speech in the following extraordinary way: —

"Intelligent readers," says he, "have found intelligibility in this Speech of Oliver's: but to one who has had to read it as a painful Editor, reading every fibre of it with magnifying-glasses, has to do, — it becomes all glowing with intelligibility, with credibility; with the splendor of genuine Veracity and heroic Depth and Manfulness; — and seems in fact, as Oliver's Speeches generally do, to an altogether singular degree, the express image of the soul it came from! — Is not this the end of all speaking, and wagging of the tongue in every conceivable sort, except the false and accursed sorts? Shall we call Oliver a *bad* Speaker, then; shall we not, in a very fundamental sense, call him a good Speaker? —

"Art of Speech? Art of Speech? The Art of Speech, I take it, will first of all be the art of having something genuine to speak! Into what strange regions has it carried us, that same sublime 'Art,' taken up otherwise! One of the saddest bewilderments, when I look at all the bearings of it, nay properly the fountain of all the sad bewilderments, under which poor mortals painfully somnambulate in these generations. 'I have made an excellent Speech about it, written an excellent Book about it,' — and there an end. How much better, hadst thou done a moderately good deed about it, and not had anything to speak at all! He who is about *doing* some mute veracity has a right to be heard speaking, and consulting of the doing of it; and properly no other has. The light of a man shining all as a paltry phosphorescence on the surface of him, leaving the interior dark, chaotic, sordid, dead-alive, — was once regarded as a most mournful phenomenon!

"False Speech is probably capable of being the falsest and most accursed of all things. False Speech; so false that it has not even the veracity to know that it is false, — as the poor commonplace *liar* still does! I have heard Speakers who gave rise to thoughts in me *they* were little dreaming of suggesting! Is man, then, no longer an 'Incarnate Word,' as *Novalis calls him, — sent* into this world to utter out of him,

and by all means to make audible and visible what of *God's* Message he has; sent hither and made alive even for that, and for no other definable object? Is there no sacredness, then, any longer, in the miraculous tongue of man? Is his head become a wretched cracked pitcher, on which you jingle to frighten crows, and make bees hive? He fills me with terror, this two-legged Rhetorical Phantasm! I could long for an Oliver without Rhetoric at all. I could long for a Mahomet, whose persuasive eloquence, with wild-flashing heart and scimitar, is: 'Wretched mortal, give up that; or by the Eternal, thy Maker and mine, I will kill thee! Thou blasphemous scandalous Misbirth of Nature, is not even that the kindest thing I can do for thee, if thou repent not and alter, in the name of Allah?'"—

LETTERS CLXXXIX.-CXCI.

CONCERNING this Puritan Convention of the Notables, which in English History is called the *Little Parliament*, and derisively *Barebones's Parliament*, we have not much more to say. They are, if by no means the remarkablest Assembly, yet the Assembly for the remarkablest purpose who have ever met in the Modern World. The business is, No less than introducing of the Christian Religion into real practice in the Social Affairs of this Nation. Christian Religion, Scriptures of the Old and New Testament: such, for many hundred years, has been the universal solemnly recognized Theory of all men's Affairs; Theory sent down out of Heaven itself: but the question is now that of reducing it to Practice in said Affairs; —a most noble, surely, and most necessary attempt; which should not have been put off so long in this Nation! We have conquered the Enemies of Christ; let us now, in real practical earnest, set about doing the Commandments of *Christ*, now that there is free room for us! Such was the *purpose of this* Puritan Assembly of the Notables, which Has-

tory calls the *Little Parliament*, or derisively *Barebones's Parliament*.

It is well known they failed: to us, alas, it is too evident they could not but fail. Fearful impediments lay against that effort of theirs: the sluggishness, the slavish half-and-halfness, the greediness, the cowardice, and general opacity and falsity of some ten million men against it; — alas, the whole world, and what we call the Devil and all his angels, against it! Considerable angels, human and other: most extensive arrangements, investments, to be sold off at a tremendous sacrifice; — in general the entire set of luggage-traps and very extensive stock of merchant-goods and real and floating property, amassed by that assiduous Entity above mentioned, for a thousand years or more! For these, and also for other obstructions, it could not take effect at that time; — and the *Little Parliament* became a *Barebones's Parliament*, and had to go its ways again.

Read these three Letters, two of them of small or no significance as to it or its affairs; and then let us hasten to the catastrophe.

LETTER CLXXXIX.

THE Little Parliament has now sat some seven weeks; the dim old world of England, then in huge travail-throes, and somewhat of the Lord General's sad and great reflections thereon, may be dimly read here.

[*For the Right Honorable Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland: These.*]

"COCKPIT, 22d August, 1653.

"DEAR CHARLES, — Although I do not so often as is desired by me acquaint you how it is with me, yet I doubt not of your prayers in my behalf, That in all things I may walk as becometh the Gospel.

"Truly I never more needed all helps from my Christian Friends than now! Fain would I have my service accepted of

the Saints, if the Lord will; — but it is not so. Being of different judgments, and [those] of each sort seeking most to propagate their own, that spirit of kindness that is[1] to them all, is hardly accepted of any. I hope I can say it, My life has been a willing sacrifice, — and I hope, — for them *all*. Yet it much falls out as when the Two Hebrews were rebuked: you know upon whom they turned their displeasure![2]

"But the Lord is wise; and will, I trust, make manifest that I am no enemy. Oh, how easy is mercy to be abused: — Persuade friends with you to be very sober! If the Day of the Lord *be* so near as some say, how should our moderation appear! If every one, instead of contending, would justify his form [of judgment] by love and meekness, Wisdom would be 'justified of her children.' But, alas! —

"I am, in my temptation, ready to say, 'Oh, would I had wings like a dove, then would I,' &c.:[3] but this, I fear, is my 'haste.' I bless the Lord I have somewhat keeps me alive: some sparks of the light of His countenance, and some sincerity above man's judgment. Excuse me thus unbowelling myself to you: pray for me; and desire my Friends to do so also. My love to thy dear Wife, — whom indeed I entirely love, both naturally and upon the best account; — and my blessing, if it be worth anything, upon thy little Babe.

"Sir George Ayscough having occasions with you, desired my Letters to you on his behalf: if he come or send, I pray you show him what favor you can. Indeed his services have been considerable for the State; and I doubt he hath not been answered with suitable respect. Therefore again I desire you and the Commissioners to take him into a very particular care, and help him so far as justice and reason will anyways afford.

[1] "in me" modestly suppressed.

[2] "And he," the wrong-doer of the Two, "said unto Moses, 'Who made thee a Prince and a Judge over us? Intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian?'" (*Exodus*, ii. 14.)

[3] "then would I fly away, and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander far off, *and remain in* the wilderness. I would hasten my escape from the windy *storm and tempest!*" (*Psalm* lv. 6–8.)

"Remember my hearty affections to all the Officers. The Lord bless you all. So prayeth

"Your truly loving father,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"[P.S.] All here love you, and are in health, your Children and all."[1]

LETTER CXC.

IN the Commons Journals,[2] while this Little Parliament sat, we find that, among other good services, the arrangement of the Customs Department was new-modelled; that instead of Farmers of the Customs, there was a "Committee" of the Parliament appointed to regulate and levy that impost: Committee appointed on the 23d of September, 1653: among whom we recognize "Alderman Ireton," the deceased General's Brother; "Mr. Mayor," of Hursley, Richard Cromwell's Father-in-Law; "Alderman Titchborne;" "Colonel Montague," afterwards Earl of Sandwich; and others. It is to this Committee that Oliver's Letter is addressed. It has no date of time: but as the Little Parliament ended, in Self-dissolution and Protectorship, on the 12th of December, the date of the Letter lies between the 23d September and that other limit. My Lord General — who is himself a Member of the Parliament, he and his chief Officers having been forthwith invited to sit — feels evidently that his recommendations, when grounded in justice, ought to be attended to.

[1] Harleian MSS. no. 7502, f. 13: "Copyed from the Original in ye hands of Mrs. Cook (Grandaughter to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood) of Newington, Mid^sex^: Novr 5, 1759, by A. Gifford." Printed, without reference, incorrectly, in *Annual Register* for 1761, p. 49; in *Gentleman's Magazine*, &c. — Appendix, No. 27.

[2] vii. 323, 23d September, 1653.

"For my honored Friends, the Committee for Regulating the Customs: These Present.

[Cockpit, October, 1653.]

"Gentlemen, — I am sorry after recommendation of a Friend of mine the Bearer hereof, — considering him in relation to his poor Parents an object of pity and commiseration, yet well deserving and not less qualified for employment, — he should find such cold success amongst you.

"His great necessities and my love once more invite me to write unto you, in his behalf, To bestow on him, if it may not be in the City by reason of multiplicity of suitors, a place in the Out-ports: and I doubt not but his utmost abilities will be improved to the faithful discharging of such trust as you shall impose on him, for the good of the Commonwealth. And thereby you will engage him who remains,

"Your affectionate friend,

"Oliver Cromwell."[1]

LETTER CXCI.

This "Henry Weston," otherwise unknown to all Editors, is a Gentleman of Surrey; his "House at Ockham," not *Oakham*, is in the neighborhood of Guildford in that County. So much, strangely enough, an old stone Tablet still legible in Ockham Church, which a beneficent hand has pointed out, enables me to say; — an authentic dim old Stone in Surrey, curiously reflecting light on a dim old Piece of Paper which has fluttered far about the world before it reached us here! "Brother Ford," I find by the same authority, is of knightly rank in Sussex: and Henry Weston's Father "lieth buried in the Chancel of Speldhurst Church" in Kent; his Uncle, a childless man, resting here at Ockham, "since the 8th day of July, 1638, in the clymacteric of his age, 63."[2] — "Reverend

[1] *Letter genuine, teste me*; reference unfortunately lost.

[2] *Copy of the Inscription penes me.*

Mr. Draper" has not elsewhere come across me. Happily we can hope he officiates well in Kent; and read this Letter without other light.

"*For my honored Friend Henry Weston, Esquire, at his House in Ockham: These.*

"[London,] 16th Nov. 1653.

"Sir, my noble Friend, — Your Brother Ford was lately with me, acquainting me with my presumption in moving for, and your civility in granting, the Advowson of Speldhurst to one Mr. Draper, who is now incumbent there, and who, it seems, was there for three or four years before the death of the old incumbent, by virtue of a sequestration.

"Sir, I had almost forgot upon what account I made thus bold with you; but now have fully recollected. I understand the person is very able and honest, well approved of by most of the good Ministers thereabout; and much desired by the honest people who are in a Religious Association in those parts.[1] Wherefore I now most heartily own and thank you for your favor showed Mr. Draper for my sake; beseeching the continuance of your respects to the Gentleman, — who shall be very much tied to pay you all service; and so shall, in what lieth in his power,

"Your affectionate friend to serve you,

"Oliver Cromwell."[2]

And now to Parliament affairs again, — to the catastrophe now nigh.

On the whole, we have to say of this Little Parliament, that it sat for five months and odd days, very earnestly striving; earnestly, nobly, — and by no means unwisely, as the ignorant

[1] Has crossed out "thereabouts;" and written "in those parts," as preferable.

[2] Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 12,098. Original, in good preservation; with this endorsement in a newer hand: "The Generell Cromwell's letter about Speldeist living;" and this Note appended: "In an old Bible I had from England with other Books, March, 1726." Some Transatlantic Puritan, to all appearance.

Histories teach. But the farther it advanced towards real Christianism in human affairs, the louder grew the shrieks of Sham-Christianism everywhere profitably lodged there; — and prudent persons, responsible for the issue, discovered that of a truth, for one reason or another, for reasons evident and for reasons not evident, there could be no success according to that method. We said, the History of this Little Parliament lay all buried very deep in the torpors of Human Stupidity, and was not likely ever to be brought into daylight in this world. In their five months' time they passed various good Acts; chose, with good insight, a new Council of State; took wise charge of the needful Supplies; did all the routine business of a Parliament in a quite unexceptionable, or even in a superior manner. Concerning their Council of State, I find this Note; which, though the Council had soon to alter itself, and take new figures, may be worth appending here.[1]

Routine business done altogether well by this Little Parliament. But, alas, they had decided on abolishing Tithes, on supporting a Christian Ministry by some other method than Tithes; — nay far worse, they had decided on abolishing the Court of Chancery! Finding grievances greater than could be borne; finding, for one thing, "Twenty-three thousand Causes of from five to thirty years' continuance" lying undetermined in Chancery, it seemed to the Little Parliament that some Court ought to be contrived which would actually determine these and the like Causes; — and that, on the whole, Chancery

[1] Council of State elected, — Tuesday, 1st November, 1653 (*Commons Journals*, vii. 344). The Election is by ballot, 113 Members present; "Colonel Montague" (Sandwich), "Colonel Cromwell" (Henry), and "Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper," are three of the Four Scrutineers. Among the Names reported as chosen, here are some, with the Numbers voting for them: Lord General Cromwell (113, one and all); Sir Gilbert Pickering (Poet Dryden's Cousin and Patron, — 110); Desborow (74); Harrison (58); Mayor (of Hursley, — 57); Colonel Montague (59); Ashley Cooper (60); Lord Viscount Lisle (Algernon Sidney's Brother, — 58); Colonel Norton (idle Dick, recovered from the Pride's Purge again, but liable to relapse again, — 57). The Council is of Thirty-one; Sixteen of the Old or Interim Council (above referred to in Cromwell's Speech) are to continue; Fifteen new: these mentioned here are *all among* the Old, whom the Lord General and his Officers had already *nominated*.

would be better for abolition. Vote to that effect stands registered in the Commons Journals:[1] but still, for near two hundred years now, only expects fulfilment. — So far as one can discover in the huge twilight of Dryasdust, it was mainly by this attack on the Lawyers, and attempt to abolish Chancery, that the Little Parliament perished. Tithes helped, no doubt; and the clamors of a safely settled Ministry, Presbyterian-Royalist many of them. But the Lawyers exclaimed: "Chancery? Law of the Bible? Do you mean to bring in the *Mosaic Dispensation*, then; and deprive men of their properties? Deprive men of their properties; and us of our learned wigs and lucrative long-windednesses, — with your search for 'Simple Justice' and 'God's Law,' instead of Learned-Sergeant's Law?" — There was immense "carousing in the Temple" when this Parliament ended; as great tremors had been in the like quarters while it continued.[2]

But in brief, on Friday, the 2d of December, 1653, there came a "Report from the Tithes-Committee," recommending that Ministers of an incompetent, simoniacal, loose, or otherwise scandalous nature, plainly unfit to preach any Gospel to immortal creatures, should have a Travelling Commission of chosen Puritan Persons appointed, to travel into all Counties, and straightway inspect them, and eject them, and clear Christ's Church of them: — whereupon there ensued high debatings: Accept the Report, or Not accept it? High debatings, for the space of ten days; with Parliamentary manœuvrings, not necessary to specify here. Which rose ever higher; and on Saturday, the 10th, had got so high that, as I am credibly informed, certain leading persons went about colleaguing and consulting, instead of attending Public Worship on the Lord's-day: — and so, on Monday morning early, while the extreme Gospel Party had not yet assembled in the House, it was surreptitiously moved and carried, old Speaker Rouse somewhat treacherously assenting to it, "That the sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for

[1] vii. 296; 5th August, 1653.

[2] *Exact Relation of the Transactions of the late Parliament*, by a Member of the same (London, 1654): reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 266–284.

the good of the Commonwealth; and that therefore it is requisite to deliver up unto the Lord General Cromwell the Powers which we received from him!" Whereupon, adds the same Rhadamanthine Record, "the House rose; and the Speaker, with many of the Members of the House, departed out of the House to Whitehall: where they, being the greater number of the Members sitting in Parliament, did, by a Writing," hastily redacted in the waiting-room there, and signed on separate bits of paper hastily wafered together, "resign unto his Excellency their said Powers. And Mr. Speaker, attended by the Members, did present the same unto his Excellency accordingly," — and retired into private life again.[1]

The Lord General Cromwell testified much emotion and surprise at this result; — emotion and surprise which Dryasdust knows well how to interpret. In fact, the Lord General is responsible to England and Heaven for this result; and it is one of some moment! He and the established Council of State, "Council of Officers and" non-established "Persons of Interest in the Nation," must consider what they will now do!

Clearly enough to them, and to us, there can only one thing be done: search be made, Whether there is any King, *Könning*, Canning, or Supremely Able-Man that you can fall in with, to take charge of these conflicting and colliding elements, drifting towards swift wreck otherwise; — any "Parish Constable," as Oliver himself defines it, to bid good men keep the peace to one another. To your unspeakable good-luck, such Supremely Able-Man, King, Constable, or by whatever name you will call him, is already found, — known to all persons for years past: your Puritan Interest is not yet necessarily a wreck; but may still float, and do what farther is in it, while he can float!

From Monday onwards, the excitement of the public mind in old London and whithersoever the news went, in those winter days, must have been great. The "Lord General

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 363; *Exact Relation*, ubi supra; Whitlocke, v. 351, &c.

called a Council of Officers and other Persons of Interest in the Nation," as we said; and there was "much seeking of God by prayer," and abstruse advising of this matter,—the matter being really great, and to some of us even awful! The dialogues, conferences and abstruse advisings are all lost; the result we know for certain. Monday was 12th of December; on Friday, 16th, the result became manifest to all the world: That the ablest of Englishmen, Oliver Cromwell, was henceforth to be recognized for Supremely Able; and that the Title of him was to be LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND, with "Instrument of Government," "Council of Fifteen or of Twenty-one," and other necessary less important circumstances, of the like conceivable nature.

The Instrument of Government, a carefully constitutional piece in Forty-two Articles; the Ceremony of Installation, transacted with due simplicity and much modest dignity, "in the Chancery Court in Westminster Hall," that Friday afternoon;—the chair of state, the Judges in their robes, Lord Mayors with caps of maintenance; the state-coaches, outriders, outrunners, and "great shoutings of the people;" the procession from and to Whitehall, and "Mr. Lockier the Chaplain's Exhortation" to us there: these, with the inevitable adjuncts of the case, shall be conceived by ingenious readers, or read in innumerable Pamphlets and Books,[1] and omitted here. "His Highness was in a rich but plain suit; black velvet, with cloak of the same: about his hat a broad band of gold." Does the reader see him? A rather likely figure, I think. Stands some five feet ten or more; a man of strong solid stature, and dignified, now partly military carriage: the expression of him valor and devout intelligence,—energy and delicacy on a basis of simplicity. Fifty-four years old, gone April last; ruddy-fair complexion, bronzed by toil and age; light-brown hair and moustache are getting streaked with gray. A figure of sufficient impressiveness;—not lovely to the man-milliner species, nor pretending to be so. Massive stature;

[1] Whitlocke, *pp. 552–561*; Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 131, in *Parliamentary History*, xx.); &c. &c.

big massive head, of somewhat leonine aspect, "evident workshop and storehouse of a vast treasury of natural parts." Wart above the right eyebrow; nose of considerable blunt-aquiline proportions; strict yet copious lips, full of all tremulous sensibilities, and also, if need were, of all fiercenesses and rigors; deep loving eyes, call them grave, call them stern, looking from under those craggy brows, as if in lifelong sorrow, and yet not thinking it sorrow, thinking it only labor and endeavor: — on the whole, a right noble lion-face and hero-face; and to me royal enough.[1] The reader, in his mind, shall conceive this event and its figures.

Conceived too, or read elsewhere than here, shall Dryasdust's multifarious unmelodious commentaries be, — and likewise Anti-Dryasdust's; the two together cancelling one another; and amounting pretty well, by this time, to *zero* for us. "Love of power," as flunkies love it, remains the one credibility for Dryasdust; and will forever remain. To the valet-soul how will you demonstrate that, in this world, there is or was anything heroic? You cannot do it; you need not try to do it. — I cite with some reluctance from a Manuscript Author, often enough referred to here, the following detached sentences, and so close this Seventh Part.

"Dryasdust knows not the value of a king," exclaims he; "the bewildered mortal has forgotten it. Finding Kings'-cloaks so cheap, hung out on every hedge, and paltry as beggars' gabardines, he says, 'What use is in a King? This King's-cloak, if this be your King, is naught!' —

"Power? Love of power? Does 'power' mean the faculty of giving places, of having newspaper paragraphs, of being waited on by sycophants? To ride in gilt coaches, escorted by the flunkyisms and most sweet voices, — I assure thee, it is not the Heaven of all, but only of many! Some born Kings I myself have known, of stout natural limbs, who, in shoes of moderately good fit, found quiet *walking* handier; and crowned themselves, almost too sufficiently, by putting on their own private hat, with some spoken or speechless, 'God

[1] *Maidston's* Letter to Winthrop, in Thurloe, i. 763–768; Cooper's *Portraits; Mask of* Cromwell's Face (in the Statuaries' Shops).

enable me to be King of what lies under this! For Eternities lie under it, and Infinitudes, and Heaven also and Hell. And it is as big as the Universe, this Kingdom; and I am to conquer it, or be forever conquered by it, now while it is called To-day!'—

"The love of 'power,' if thou understand what to the manful heart 'power' signifies, is a very noble and indispensable love. And here and there, in the outer world too, there is a due throne for the noble man; — which let him see well that he seize, and valiantly defend against all men and things. God gives it him; let no Devil take it away. Thou also art called by the God's-message: This, if thou canst read the Heavenly omens and dare do them, this work is *thine*. Voiceless, or with no articulate voice, Occasion, god-sent, rushes storming on, amid the world's events; swift, perilous; like a whirlwind, like a fleet lightning-steed: manfully thou shalt clutch it by the mane, and vault into thy seat on it, and ride and guide there, thou! Wreck and ignominious overthrow, if thou have dared when the Occasion was *not* thine: everlasting scorn to thee if thou dare not when it is; — if the cackling of Roman geese and Constitutional ganders, if the clack of human tongues and leading-articles, if the steel of armies and the crack of Doom deter thee, when the voice *was* God's! — Yes, this too is in the law for a man, my poor quack-ridden, bewildered Constitutional friends; and we ought to remember this withal. *Thou shalt* is written upon Life in characters as terrible as *Thou shalt not*, — though poor Dryasdust reads almost nothing but the latter hitherto."

And so we close Part Seventh; and proceed to trace with all piety, what faint authentic vestiges of Oliver's Protectorate the envious Stupidities have not obliterated for us.

SUPPLEMENT TO PART VII.

LIST OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

In the old *Parliamentary History*,[1] and in other Books, is given, "compiled from the Chancery Records and Commons Journals," a List of the Long-Parliament Members, arranged according to their Counties and Boroughs; which is very welcome to the historical inquirer. But evidently, for every purpose of historical inquiry connected with this Period, there is needed farther, — if not some well-investigated brief "Biographical Dictionary of the Long-Parliament Members," such as the pious historical student is free to imagine for himself, but will not soon get, — at least and lowest, some Alphabetical List of their Names; the ready index and memento of a great many things to us. As no such List was anywhere discoverable, I had to construct one for my own behoof; a process by no means difficult in proportion to its usefulness, the facts being already all given in the extant List by Places, and only requiring to be rearranged for the new object of a List by Names. This latter List, after long doing duty in the manuscript state, is now, for the use of others, appended here in print, — there being accidentally a corner of room for it in this New Edition.

It is not vitally connected with Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches; yet neither is it quite without relation to the man. Here are the Names of some five or six hundred men, whom Oliver Cromwell sat in view of, and worked along with, through certain years of time in this world; their Names and Localities, if we have nothing more. More is attainable concerning several of them, and is very well worth attaining; but little more, to the general reader, is yet attained. Featureless, to the general reader; little other than ticketed shadows, a strange sanhedrim of phantoms, most of these men; — not unlikely all of them to become shadows and invisible, except where kindled by some contact with this the luminous and living one! Here are their

[1] London, 1763, ix. 12-67.

Names, at whatever worth the reader may put upon them: "adjoined" to the Name of Oliver in this place, but capable of being disjoined again; and perhaps worth printing, there being a corner of room for them.

What is a more questionable point, this List I am aware is not quite free from errors; one or two of which it has even fallen in my own way not only to surmise, but to prosecute to their source, and correct. Numerous I do not suppose them to be, nor important: but I cannot certify that there are none; nor help farther in removing what there may be. The List itself, once printed, offers to all studious persons the opportunity to help; which certainly it would be a beneficence of its sort if some strict antiquary, or series of antiquaries, would effectually do. The constituent elements of the "most remarkable Parliament that ever sat," — which indeed is definable as the Father of Parliaments, which first rendered Parliaments supreme, and has since set the whole world upon chase of Parliaments, a notable speculation very lively in most parts of Europe at this day, — deserve at least to have their names accurately given. They deserve, and perhaps they will one day get, much more; they deserve a History, constitutional, biographical, political, practical, picturesque, better than most Entities that yet have one among us; and, in all points of view, they will be found *not* imaginary but real, and well worth remembering and attending to. Meanwhile, in the absence of all History, constitutional or other, of the Long Parliament, let this imperfect foreshadow of the incipiency of one be welcome.

The asterisk *, prefixed to a Member's name, denotes that he was a "Recruiter" (see *Letters and Speeches*, vol. xvii. p. 236), not an original Member: "disab." means *disabled*, declared incapable of sitting henceforth, for some reason, generally for *Royalism*, for desertion to the King; the year when, is also indicated. "King's judge" is one nominated to that office, and only in part or not at all risking to perform it; "regicide" is one who performed and completed it, who signed the Death-warrant: both titles, I find, are now and then, especially in the cases where nothing not already known was to be learned from them, omitted in this List. Other contractions will probably require no explanation.

Abbot, George, Esq. (dead '45) . . . *Guildford.*
*Abbot, George, Esq. . . . . *Tamworth.*
Acton, Sir Edward, Knight (disab. '44) *Bridgnorth.*
Aldburgh, Richard, Esq. (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition) . . . . . *Aldborough, Yorkshire.*
**Aldworth, Richard, Esq.* . . . . . *Bristol.*

Alford, Sir Edward, Knight (disab. '44)	*Arundel.*
Alford, Sir Edward, Knight (void, though twice)	*Tewkesbury.*
Alford, John, Esq.	*Shoreham.*
Allanson, Sir William, Knight (King's judge)	*York.*
*Allen, Francis, Esq. (King's judge)	*Cockermouth.*
*Allen, Matthew, Esq.	*Weymouth.*
Allestre, William, Esq. (Recorder; disab.)	*Derby.*
Alured, John, Esq. (regicide)	*Heydon, Yorkshire.*
Anderson, Sir Henry, Knight (disab. '44)	*Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
Andover, Charles, Viscount (e. s. of E. of Berkshire; made Peer '40, in his father's lifetime)	*Oxford.*
*Andrews, Robert, Esq.	*Weobly, Herefordshire.*
*Anlaby, John, Esq. (King's judge)	*Scarborough.*
*Annesley, Arthur, Esq.	*Radnorshire.*
*Apsley, Edward, Esq.	*Steyning.*
Armyn, Sir William, Baronet (King's judge)	*Grantham.*
*Armyn, William, Esq. (since '45)	*Cumberland.*
*Arthington, Henry, Esq.	*Pontefract.*
Arundel, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	(*St. Michaels*, but preferr *Bodmin.*
*Arundel, John, Esq.	*West Looe.*
Arundel, Richard, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Lostwithiel.*
Arundel, Thomas, Esq. (died)	*West Looe.*
*Arundel, Thomas, Esq.	*West Looe.*
*Ash, James, Esq.	*Bath.*
Ashburnham, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Hastings.*
Ashburnham, William, Esq. (army-plot '41, expelled)	*Ludgershall, Wilts.*
Ashe, Edward, Esq.	*Heytesbury, Wilts.*
Ashe, John, Esq.	*Westbury, Wilts.*
Ashton, Ralph, Esq.	*Clithero.*
Ashton, Sir Ralph, Baronet	*Lancashire.*
Ashurst, William, Esq.	*Newton, Lancashire.*
*Atkins, Thomas, Esq. (King's judge)	*Norwich.*
Ayscough, Sir Edward, Knight	*Lincolnshire.*
**Ayscough*, William, Esq.	Thirsk.

*Bacon, Francis, Esq.	*Ipswich.*
*Bacon, Nathaniel, Esq.	*Cambridge University.*
*Bagot, Sir Harvey, Knight (disab. '42)	*Staffordshire.*
Bagshaw, Edward, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Southwark.*
*Baker, John, Esq.	*East Grinstead.*
Baldwin, Charles, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Ludlow.*
*Ball, John, Esq. (dead '48)	*Abingdon.*
Bampfield, Sir John, Baronet	*Penryn.*
Barker, Anthony, Esq. (void)	*Wallingford.*
Barker, John, Esq., Alderman	*Coventry.*
Barnardiston, Sir Nathaniel, Knight	*Suffolk.*
*Barnardiston, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Bury St. Edmunds.*
Barnham, Sir Francis, Knight (dead '46)	*Maidstone.*
*Barrington, Sir John, Baronet (King's judge)	*Newton, Hants.*
Barrington, Sir Thomas, Baronet (dead '44)	*Colchester.*
*Barrow, Morris, Esq.	*Eye, Suffolk.*
Barwis, Richard, Esq. (died)	*Carlisle.*
Basset, William, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Bath.*
Baynton, Sir Edward, Knight (King's judge)	*Chippenham.*
Baynton, Sir Edward, Knight	*Devizes.*
Bedingfield, Sir Anthony, Knight	*Dunwich.*
Bell, William, Esq.	*Westminster.*
Bellasis, Henry, Esq. (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition)	*Yorkshire.*
Bellasis, John, Esq. (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition; made Lord '44)	*Thirsk.*
Bellingham, Sir Henry, Bart. (disab. '45)	*Westmoreland.*
*Bellingham, James, Esq.	*Westmoreland.*
Bence, Squire, Esq.	*Aldborough, Suffolk.*
*Bence, Alexander, Esq. (succeeded Rainsborough)	*Aldborough, Suffolk.*
*Bendlowes, Sir Robert, Knight	*Lancaster.*
*Bennet, Thomas, Esq. (dead '44)	*Hindon, Wilts.*
Benson, Henry, Esq. (expelled '41, for selling protections)	*Knaresborough.*
Berkeley, Sir Henry, Knight (void)	*Ilchester.*
*Biddulph, Michael, Esq.	*Lichfield.*
*Bingham, John, Esq.	*Shaftesbury.*

*Birch, John, Esq. (the Colonel; Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part ii. p. 34)	*Leominster.*
*Birch, Thomas, Esq. (from Oct. '49)	*Liverpool.*
Bishop, Sir Edward, Knight (void)	*Bramber.*
*Blackiston, John, Esq. (regicide)	*Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
*Blagrave, Daniel, Esq. (regicide)	*Reading.*
*Blake, Robert, Esq. (the Admiral)	*Taunton.*
Bludworth, Sir Thomas, Knight. (disab.)	*Reigate.*
Bodville, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Anglesea.*
Bond, Dennis, Esq. (King's judge)	*Dorchester.*
*Bond, John, LL.D.	*Melcomb Regis.*
*Boone, Thomas, Esq. (King's judge)	*Clifton, Dartmouth, H[arb]ness (Devonshire, unit[ed]*
*Booth, George, Esq. (May, '46)	*Cheshire.*
*Booth, John, Esq.	*Portsmouth.*
*Borde, Herbert, Esq. (died)	*Steyning.*
Borlace, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Corfe Castle.*
Borlace, John, Esq. (void)	*Marlow.*
*Boscawen, Hugh, Esq.	*Cornwall.*
*Bosville, Godfrey, Esq. (King's judge)	*Warwick.*
*Boughton, Thomas, Esq.	*Warwickshire.*
*Bourchier, Sir John, Knight (regicide)	*Ripon.*
Bowyer, Sir Thomas, Baronet (disab. '42, for Chichester garrison)	*Bramber.*
Bowyer, Sir William (died '40)	*Staffordshire.*
*Bowyer, John, Esq.	*Staffordshire.*
Boyle, Richard, Viscount Dungarvon (e. s. of E. of Cork, whom he succeeded in '43; disab. '43)	*Appleby.*
*Boynton, Sir Matthew, Baronet (dead '47)	*Scarborough.*
Boys, Sir Edward, Knight (dead '46)	*Dover.*
*Boys, John, Esq.	*Kent.*
Brereton, Sir William, Bart. (King's judge)	*Cheshire.*
Brett, Henry, Esq. (disab.)	*Gloucester.*
*Brewster, Robert, Esq.	*Dunwich.*
Bridgeman, Orlando, Esq. (Lawyer, see *D'Ewes*, 118; disab. for assisting *Lord Strange* '42)	*Wigan.*
*Briggs, Sir Humphrey, Knight	Great Wenlock.

Brooke, Sir John, Knight (disab. '43, for raising money in Lincolnshire) .	*Appleby.*
*Brooke, Peter, Esq.	*Newton, Lancashire.*
Brown, Sir Ambrose, Baronet	*Surrey.*
*Brown, Richard, Esq.	*Romney.*
*Brown, Major-General Richard (disab. '49)	*Wycombe.*
Brown, Samuel, Esq.	*Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness* (united).
*Browne, John, Esq. (King's judge) .	*Dorsetshire.*
Broxholme, John, Esq. (dead '47) . .	*Lincoln.*
Buckhurst, Lord Richard (e. s. of E. of Dorset, disab. '44)	(*Steyning, Sussex*, but prefers) *East Grinstead.*
*Bulkeley, John, Esq.	*Newton, Hants.*
Buller, Francis, Esq.	*East Looe.*
Buller, George, Esq. (died)	*Saltash.*
Buller, Sir Richard, Knight (dead '46) .	*Fowey.*
*Burgoyne, Sir John, Baronet	*Warwickshire.*
*Burgoyne, Sir Roger, Baronet . . .	*Bedfordshire.*
Burrel, Abraham, Esq. (King's judge) .	*Huntingdon.*
Button, John, Esq.	*Lymington.*
Byshe, Edward, junior, Esq.	*Bletchingley.*
Cage, William, Esq. (dead '44) . . .	*Ipswich.*
Campbell, James, Esq.	*Grampound.*
Campion, Henry, Esq.	*Lymington.*
Capel, Arthur, Esq. (created Lord '41) .	*Hertfordshire.*
Carew, Sir Alexander (treachery of Plymouth; beheaded '44)	*Cornwall.*
*Carew, John, Esq. (regicide)	*Tregony, Cornwall.*
*Carew, William, Esq.	*Milborn Port.*
Carnaby, Sir William, Knight (disab. '42)	*Morpeth.*
Catalyn, Richard, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	*Norwich.*
Cave, Sir Richard, Knight (disab. '42) .	*Lichfield.*
Cawley, William, Esq. (regicide) . .	*Midhurst, Sussex.*
Cecil, Robert, Esq. (2d s. of E. of Salisbury)	*Old Sarum.*
*Celye, Thomas, Esq.	*Bridport, Dorsetshire.*
*Chadwell, William, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*St. Michaels, Cornwall.*
*Challoner, James, Esq. (King's judge)	*Aldborough, Yorkshire.*
*Challoner, Thomas, Esq. (regicide) . .	Richmond, Yorkshire.

*Charlton, Robert, Esq. . . . . *Bridgnorth.*
Chaworth, Dr. (not duly) . . . . . *Midhurst, Sussex.*
Cheeke, Sir Thomas, Knight . . . . (*Beeralston, Devon*, but preferred) *Harwich.*
*Chettle, Francis, Esq. . . . . *Corfe Castle.*
Cheyne, William, Esq. (died) . . . . *Amersham.*
Chichely, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '42) . *Cambridgeshire.*
Cholmley, Sir Hugh (disab. '43) . . . *Scarborough.*
*Cholmley, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Carlisle.*
Chomley, Sir Henry, Knight . . . . *Northallerton.*
*Clark, Samuel, Esq. . . . . *Exeter.*
*Clement, Gregory, Esq. (regicide; disab. '52) . . . . . *Camelford.*
Clifton, Sir Gervase, Baronet (disab.) . *East Retford.*
Clinton, Lord Edward (e. s. of E. of Lincoln) . . . . . *St. Michaels, Cornwall.*
*Clive, Robert, Esq. . . . . *Bridgnorth.*
Clotworthy, Sir John, Knight (disab., one of the 11) . . . . . (*Bossiney, Cornwall*, prefers) *Malden, Essex.*
Coke, Henry, Esq. (disab. '42) . . . *Dunwich.*
Coke, Sir John, Knight . . . . . *Derbyshire.*
Colepepper, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44; made Lord 21 Oct. '44) . . . . *Kent.*
Combe, Edward, Esq. (void) . . . . *Warwickshire.*
Compton, Lord James (e. s. of E. of Northampton; disab.) . . . . . *Warwickshire.*
Coningsby, Fitzwilliam, Esq. (disab. '41, monopolist) . . . . . *Herefordshire.*
*Coningsby, Humphrey, Esq. (disab. '46) . . . . . *Herefordshire.*
*Constable, Sir William, Baronet (regicide; instead of Benson the jobber, and in preference to Deerlove, '42) . *Knaresborough.*
Constantine, William, Esq. (disab. '43) . *Poole.*
Cook, Sir Robert, Knight (died) . . . *Tewkesbury.*
Cook, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44) . . . *Leicester.*
*Copley, Lionel, Esq. (disab. with the 11) . . . . . *Bossiney.*
*Corbet, John, Esq. (King's judge) . . *Bishop's Castle, Salop.*
*Corbet, Sir John, Baronet . . . . . *Shropshire.*
Corbet, Miles, Esq. (regicide) . . . . *Yarmouth.*

Cornwallis, Sir Frederick, Baronet (disab. '42, for sending officers from Holland)	*Eye, Suffolk.*
Coryton, William, Esq. (not duly)	*Launceston*, alias *Dunchevil.*
*Coventry, John, Esq. (2d s. of late Lord Keeper, disab. '42)	*Evesham.*
Cowcher, John, Esq.	*Worcester.*
Cradock, Matthew, Esq. (died '40)	*London.*
Cranbourne, Viscount Charles (e. s. of E. of Salisbury)	*Hertford.*
Crane, Sir Robert, Baronet (dead '44)	*Sudbury.*
Craven, John, Esq. (void; made Baron Craven 21 March, '43)	*Tewkesbury.*
Creswell, Sergeant Richard	*Evesham.*
Crew, John, Esq.	*Brackley.*
Crispe, Sir Nicholas, Knight (expelled '41, for monopoly in copperas)	*Winchelsea.*
*Crompton, Thomas, Esq.	*Staffordshire.*
Cromwell, Oliver, Esq.	*Cambridge.*
*Cromwell, Richard, Esq.	*Portsmouth.*
Crooke, Sir Robert, Knight (disab. '43)	*Wendover, Bucks.*
*Crowther, William, Esq.	*Weobly.*
*Crynes, Elizeus, Esq.	*Tavistock.*
Curwen, Sir Patricius, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Cumberland.*
Curzon, Sir John, Baronet	*Derbyshire.*
*Dacres, Sir Thomas, Knight (instead of Capel)	*Hertfordshire.*
*Dacres, Thomas, Esq.	*Kellington.*
Dalston, Sir George, Knight (disab. '44)	*Cumberland.*
Dalston, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Carlisle.*
Danby, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition)	*Richmond, Yorkshire.*
*Danvers, Sir John, Knight (E. Danby's brother; regicide)	*Malmsbury.*
*Darley, Henry, Esq.	*Malton.*
*Darley, Richard, Esq. (King's judge)	*Northallerton.*
Davies, Matthew, Esq. (disab. '43)	*Christchurch, Hants.*
*Davies, William, Esq.	*Carmarthen.*
Deering, Sir Edward, Baronet (disab. '42, for printing his speeches)	*Kent.*
*Dearlove, William, Esq. (void)	*Knaresborough.*

Denton, Sir Alexander, Knight (disab. '44) . . . . . *Buckingham.*
*Devereux, George, Esq. . . . . *Montgomery.*
D'Ewes, Sir Simond, Baronet . . . . *Sudbury.*
Digby, Lord George (e. s. of E. of Bristol; till 10 June, '41, writ to House of Peers) . . . . . (*Milborn Port*, but preferr *Dorsetshire.*
Digby, John, Esq. (disab. '42). . . . *Milborn Port.*
Dives, Sir Lewis, Knight (disab.) . . *Bridport.*
*Dixwell, John, Esq. (regicide) . . . *Dover.*
*Dobins, Daniel, Esq. . . . . *Bewdley.*
*Dodderidge, John, Esq. . . . . *Barnstaple.*
*Dormer, John, Esq. (in '46) . . . . *Buckingham.*
*Dove, John, Esq. (King's judge) . . *Salisbury.*
*Downes, John, Esq. (regicide) . . . *Arundel.*
*Dowse, Edward, Esq. (dead '48) . . *Portsmouth.*
*Doyley, John, Esq. . . . . *Oxford.*
Drake, Sir William, Knight . . . . *Amersham, Bucks.*
*Drake, Francis, Esq. . . . . *Amersham.*
*Drake, Sir Francis, Baronet . . . . *Beeralston.*
Dryden, Sir John, Baronet . . . . . *Northamptonshire.*
Dunch, Edmund, Esq. . . . . *Wallingford.*
Dutton, John, Esq. (disab.) . . . . *Gloucestershire.*
*Earle, Erasmus, Esq. . . . . *Norwich.*
Earle, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Wareham, Dorset.*
Earle, Sir Walter, Knight . . . . . *Weymouth.*
Eden, Thomas, LL.D. (dead in '44). . *Cambridge University.*
Edgcombe, Piers, Esq. (disab. '44) . . *Camelford.*
Edgecumbe, Richard, Esq. (disab.) . . *Newport, Cornwall.*
*Edwards, Humphrey, Esq. (regicide) . *Shropshire.*
*Edwards, Richard, Esq. (Nov. '50). . *Bedford.*
*Edwards, Richard, Esq. . . . . *Christchurch, Hants.*
*Edwards, William, Esq. . . . . *Chester.*
*Egerton, Sir Charles, Knight . . . . *Ripon.*
*Elford, John, Esq. . . . . *Tiverton.*
Ellis, William, Esq. . . . . *Boston.*
*Ellison, Robert, Esq. . . . . *Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
Erisy, Richard, Esq. . . . . *St. Mawes, Cornwall.*
Eure, Sergeant Samuel (disab. '44) . . *Leominster.*
*Evelyn, George, Esq. . . . . *Reigate.*
*Evelyn, Sir John, Knight . . . . . *Bletchingley, Surrey.*

Evelyn, Sir John, Knight	*Ludgershall, Wilts.*
Eversfield, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '44)	*Hastings.*
Exton, Edward, Esq.	*Southampton.*
*Fagg, John, Esq. (King's judge) . .	*Rye.*
Fairfax, Lord Ferdinando (died '47) .	*Yorkshire.*
*Fairfax, Sir Thomas, Knight (from 7 Feb. '49)	*Cirencester.*
Falkland, Lord (disab. '42, killed at Newbery, Sept. '43)	*Newport, Wight.*
Fanshaw, Sir Thomas, K.B. (disab. '43)	*Hertford.*
Fanshaw, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '42)	*Lancaster.*
*Fell, Thomas, Esq. (after Fanshaw) .	*Lancaster.*
Fenwick, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . . .	*Morpeth.*
*Fenwick, George, Esq. (King's judge)	*Morpeth.*
Fenwick, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44)	(*Cockermouth*, but preferred) *Northumberland.*
*Fenwick, William, Esq.	*Northumberland.*
Fernfold, Sir Thomas (dead '45) . . .	*Steyning.*
Ferrers, Richard, Esq. (disab.) . . .	*Barnstaple.*
Fettiplace, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	*Berkshire.*
*Fielder, John, Esq.	*St. Ives, Cornwall.*
Fiennes, Hon. James (e. s. of "Old Subtlety," Say and Seale)	*Oxfordshire.*
*Fiennes, Hon. John (3d s. of Subtlety)	*Morpeth.*
Fiennes, Hon. Nathaniel (2d s. of Subtlety)	*Banbury.*
Finch, Sir John, Knight (dead '44) . .	*Winchelsea.*
Fitzwilliam, Hon. William (e. s. of Lord Visc. Fitzwilliam; till Jan. '44) . .	*Peterborough.*
*Fleetwood, Charles, Esq.	*Marlborough.*
*Fleetwood, George, Esq. (regicide; succeeded Goodwin, '45)	*Buckinghamshire.*
Fleetwood, Sir Miles, Knight (died) . .	*Hindon, Wilts.*
Fountaine, Thomas, Esq (in place of Hampden; dead '46)	*Wendover.*
*Fowel, Edmund, Esq.	*Tavistock.*
Fowel, Sir Edmund, Knight	*Ashburton.*
*Foxwist, William, Esq.	Carnarvon.

Franklyn, John, Esq. (dead '45) . . . *Marlborough.*
Franklyn, Sir John, Knight (dead in '48) . . . . . *Middlesex.*
*Frye, John, Esq. (King's judge; against the Trinity; disab. '51) . . *Shaftesbury.*
Gallop, George, Esq. . . . . *Southampton.*
Gamul, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44; see *Rushworth*, iv. 8) . . . . . *Chester.*
*Gardiner, Samuel, Esq. . . . . *Evesham.*
*Garland, Augustin, Esq. (regicide) . . *Queenborough.*
Garton, Henry, Esq. (dead '41) . . . *Arundel.*
Gawdy, Framlingham, Esq. . . . . *Thetford.*
*Gawen, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Launceston*, alias *Dunchevit.*
*Gell, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Derby.*
George, John, Esq. (disab.) . . . . *Cirencester.*
Gerrard, Francis, Esq. . . . . *Seaford* (*Cinque Ports*).
Gerrard, Sir Gilbert, Baronet . . . . *Middlesex.*
Glanville, Sergeant John (instead of Humphrey Hooke, monopolist) . . *Bristol.*
Glanville, William, Esq. (disab. '44) . *Camelford.*
Glynn, John, Esq. (Recorder; disab., one of the 11) . . . . . *Westminster.*
Godolphin, Francis, Esq. (disab.) . . *St. Ives*, *Cornwall.*
Godolphin, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44) . *Helston*, *Cornwall.*
Godolphin, Sidney, Esq. (killed at Saltash '42) . . . . . *Helston.*
*Gold, Nicholas, Esq. (died) . . . . *Fowey.*
Goodwin, Arthur, Esq. (died, May '45) *Buckinghamshire.*
Goodwin, Ralph, Esq. (disab. '44; Secretary to Rupert) . . . . . *Ludlow.*
Goodwin, Robert, Esq. . . . . *East Grinstead.*
Goodwyn, John, Esq. . . . . *Haslemere*, *Surrey.*
Gorges, Sir Theobald, Knight (disab. '44) . . . . . *Cirencester.*
Goring, Colonel George (disab. '42, for surrendering Portsmouth) . . . . *Portsmouth.*
*Got, Samuel, Esq. . . . . *Winchelsea.*
*Gourdon, Brampton, jun., Esq. . . . *Sudbury.*
Gourdon, John, Esq. (King's judge) . *Ipswich.*
Grantham, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Lincoln.*
*Gratwick, Roger, Esq. (King's judge) *Hastings.*
*Green, Giles, Esq. . . . . Corfe Castle.

Grenville, Sir Bevil (disab. '42; killed at Lansdown, July, '43)	*Cornwall.*
Grey, Henry de (commonly called Lord Ruthen; House of Peers, on father E. Kent's death, in '43)	*Leicestershire.*
Grey, Lord Thomas, of Groby (e. s. of E. of Stamford; regicide)	*Leicester.*
Griffith, Sir Edward, Knight (disab. '44)	*Downton, Wilts.*
Griffith, John, sen., Esq. (died '42) . .	*Beaumaris.*
Griffith, John, jun., Esq. (disab. '42) .	*Carnarvonshire.*
Grimston, Harbottle, Esq. (afterwards Sir)	*Colchester.*
Grimston, Sir Harbottle, Baronet (dead '47).	*Harwich.*
*Grove, Thomas, Esq.	*Milborn Port.*
Hales, Sir Edward, Baronet (disab.) .	*Queenborough, Kent.*
Hallows, Nathaniel, Esq. (Alderman) .	*Derby.*
Hampden, John, Esq. (slain June, '43)	(*Wendover*, but preferred) *Buckinghamshire.*
Harding, Sir Richard, Knight (disab. '44)	*Bedwin, Wilts.*
*Harley, Edward, Esq. (till '47; one of the 11)	*Herefordshire.*
Harley, Sir Robert, K.B.	*Herefordshire.*
*Harley, Robert, Esq.	*Radnor.*
Harman, Richard, Esq. (dead '46) . .	*Norwich.*
*Harrington, Sir James, Knight (King's judge)	*Rutlandshire.*
*Harrington, John, Esq. (void) . . .	*Somersetshire.*[1]
*Harris, John, Esq.	*Launceston*, alias *Dunchevit.*
Harris, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . . .	*Liskeard.*
Harrison, Sir John, Knight (disab. '43)	*Lancaster.*
*Harrison, Thomas, Esq. (Major-General, regicide)	*Wendover.*
Harrison, William, Esq. (disab. '43) .	*Queenborough.*
Hartnoll, George, Esq. (disab.) . . .	*Tiverton.*
*Harvey, Edmund, Esq. (instead of Smith; King's judge)	*Bedwin, Wilts.*
*Harvey, Edward, Esq.	*Higham Ferrers.*
Harvey, John, Esq. (dead '45) . .	*Hythe.*

[1] Sat afterwards for Castle Carey, as appears; and took some dim meagre *Notes*, which are still *in existence among* the Brit. Mus. MSS.

Haselrig, Sir Arthur, Baronet (King's judge) . . . . . *Leicestershire.*
Hatcher, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Stamford.*
Hatton, Sir Christopher (disab. '42, array; made Baron '43) . . . . . (*Castle Rising*, but prefer *Higham Ferrers.*

Hatton, Sir Robert (in place of Sir Christopher; disab. '42) . . . . . *Castle Rising.*
*Hay, Herbert, Esq. . . . . *Arundel.*
*Hay, William, Esq. . . . . *Rye.*
Hayman, Sir Henry, Baronet . . . . *Hythe.*
Hayman, Sir Peter, Knight (dead '41) . *Dover.*
Heblethwaite Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44) *Malton.*
*Hele, Sir Thomas (disab.) . . . . *Plimpton, Devon.*
Herbert, Edward, Esq. (till Jan. '41, made Attorney-General) . . . . *Old Sarum.*
Herbert, Sir Henry, Knight (disab. '42, array) . . . . . *Bewdley.*
*Herbert, Henry, Esq. . . . . *Monmouthshire.*
*Herbert, John, Esq. . . . . *Monmouthshire.*
*Herbert, Hon. James (2d s. of E. of Pembroke) . . . . . *Wiltshire.*
Herbert, Lord Phil. (e. s. of E. of Pembroke) . . . . . *Glamorganshire.*
Herbert, Richard, Esq. (disab. '42, array) . . . . . *Montgomery.*
Herbert, William, Esq. (disab., killed at Edgehill) . . . . . *Cardiff.*
Herbert, William, Esq. (disab. '44) . . (*Woodstock*, but prefer *Monmouthshire.*

Heveningham, William, Esq. (King's judge) . . . . . *Stockbridge, Hants.*
*Hill, Roger, Esq. (King's judge) . . *Bridport.*
Hippesley, Gabriel, Esq. (void) . . . *Marlow.*
Hippesley, Sir John, Knight . . . . *Cockermouth.*
*Hobart, Sir John, Baronet (dead '47) *Norfolk.*
Hobby, Peregrine, Esq. (in place of Borlace) . . . . . *Marlow.*
*Hodges, Luke, Esq. (died) . . . . *Bristol.*
Hodges, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Cricklade.*
*Hodges, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Ilchester.*
Holborn, Robert, Esq. (disab. '42) . . St. *Michaels.*

*Holcrofte, John, Esq. . . . . *Wigan.*
Holland, Cornelius, Esq. (King's judge; in place of Roe) . . . . . *New Windsor.*
Holland, Sir John, Baronet . . . . *Castle Rising, Norfolk.*
Holles, Denzil, Esq. (till '47; one of the 11) . . . . . *Dorchester.*
*Holles, Francis, Esq. . . . . *Lostwithiel.*
Holles, Gervase, Esq. (disab. '42) . . *Great Grimsby.*
Hooke, Humphrey, Esq. (monopolist, not duly: Evans's *Bristol*, p. 181) . . . *Bristol.*
Hopton, Sir Ralph, K.B. (disab. '42) . *Wells.*
*Horner, George, Esq. (void; Harrington's partner) . . . . . *Somersetshire.*
*Hoskins, Bennet, Esq. . . . . *Hereford.*
Hotham, John, Esq. (beheaded 1 Jan. '44) . . . . . *Scarborough.*
Hotham, Sir John, Baronet (beheaded 2 Jan. '44) . . . . . *Beverley.*
*Houghton, Sir Richard, Baronet (from '45) . . . . . *Lancashire.*
*Howard, Lord Edward, of Escrick (in '49; disab. '51) . . . . . *Carlisle.*
Howard, Sir Robert, K.B. (disab. '42) . *Bishop's Castle, Salop.*
Howard, Thomas, Esq. (in place of Barker; disab. '44; *D'Ewes*, 219) . *Wallingford.*
Hoyle, Thomas, Esq. (Alderman) . . *York.*
*Hudson, Edmund, Esq. (disab. '47) . *Lynn.*
Hungerford, Anthony, Esq. (disab.) . *Malmsbury.*
Hungerford, Sir Edward, K.B. . . . *Chippenham.*
*Hungerford, Henry, Esq. . . . . *Bedwin, Wilts.*
Hunt, Robert, Esq. (void, but re-elected; disab. '44) . . . . . *Ilchester.*
*Hunt, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Shrewsbury.*
*Hussey, Thomas, Esq. (after Jervoise died) . . . . . *Whitchurch, Hants.*
*Hutchinson, John, Esq. (the Colonel; regicide) . . . . . *Nottinghamshire.*
Hutchinson, Sir Thomas, Knight (dead '44) . . . . . *Nottinghamshire.*
Hyde, Edward, Esq. (Clarendon; disab. '42) . . . . . *Saltash.*
Hyde, Sergeant Robert (disab. '42) . . *Salisbury.*

*Ingoldsby, Richard, Esq. (the signer) .	*Wendover.*
Ingram, Sir Arthur, Knight (died) . .	*Kellington.*
Ingram, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '42, for Yorkshire petition)	*Thirsk.*
Irby, Sir Anthony, Knight	*Boston.*
*Ireton, Henry, Esq.	*Appleby.*
Jacob, Sir John, Knight (expelled '41, monopolist of tobacco)	*Rye.*
Jane, Joseph, Esq. (disab. '44) . . .	*Liskeard.*
Jenner, Robert, Esq.	*Cricklade.*
Jennings, Sir John, Knight (died '42) .	*St. Albans.*
*Jennings, Richard, Esq. (succeeds Sir John)	*St. Albans.*
Jephson, William, Esq.	*Stockbridge, Hants.*
Jermyn, Henry, Esq. (disab. '43; Lord Jermyn)	*Bury St. Edmunds.*
Jermyn, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '44)	*Bury St. Edmunds.*
Jervoise, Richard, Esq. (dead '45) . .	*Whitchurch, Hants.*
Jervoise, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Whitchurch, Hants*
Jesson, William, Esq. (Alderman) . .	*Coventry.*
Jones, Arthur, Lord Ranelagh (disab.)	*Weobly.*
*Jones, John, Esq. (regicide)	*Merionethshire.*
*Jones, Colonel Philip (in Feb. '50) .	*Brecknockshire.*
Jones, William, Esq.	*Beaumaris.*
*Kekewich, George, Esq.	*Liskeard.*
*Kemp, John, Esq.	*Christchurch, Hants.*
Killegrew, Henry, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*West Looe.*
King, Richard, Esq. (disab. '43) . . .	*Melcomb Regis.*
Kirkby, Roger, Esq. (disab. '42) . .	*Lancashire.*
*Kirkham, Roger, Esq. (dead '46) . .	*Old Sarum.*
Kirle, Walter, Esq.	*Leominster.*
Kirton, Edward, Esq. (disab. '42) . .	*Milborn Port.*
*Knatchbull, Sir Norton, Baronet . .	*Romney.*
Knightley, Richard, Esq.	*Northampton.*
Knowles, Sir Francis, sen., Knight . . (died '48)	*Reading.*
Knowles, Sir Francis, jun., Knight (died '45)	*Reading.*
Lane, Thomas, Esq.	*Wycombe.*
*Langton, William, Esq.	*Preston.*
**Lascelles*, Francis, Esq. (King's judge)	*Thirsk.*

*Lawrence, Henry, Esq.	*Westmoreland.*
*Lechmere, Nicholas, Esq.	*Droitwich.*
Lee, Richard, Esq.	*Rochester.*
Lee, Sir Richard, Baronet (disab. '42) .	*Shropshire.*
*Leech, Nicholas, Esq. (dead '47) . .	*Newport, Cornwall.*
Leeds, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '42) . .	*Steyning.*
Legh, Peter, Esq. (dead '41)	*Newton, Lancashire.*
Legrose, Sir Charles, Knight	*Orford, Suffolk.*
*Leigh, Edward, Esq.	*Stafford.*
Leigh, Sir John, Knight	*Yarmouth, Wight.*
*Leman, William, Esq.	*Hertford.*
*Lenthall, John, Esq. (King's judge) .	*Gloucester.*
Lenthall, William, Esq. (Speaker) . .	*Woodstock.*
Leveson, Sir Richard, K.B. (disab. '42)	*Newcastle-under-Line.*
*Lewis, Ludovicus, Esq.	*Brecon.*
Lewis, Sir William, Baronet (disab., one of the 11, in '47)	*Petersfield.*
Lewkenor, Christopher, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Chichester.*
Lisle, John, Esq. (King's judge) . . .	*Winchester.*
Lisle, Lord Philip (e. s. of Robert E. of Leicester; King's judge). . . .	(*St. Ives, Cornwall*, but preferred) *Yarmouth, Wight.*
Lister, Sir John, Knight (died) . . .	*Hull.*
*Lister, Thomas, Esq. (King's judge) .	*Lincoln.*
*Lister, Sir William, Knight	*East Retford.*
Littleton, Sir Edward, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Staffordshire.*
Littleton, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*Great Wenlock.*
Litton, Sir William, Knight	*Hertfordshire.*
*Livesey, Sir Michael, Baronet (regicide)	*Queenborough.*
Lloyd, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44). . .	*Carmarthen.*
*Lloyd, John, Esq.	*Carmarthenshire.*
Lloyd, Walter, Esq. (disab. '44) . . .	*Cardiganshire.*
*Long, Lislebone, Esq.	*Wells.*
Long, Richard, Esq. (monopolist, not duly)	*Bristol.*
*Long, Walter, Esq. (instead of Ashburnham; one of the 11, in '47) . .	*Ludgershall, Wilts.*
*Love, Nicholas, Esq. (King's judge) .	*Winchester.*
Lowe, George, Esq. (disab. '44) . . .	*Calne.*
Lower, Thomas, *Esq. (disab. '44)* . .	*East Looe.*

Lowry, John, Esq. (King's judge; see *Harris*, Appendix) . . . . . *Cambridge.*
Lucas, Henry, Esq. . . . . *Cambridge University.*
*Luckyn, Capel, Esq. . . . . *Harwich.*
*Lucy, Sir Richard, Baronet . . . . *Old Sarum.*
Lucy, Sir Thomas, Knight (died '40) . *Warwick.*
*Ludlow, Edmund, Esq. . . . . *Hindon, Wilts.*
Ludlow, Sir Henry, Knight (dead '44) . *Wiltshire.*
*Ludlow, Lieut-General Edmund (regicide) . . . . . *Wiltshire.*
Luke, Sir Oliver, Knight . . . . . *Bedfordshire.*
Luke, Sir Samuel, Knight (died) . . *Bedford.*
Lumley, Sir Martin, Baronet . . . . *Essex.*
Lutterel, Alexander, Esq. (dead '44) . *Minehead.*
Lyster, Sir Martin, Knight . . . . *Brackley, Northamptonshi*
*Mackworth, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Ludlow.*
Mallory, Sir John, Knight (disab. '43) *Ripon.*
Mallory, William, Esq. (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition) . . . . . *Ripon.*
Manaton, Ambrose, Esq. (disab. '44) . *Launceston*, alias *Dunche*
Mansfield, Charles Viscount (e. s. of E. of Newcastle, disab. '44) . . . . *East Retford.*
Marlot, William, Esq. (dead '46) . . *Shoreham.*
Marten, Henry, Esq. (regicide) . . . *Berkshire.*
*Martin, Christopher, Esq. . . . . *Plimpton.*
*Martin, Sir Nicholas, Knight . . . *Devonshire.*
*Masham, Sir William, Baronet (King's judge) . . . . . *Essex.*
*Masham, William, Esq. . . . . *Shrewsbury.*
*Massey, Edward, Esq. (the soldier; disab., one of the 11) . . . . . *Wootton Basset.*
Masters, Sir Edward, Knight (dead '48) *Canterbury.*
*Matthews, Roger, Esq. (disab. '44) *Clifton, Dartmouth, Harness* (united).
Mauleverer, Sir Thomas, Baronet (regicide) . . . . . *Boroughbridge.*
May, Thomas, Esq. (not May historian; disab. '42) . . . . . *Midhurst.*
*Maynard, Sir John, K.B. (disab., one of the 11) . . . . . *Lostwithiel.*
Maynard, John, Esq. (refusing *Newport, Cornwall*, whereupon Prynne) . . . *Totness.*

*Mayne, Simon, Esq. (regicide) . . . *Aylesbury.*
Melton, Sir John (died '40) . . . . *Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
Merrick, Sir John, Knight . . . . . *Newcastle-under-Line.*
Meux, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44) . *Newton, Hants.*
Middleton, Sir Thomas, Knight . . . *Denbighshire.*
*Middleton, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Flint.*
Middleton, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Horsham.*
Mildmay, Sir Henry, Knight (King's judge) . . . . . *Malden.*
*Millington, Gilbert, Esq. (regicide; *D'Ewes*, 211, 18 Dec. '41) . . . . *Nottingham.*
Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge) . . . . . *Reigate.*
Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42) . . . . . *Huntingdonshire.*
*Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney) . . . . . *Huntingdonshire.*
Montague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)[1] . *Huntingdon.*
*Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46) . . . *Ripon.*
Moor, Richard, Esq. (dead '44) . . . *Bishop's Castle.*
Moor, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Heytesbury.*
*Moor, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Ludlow.*
Moore, John, Esq. (regicide) . . . . *Liverpool.*
More, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49) *Haslemere.*
Morgan, William, Esq. (dead '49) . . *Brecknockshire.*
Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge) . *Lewes.*
Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab. '42, for garrison there) . . . . . *Chichester.*
Mostyn, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . . . *Flintshire.*
Mountford, Sir Edward, Knight (dead '44) . . . . . *Norfolk.*
*Moyle, John, Esq. . . . . *East Looe.*
Moyle, John, jun., Esq. (dead '46) . . *St. Germains.*
Musgrave, Sir Philip, Baronet (disab. '43, array). . . . . *Westmoreland.*
Napier, Sir Gerard, Knight (disab. '44) . *Melcomb Regis.*
Napier, Sir Robert, Baronet . . . . *Peterborough.*
Nash, John, Esq. . . . . *Worcester.*

[1] A "George Montague" is also indisputably a member (*Commons Journals*, iv. 10), I know not *for what place.*

*Needham, Sir Robert, Knight . . .	*Haverford West.*
*Nelthorp, James, Esq. (King's judge) .	*Beverley.*
*Nelthorp, John, Esq.	*Beverley.*
*Nevil, ——, Esq. (from '49)	*East Retford.*
*Neville, Henry, Esq. (from '50) . .	*Berkshire.*
Newport, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	*Shrewsbury.*
Newport, Sir Richard, Knight (disab.; made Lord '42)	*Shropshire.*
Nicholas, Edward, Esq. (Secretary after Falkland; disab.)	*Newton, Hants.*
Nichols, Anthony, Esq. (disab., one of the 11)	*Bodmin.*
Nichols, Sergeant Robert (King's judge)	*Devizes.*
*Nixon, John, Esq. (Alderman) . . .	*Oxford.*
Noble, Michael, Esq.	*Lichfield.*
Noel, Hon. Baptist (e. s. of Viscount Camden; disab.)	*Rutlandshire.*
North, Sir Dudley, Baronet	*Cambridgeshire.*
North, Sir Roger, Knight (disab. ?) . .	*Eye, Suffolk.*
Northcote, Sir John, Baronet	*Ashburton.*
*Norton, Sir Gregory, Baronet (regicide)	*Midhurst.*
*Norton, Richard, Esq. (Colonel) . .	*Hampshire.*
Nutt, John, Esq. (King's judge) . . .	*Canterbury.*
Ogle, Sir William, Knight (disab.'43) .	*Winchester.*
Oldsworth, Michael, Esq.	(*Plimpton, Devon*, but preferred) *Salisbury.*
Onslow, Arthur, Esq. (void, but re-elected)	*Bramber.*
Onslow, Sir Richard, Knight	*Surrey.*
Osborne, Sir Edward, Knight (void) .	*Berwick.*
*Owen, Arthur, Esq.	*Pembrokeshire.*
Owen, Sir Hugh, Knight	*Pembroke.*
Owfield, Sir Samuel, Knight (dead '44)	*Gatton.*
*Owfield, William, Esq.	*Gatton.*
Owner, Edward, Esq.	*Yarmouth.*
*Oxenden, Henry, Esq.	*Winchelsea.*
*Packer, Robert, Esq.	*Wallingford.*
Packington, Sir John, Baronet (disab. '42; array)	*Aylesbury.*
*Palgrave, Sir John, Baronet	*Norfolk.*
Palmer, Geoffrey, Esq. (disab. '42) . .	*Stamford.*
*Palmer, John, M.D.	*Bridgwater.*

*Palmer, Sir Roger, Knight (succeeded Legh in '42; disab. '44)	*Newton, Lancashire.*
Palmes, Sir Guy, Knight (disab. '43)	*Rutlandshire.*
Parker, Sir Philip, Knight	*Suffolk.*
Parker, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Seaford (Cinque Ports).*
Parkhurst, Sir Robert, Knight (died)	*Guildford.*
Parry, George, LL.D. (disab. '44)	*St. Mawes.*
Parteriche, Sir Edward, Baronet	*Sandwich.*
Paulet, Sir John, Knight (disab. '42)	*Somersetshire.*
Peard, George, Esq. (died)	*Barnstaple.*
*Peck, Henry, Esq.	*Chichester.*
Pelham, Henry, Esq. (speaker in tumults of 11)	*Grantham.*
*Pelham, John, Esq.	*Hastings.*
*Pelham, Peregrine, Esq. (regicide; *Heath*, p. 364)	*Hull.*
Pelham, Sir Thomas, Baronet	*Sussex.*
*Pembroke, Philip, Earl of (in Pile's place, '49, House of Lords being abolished; died '50)	*Berkshire.*
Pennington, Isaac, Esq. (King's judge)	*London.*
Pennyman, Sir William, Bart. (disab. '42)	*Richmond, Yorkshire.*
*Penrose, John, Esq.	*Helston.*
Percival, John, Esq. (dead '44)	*Lynn.*
*Percival, Sir Philip, Knight (dead '47)	*Newport, Cornwall.*
Perfoy, William, Esq. (regicide)	*Warwick.*
Peyton, Sir Thomas, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Sandwich.*
Philips, Edward, Esq. (instead of Berkeley, '40; disab. '44)	*Ilchester.*
Pickering, Sir Gilbert, Baronet (Poet Dryden's; King's judge)	*Northamptonshire.*
Pickering, Robert, Esq. (void '46)	*East Grinstead.*
Piercy, Henry, Esq. (Earl of Northumberland's brother; expelled, Army-plot, '41; made Baron '43)	(*Portsmouth*, but preferred) *Northumberland.*
Pierpoint, Francis, Esq. (3d s. of Earl of Kingston)	*Nottingham.*
Pierpoint, William, Esq. (2d s. of do.)	*Great Wenlock, Salop.*
*Pigot, Gervase, Esq.	*Nottinghamshire.*

*Pile, Sir Francis, Baronet (died '49) . *Berkshire.*
Playters, Sir William, Baronet . . . *Orford, Suffolk.*
Pleydall, William, Esq. (disab. '44) . . *Wootton Basset.*
Pole, Sir William, Knight (disab. '43) . *Honiton.*
Polewheel, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . . *Tregony.*
Pollard, Sir Hugh, Knight (expelled '41, for plot of bringing up army) . . . *Beeralston.*
Poole, Edward, Esq. . . . . *Wootton Basset.*
Poole, Sir Nevil, Knight . . . . . *Malmsbury.*
*Pope, Roger, Esq. (dead '47) . . . *Merionethshire.*
Popham, Alexander, Esq. . . . . *Bath.*
*Popham, Edward, Esq. (from '45) . . *Minehead.*
Popham, Sir Francis (dead '44) . . . *Minehead.*
Porter, Endymion, Esq. (disab. '43) . *Droitwich.*
Portman, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '44) . . . . . *Taunton.*
Potter, Hugh, Esq. (disab.) . . . . *Plimpton.*
Potts, Sir John, Baronet (died) . . . *Norfolk.*
*Povey, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Liskeard.*
Price, Charles, Esq. (disab.) . . . . *Radnorshire.*
Price, Herbert, Esq. (disab.) . . . . *Brecon.*
Price, Sir John, Baronet (disab. '45) . *Montgomeryshire.*
*Price, Sir Richard, Baronet . . . . *Cardiganshire.*
Price, William, Esq. (disab. '44) . . . *Merionethshire.*
Prideaux, Edmund, Esq. . . . . *Lyme Regis.*
*Priestley, William, Esq. . . . . *St. Mawes.*
Prynne, William, Esq. . . . . *Newport,*[1] *Cornwall.*
Pury, Alderman Thomas (took notes, see Burton's *Diary*, where the name is, by mistake, printed "Davy") . . . . *Gloucester.*
*Pury, Thomas, jun., Esq. (of Gloucester) . . . . . *Monmouth.*
*Pye, Sir Robert, Knight . . . . . *Woodstock.*
*Pym, Charles, Esq. . . . . *Beeralston.*
Pym, John, Esq. (died Dec. '43) . . . *Tavistock.*
Pyne, John, Esq. . . . . *Poole.*
*Radcliff, John, Esq. . . . . *Chester.*
Rainsborough, Captain (died '41) . . *Aldborough, Suffolk.*
*Rainsborough, Colonel Thomas (killed at Doncaster, 29 Oct. '48) . . . . *Droitwich.*

[1] "Newport, soon after the Parliament sat;" not "Bristol in '45," as the *Parliamentary History* gives it.

Rainsford, Sir Henry, Knight (dead '41). *Andover.*
*Rainsford, Henry, Esq. . . . . *St. Ives, Cornwall.*
*Raleigh, Carew, Esq. . . . . *Kellington, Cornwall.*
Ramsden, Sir John (disab. for Selby fight, '44) . . . . . *Northallerton.*
Rashleigh, Jonathan, Esq. (disab. '44). *Fowey.*
Ravenscroft, Paul, Esq. . . . . *Horsham.*
Reynolds, Robert, Esq. (King's judge) . *Hindon, Wilts.*
*Rich, Charles, Esq. . . . . *Sandwich.*
*Rich, Nathaniel, Esq. (from Feb. '49) *Cirencester.*
Rich, Robert Lord (e. s. of Robert E. of Warwick; called to Peers, Jan. 27, '41; *Rushworth*, iv. 4) . . . . . *Essex.*
Rigby, Alexander, Esq. (King's judge). *Wigan.*
Rivers, ——, Esq. (dead '41) . . . . *Lewes.*
*Robinson, Luke, Esq. . . . . *Scarborough.*
*Rochester, Charles Lord Viscount (e. s. of E. of Somerset) . . . . . *St. Michaels.*
Rodney, Sir Edward (disab. '42) . . . *Wells.*
Roe, Sir Thomas, Knight (not duly). . *New Windsor.*
Roe, Sir Thomas, Knight (dead in '44) *Oxford University.*
Rogers, Hugh, Esq. . . . . *Calne.*
Rogers, Richard, Esq. (disab. '42) . . *Dorsetshire.*
Rolle, John, Esq. . . . . *Truro.*
*Rolle, Sir Samuel, Knight (died) . . *Devonshire.*
Rose, Richard, Esq. . . . . *Lyme Regis.*
*Rossiter, Edward, Esq. . . . . *Great Grimsby.*
Rouse, Francis, Esq. . . . . *Truro.*
Rudyard, Sir Benjamin, Knight . . . *Wilton.*
*Russel, Francis, Esq. . . . . *Cambridgeshire.*
Russel, Lord William (e. s. of E. of Bedford; till '41) . . . . . *Tavistock.*
*Russel, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . . . *Tavistock.*
St. Hill, Peter, Esq. (disab. '44) . . . *Tiverton.*
St. John, Sir Beauchamp, Knight . . *Bedford.*
St. John, Oliver, Esq. (Sol.-Gen. in '40) *Totness.*
Salisbury, John, jun., Esq. (disab. '44) *Flint.*
*Salisbury, William, Earl of (in '49) . *Lynn.*
Salway, Humphrey, Esq. (King's judge) *Worcestershire.*
*Salway, Richard, Esq. (King's judge) *Appleby.*
Sanders, ——, Esq. (not duly) . . . *Gatton.*
Sandys, Samuel, Esq. (disab. '42) . . *Droitwich.*

Sandys, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Gatton.*
Sandys, William, Esq. (expelled '41, as monopolist) . . . . . *Evesham.*
*Saville, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition) . . . . . *Old Sarum.*
*Say, William, Esq. (regicide) . . . *Camelford.*
*Sayer, John, Esq. . . . . *Colchester.*
*Scawen, Robert, Esq. . . . . *Berwick.*
*Scot, Thomas, Esq. (dead '47) . . . *Aldborough, Yorkshire*
*Scott, Thomas, Esq. (regicide) . . . *Aylesbury.*
*Scudamore, James, Esq. (disab.) . . *Hereford.*
Seabourne, Richard, Esq. (disab. '46) . *Hereford.*
Searle, George, Esq. . . . . *Taunton.*
Selden, John, Esq. . . . . *Oxford University.*
Seymour, Edward, Esq. (disab. '44). . *Devonshire.*
Seymour, Sir Francis, Knight (made Lord, '41). . . . . *Marlborough.*
*Seymour, Sir John, Knight . . . . *Gloucestershire.*
*Shapcot, Robert, Esq. . . . . *Tiverton.*
*Shelley, Henry, Esq. (after Rivers) . *Lewes.*
Shuckburgh, Richard, Esq. (disab.; instead of Combe). . . . . *Warwickshire*
Shuttleworth, Richard, Esq. . . . . *Clitheroe.*
Shuttleworth, Richard, Esq. . . . . *Preston.*
Siddenham, Sir Ralph (in place of Clotworthy; disab. '42) . . . . . *Bossiney.*
*Sidney, Algernon, Esq. (after Herbert; King's judge) . . . . . *Cardiff.*
*Skeffington, Sir Richard, Knight (dead '47). . . . . *Staffordshire.*
*Skinner, Augustin, Esq. (King's judge) *Kent.*
*Skippon, Philip, Esq. (the soldier; King's judge) . . . . . *Barnstaple.*
*Skutt, George, Esq. . . . . *Poole.*
Slanning, Sir Nicholas, Knight (disab. '42; killed at Bristol) . . . . . (*Plimpton, Devon*, transferred) *Penryn.*
Slingsby, Sir Henry, Baronet (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition; beheaded '58) . *Knaresborough.*
*Smith, John, Esq. (succeeds Lord Andover; soon disab.) . . . . . *Oxford.*
*Smith, Philip, Esq. . . . . Marlborough.

Smith, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44) . . *Chester.*
*Smith, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '42) . . *Bridgwater.*
Smith, Sir Walter, Knight (disab. '44) *Bedwin, Wilts.*
*Smith, William, Esq. (disab.) . . . *Winchelsea.*
*Smyth, Henry, Esq. (regicide) . . . *Leicestershire.*
*Snelling, George, Esq. . . . . *Southwark.*
Sneyd, Ralph, jun., Esq. (disab. '43, taken prisoner at Stafford) . . . . *Stafford.*
Snow, Simon, Esq. . . . . *Exeter.*
Soame, Sir Thomas, Knight . . . . *London.*
*Spelman, John, Esq. . . . . *Castle Rising, Norfolk.*
*Spring, Sir William, Baronet; (after Jermyn) . . . . . *Bury St. Edmunds.*
*Springet, Herbert, Esq. . . . . *Shoreham.*
Spurstow, William, Esq., merchant (dead '46) . . . . . *Shrewsbury.*
Stamford, Sir Thomas (not duly) . . *Cockermouth.*
Standish, Thomas, Esq. (dead '44) . . *Preston.*
Stanhope, Ferdinando, Esq. (4th s. of E. of Chesterfield; disab. '43) . . . . *Tamworth.*
Stanhope, William, Esq. (disab.) . . . *Nottingham.*
*Stapleton, Bryan, Esq. . . . . *Aldborough, Yorkshire.*
Stapleton, Sir Philip, Knight (disab., one of the 11; died '47) . . . . . *Boroughbridge.*
*Stapleton, Henry, Esq. . . . . *Boroughbridge.*
Staply, Anthony, Esq. (regicide) . . . *Sussex.*
*Starre, Colonel —— (dead '47) . . . *Shaftesbury.*
Stawell, Sir John, K. B. (disab. '42) . *Somersetshire.*
Stephens, Edward, Esq. (two elections; not duly, then lost, at last duly; died) . . . . . *Tewkesbury.*
*Stephens, John, Esq. . . . . *Tewkesbury.*
Stephens, Nathaniel, Esq. . . . . *Gloucestershire.*
*Stephens, William, LL.D. . . . . *Newport, Wight.*
Stepney, Sir John, Baronet (disab.) . . *Haverford West.*
*Stockdale, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Knaresborough.*
Stonehouse, Sir George, Bart. (disab. '44) . . . . . *Abingdon.*
*Stoughton, Nicholas, Esq. (dead '45) . *Guildford.*
Strangways, Giles, Esq. (disab. '44) . *Bridport.*
Strangways, Sir John, Knight (disab. Sept. '42) . . . . . *Weymouth.*

Strickland, Sir Robert, Knight (disab. '43) . . . . . *Aldborough, Yorkshire.*
*Strickland, Walter, Esq. (from '45) . *Minehead.*
Strickland, Sir William, Knight . . . *Heydon, Yorkshire.*
*Strode, Sir Richard, Knight . . . . *Plimpton.*
*Strode, William, Esq. . . . . *Ilchester.*
Strode, William, Esq. (died '45) . . . (*Tamworth*, but pre *Beeralston.*

Sutton, Robert, Esq. (disab.; made Baron Lexington, 21 Nov. '45) . . . *Nottinghamshire.*
*Swynfen, John, Esq. . . . . *Stafford.*
*Sydenham, William, jun., Esq. . . . *Melcomb Regis.*
Tate, Zouch, Esq. (Self-denying Ordinance) . . . . . *Northampton.*
Taylor, William, Esq. (instead of a monopolist; disab. '45, Siege of Bristol) . . . . . *Bristol.*
Taylor, William, Esq. (in place of Waller; expelled May, '41, on Strafford's account) . . . . . *New Windsor.*
*Temple, James, Esq. (regicide) . . . *Bramber.*
*Temple, Sir John, Knight . . . . . *Chichester.*
*Temple, Peter, Esq. (regicide) . . . *Leicester.*
Temple, Sir Peter, Baronet (King's judge) . . . . . *Buckingham.*
*Temple, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Huntingdon.*
*Terrick, Samuel, Esq. . . . . *Newcastle-under-Line.*
Theloall, Simon, jun., Esq. . . . . *Denbigh.*
*Thistlethwaite, Alexander, Esq. . . *Downton, Wilts.*
Thomas, Edward, Esq. . . . . *Okehampton, Devonshire*
*Thomas, Isaiah, Esq. . . . . *Bishop's Castle.*
*Thomas, John, Esq. . . . . *Helston.*
Thomas, William, Esq. (disab. '44) . . *Carnarvon.*
*Thompson, George, Esq. . . . . *Southwark.*
*Thornhaugh, Francis, Esq. (dead '48) *East Retford.*
*Thorpe, Sergeant Francis (King's judge) . . . . . *Richmond, Yorkshire.*
*Thynn, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Saltash.*
Thynne, Sir James, Knight (disab.) . *Wiltshire.*
Toll, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Lynn.*
*Tolson, Richard, Esq. . . . . *Cumberland.*
Tomkins, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44) . *Weobly.*

*Trefusis, Nicholas, Esq.	*Cornwall.*
Trenchard, John, Esq. (King's judge)	*Wareham, Dorsetshire.*
*Trenchard, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Dorsetshire.*
Trevanion, John, Esq. (disab.; killed at Bristol)	*Lostwithiel.*
Trevor, Sir John, Knight	*Grampound.*
*Trevor, John, Esq.	*Flintshire.*
*Trevor, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Tregony.*
Trevor, Thomas, Esq. (till '44, then void)	*Monmouth.*
Tufton, Sir Humphrey, Knight	*Maidstone.*
Tulsey, Henry, Esq. (dead '44)	*Christchurch, Hants.*
Turner, Samuel, M.D. (disab. '44)	*Shaftesbury.*
*Twisden, Thomas, Esq.	*Maidstone.*
Upton, Arthur, Esq. (died '41)	*Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness* (united).
*Upton, John, Esq.	*Fowey.*
Uvedale, Sir William, Knight (disab.)	*Petersfield.*
*Vachel, Tanfield, Esq.	*Reading.*
Valentine, Benjamin, Esq.	*St. Germains.*
Vane, George, Esq. (disab.)	*Kellington.*
Vane, Sir Henry, Knight	*Wilton.*
Vane, Sir Henry, jun., Knight	*Hull.*
Vassal, Samuel, Esq., merchant	*London.*
*Vaughan, Charles, Esq.	*Honiton.*
*Vaughan, Edward, Esq.	*Montgomeryshire.*
Vaughan, Sir Henry, Knight (disab.)	*Carmarthenshire.*
Vaughan, John, Esq. (disab. '45)	*Cardigan.*
Venables, Peter, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Cheshire.*
*Venn, John, Esq. (regicide)	*London.*
Verney, Sir Edmund, Knight Marshal (killed at Edgehill, Oct. '42, where he bore the King's standard)	*Wycombe.*
Verney, Sir Ralph, Knight (disab. '45)	*Aylesbury.*
Vernon, Henry, Esq. (not duly)	*Andover.*
Vivian, Sir Richard, Knight (disab. '44)	*Tregony.*
*Walker, Clement, Esq.	*Wells.*
Walker, Robert, Esq. (disab. '43)	*Exeter.*
Waller, Edmund, Esq. (in place of Lord Lisle; disab. '43)	*St. Ives, Cornwall.*[1]
*Waller, Thomas, Esq.	*Bodmin.*

[1] "*Agmondesham,*" says *Biogr. Britan.* (vi. 4103).

Waller, Thomas, Esq. (not duly) . . *New Windsor.*
Waller, Sir William, Knight (instead of Vernon; one of the 11) . . . . . *Andover.*
Wallop, Sir Henry, Knight (dead '44) . *Hampshire.*
*Wallop, Robert, Esq. (King's judge) . *Andover.*
Walsingham, Sir Thomas, Knight . . *Rochester.*
Walton, Valentine, Esq. (regicide) . . *Huntingdonshire.*
*Warmouth, ——, Esq. (void) . . . *Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
Warton, Michael, Esq. (disab. '44) . . *Beverley.*
Warwick, Philip, Esq. (disab. '44) . . (*Romney*, but prefers *Radnor.*
Wastell, John, Esq. . . . . *Malton.*
Watkins, William, Esq. (void in '44) . *Monmouth.*
*Wayte, Thomas, Esq. (regicide) . . *Rutlandshire.*
*Weaver, John, Esq. (King's judge) . *Stamford.*
Weaver, Richard, Esq. (dead May, '42) *Hereford.*
*Weaver, Edmund, Esq. (after '46) . *Hereford.*
Webb, Thomas, Esq. (expelled '42, monopolist) . . . . . *Romney.*
Wenman, Thomas, Lord Viscount, in Ireland . . . . . *Oxfordshire.*
Wentworth, Sir George, of Wooley, Knight (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition) . . . . . *Pontefract.*
Wentworth, Sir George, Knight (Stafford's brother, disab. '44) . . . . *Pontefract.*
*Wentworth, Sir Peter, K.B. (King's judge) . . . . . *Tamworth.*
Wentworth, Lord Thomas (Earl of Cleveland's eldest son; to House of Peers, 25 Nov. '40, by writ) . . . . . *Bedfordshire.*
*West, Edmund, Esq. . . . . (*Wendover*, but prefers *Buckinghamshire.*
*Weston, Benjamin, Esq. (King's judge) . . . . . *Dover.*
Weston, Nicholas, Esq. (disab. '42, for Goring's business) . . . . . *Portsmouth.*
Weston, Richard, Esq. (disab.) . . . *Stafford.*
*Westrow, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Hythe (Cinque Ports).*
Whaddon, John, Esq. . . . . *Plymouth.*
Wheeler, William, Esq. . . . . *Westbury, Wilts.*
Whistler, John, Esq. (disab.) . . . *Oxford.*

Whitacre, Lawrence, Esq. (Borough being restored to its rights) . . . . *Okehampton, Devon.*
Whitaker, William, Esq. (dead '46) . *Shaftesbury.*
White, John, Esq. (died '45) . . . . *Southwark.*
White, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . . . *Rye.*
*White, William, Esq. (Secretary to Sir T. Fairfax) . . . . . *Pontefract.*
Whitehead, Richard, Esq. . . . . *Hampshire.*
Whitlocke, Bulstrode, Esq. (in place of Hippesley) . . . . . *Marlow.*
Whitmore, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '44) . . . . . *Bridgnorth.*
Widdrington, Sir Thomas, Knight (*Rushworth*, ii. 179) . . . . . *Berwick.*
Widdrington, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '42; killed at Worcester) . . *Northumberland.*
*Willes, Henry, Esq. . . . . *Saltash.*
Williams, Sir Charles (dead '41) . . *Monmouthshire.*
Wilmot, Henry, Esq. (expelled, Army-plot '41; made Baron '43) . . . . *Tamworth.*
*Wilson, Rowland, Esq. (Alderman of London; King's judge) . . . . . *Calne.*
Windebank, Sir Francis, Knight (Secretary; fled '41) . . . . . *Corfe Castle.*
Wingate, Edward, Esq. . . . . *St. Albans.*
*Winwood, Richard, Esq. . . . . *New Windsor.*
Wise, ——, Esq. (died before '41) . . *Devonshire.*
Wogan, John, sen., Esq. (dead '44) . . *Pembrokeshire.*
*Wogan, Thomas, Esq. (regicide) . . *Cardigan.*
Woodhouse, Sir Thomas, Baronet . . *Thetford.*
Worsley, Sir Henry, Baronet . . . . *Newport, Wight.*
Wray, Sir Christopher, Knight (dead '45) . . . . . *Great Grimsby.*
Wray, Sir John, Baronet . . . . . *Lincolnshire.*
*Wray, William, Esq. . . . . *Great Grimsby.*
Wroth, Sir Peter, Knight (dead '44) . *Bridgwater.*
*Wroth, Sir Thomas, Knight (King's judge) . . . . . *Bridgwater.*
*Wylde, Edmund, Esq. (King's judge) *Droitwich.*
Wylde, Sergeant John . . . . . *Worcestershire.*
Wyndham, Edmund, Esq. (expelled '41, monopolist) . . . . . *Bridgwater.*

*Wynn, Sir Richard, Knight	*Carnarvonshire.*
Wynn, Sir Richard, Baronet (dead '49)	*Liverpool.*
Yelverton, Sir Christopher, Knight . .	*Bossiney.*
Young, Sir John, Knight	*Plymouth.*
Young, Walter, Esq.	*Honiton.*

LISTS OF THE EASTERN-ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES.

THE Committee Lists of the Eastern Association are taken from Husband's *Second Collection*,[1] where, in three successive general Acts, dated 1st April, 1643, 7th May (and 1st June), 1643, and 3d August, 1643, — followed by a few partial amendments and enlargements for specific places, at different dates, — the Committees of all Parliamentary or Anti-Royalist Counties and principal Boroughs, as settled at that stage of the contest, are named. Earlier and earliest Committees are in Husband's *First Collection*[2] and elsewhere; but these, as transient and now abrogated combinations, do not concern us here.

The Committee of April is named for managing the *Sequestration of Delinquents' Estates*; those of May and August for raising money by other methods, chiefly by *Weekly Assessments*; and each has its specific Act and instructions; but as the essential business of all these Committees was to carry on the War by furnishing the sinews of war, and as, with trifling variations, the same persons sat on all, it may well be imagined their functions, even to the members themselves, became gradually much blended; and for us they have become inextricably blended, or not worth the huge labor of attempting to extricate and distinguish. Committees, all, essentially of Finance and general Administration; appointed, we may say, to care generally that the Parliamentary Cause suffer no damage by lack of money or otherwise, — against whom, and their despotic procedure, rise loud complaints and denunciations in the old Pamphlets of a royalist or neutral stamp. An assiduous hand, searching on my behalf through every corner of

[1] *Collection of all the Public Orders, Ordinances, &c. of Parliament, from March, 1642-3 to December, 1646*: Printed for Edward Husband (London, folio, 1646).

[2] *An exact Collection of all Remonstrances &c. &c.* (London, small 4to, 1643): *Printed for Edward Husbands* (*sic*), p. 891 &c.

these Lists and Supplementary Lists, as they lie in bewildering disorder, scattered over the vast surface of *Husband*, — has painfully added to each Name an exact note of the several Committees on which he sat: but, not to encumber the Printer and the Reader with what would little if in any degree profit, I have omitted these specialties at present, — all but the following two : —

Under date 10th August, 1643 (with Supplementary or subsequent Acts, in some cases) is a particular settling and assorting of the Association Committees as a distinct body ; with instructions and directions ; directing, for one thing, how they are to choose the Central Committee which sits at Cambridge ; — indicating to us who they now are, and most probably who they were hitherto, that showed themselves most and took the chief management : these, as in some sort peculiar, I have found good to note : all that sit on this Committee are distinguished by an asterisk (*) ; those that sit on this only, or are new men at the passing of the Act, have their names printed in *italics*. And observe here : *Among* those of the asterisk the "Deputy Lieutenants," appointed long before and with superior powers, of whom there is sometimes mention in *Oliver's Letters* and elsewhere, will be found ; but not in a distinguishable state : their names as a body, though "read publicly" in 1642, and even ordered to be printed,[1] do not occur in *Husband*. This is the *first* specialty of indication attempted here. Then *secondly*, under date 15th Feb. 1644–5, on Fairfax's appointment to be Commander-in-chief, there occurs a revision or new-model of Committees, in the Association as everywhere else, for raising assessments to support Fairfax : such men as were *added* for serving on this Committee, are designated by an (*f.*). Farther distinctions, as threatening rather to confuse than illuminate the reader, are not given at present.

Our only change from those Lists of Husband's is the arrangement, an important and indispensable one, in alphabetical order ; and the correction of what mistakes were palpable, — the number and nature of which still testify how hurriedly that old Parliamentary operation, in all stages of it, was done. The spelling especially, with its incessant variations, has been an intricate business, not to be settled sometimes except partly by guess. Our "Esq.," "Gent.," and occasional omission of all Title, are correctly what we find in the old Book.

Under the given circumstances, Husband's List may be taken as substantially correct ; but of course those Committees, even for speci-

[1] Names "read before the House," 17th March, 1641-2 (*Commons Journals*, ii. 483) ; ordered "*to be printed*," 6th Oct. following (ib. 797) : not given in either case.

fied objects, were liable, at all times, both to be supplemented and to be sifted down ; which renders their exact composition a fluctuating object, dependent on date in some measure.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Cambridgeshire Committees (*Husband*, ii.), **in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 15th September), p. 16, p. 322; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 21st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 169, p. 225, p. 6 Appendix, p. 329; Association specially, 10th August (and 4th September), p. 284, p. 308. For support of Fairfax in 1644–5, and to the end of the War: 15th February, 1644–5, p. 603.**

Those that sat exclusively on this Fairfax Committee have an (*f.*) appended; those of 10th August (among whom are the Deputy-Lieutenants) are marked with an asterisk (*), and such of them as were then *new* are in italics; (*e.*) means, For Ely only; (*t.*), For Town and University only.

Aldmond, Edward. (*t. f.*)
*Becket, Thomas, Esq.
*Bendish, Thomas, Esq.
Blackley, James. (*t. f.*)
**Browne*, ——
Browning, Edward, Esq.
Butler, Henry, Esq.
Butler, Nevill, Esq.
*Castle, Robert, Esq.
*Castle, Thomas, Esq.
Chennery,[1] John, Esq. (*f.*)
Clapthorn, George, Esq.
Clark, Edward, Esq.
*Clark, Robert, Esq.
**Clench, Edward, Esq.*
Clopton, Walter, Esq.
**Cooke, Thomas, Esq.*
*Cromwell, Oliver, Esq.
*Cutts, Sir John, Kt.
Dalton, Michael, jun., Esq.
Dalton, Michael, sen., Esq. (*f.*)
Desborow, Isaac.
Diamond, Tristram, Gent. (*e. f.*)
**Ducket*, Thomas, Esq.
Eden, Dr. (*f.*)
Fiennes, Ald. (*t. f.*)
Fisher, William, Esq.
**Foxton, Richard, Esq.*
French, Thomas. (*t.*)
*Hobart, John, Esq.
Hynde, Robert.
Janes, William, Esq. (*f.*)
Leeds, Edward, Esq.
Lowry, John. (*t.*)
Male, Edmund.
*March, Humberston, Esq.
*Marsh, William, Esq.
*Martin, Sir Thomas, Kt.
*Mayor for the time being. (*t*)
North, Sir Dudley, Kt.
Parker, Thomas, Esq.
Partridge, Sir Edward, Kt. (*e. f.*)
Pepys, Samuel, Esq.
Pepys, Talbot, Recorder. (*t.*)
*Pope, Dudley, Esq.
Raven, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Reynolds, James, Esq. (*f.*)
Reynolds, Sir James. (*f.*)
Robson, Robert. (*t.*)

[1] **Spelt also *Chymery*.**

*Russel, Francis, Esq.
Russel, Killiphet, Esq. (*f.*)
*Sandys,[1] Sir Miles, Kt.
Sherwood, John. (*t.*)
Smith, Henry.
*Spalding, Samuel. (*t.*)
Staughton, Robert.
Story, Philip, Esq.

[1] Spelt also *Sands, Sandes, Sandis.*

Stone, Richard, M.D. (*e. f.*)
Symonds, Thomas, Esq.
*Thompson, James, Esq.
Towers, John, Esq.
Walker, Thomas.
*Welbore, John, Esq.
Welbore, William. (*t.*)
Wendy, Francis, Esq.
Wright, John.

ESSEX.

Essex Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 1st June) p. 17, p. 194;—7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 170, p. 194, p. 7 Appendix, p. 328;— Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February, 1644-5, p. 603.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively *Fairfax* men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August, the then *new* ones of whom are in italics; (*c.*) means, For Colchester.

Adams, Thomas, of Thaxted, Gent.
Allen, Isaac, of Haseley, Esq.
Alliston,[1] John, Gent.
Atwood, John, Esq.
Atwood, William, Esq.
Aylet, Jeremy, Esq.
Aylett, Thomas, of Kelldon, Gent.
Bacon, Nathaniel, Esq.
Barnardiston, Arthur, Esq.
Barrington, Henry, Gent. (*c.*)
Barrington, Robert, Esq. (*f.*)
Barrington, Sir John, Kt.
Barrington, Sir Thomas, Bart.
Berkhead, Edward, Esq.
Bourn, Robert, Esq.
Brook, John, Esq.
Burket, John, Esq.
Buxton, Robert, Gent. (*c.*)
*Calthorp, Robert, Esq.
Cheeke, Sir Thomas, Kt.

[1] Spelt also *Aliston, Eliston, &c. &c.*

Clapton, Thomas, Esq.
Cletheroe, Captain.
Collard, William, Esq.
Cook, William, Ald. (*c.*)
Cooke, Thomas, Esq.
Cooke, Thomas, Gent.
Crane, Robert, Esq.
Eden, John, Esq.
*Eldred, John, Esq.
*Everard, Sir Richard, Bart.
Farr, Henry, Esq.
Fenning, John, Gent.
Friborne, Samuel, Esq.
Gambeil,[1] James, Esq. (*f.*)
Goldingham, William, Esq.
Grimston, Harbottle, Esq. (also *c.* Recorder.)
Grimston, Sir Harbottle, Bart.
*Harlackenden, Richard, Esq.
Harlackenden, William, Gent.
Harrison, Ralph, Ald. (*c.*)

[1] Spelt also Cambell.

Harvey, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Hawkin, Richard, of Harwich, Gent.
Herne, James, Esq.
Hicks, Sir William, Bart.
*Holcroft, Sir Henry, Kt.
*Honywood, Sir Thomas, Kt.
Jocelyn, John, Esq. (also *c.* Deputy Recorder.)
Johnson, Thomas. (*c.*)
Kemp, Sir Robert, Kt. (*f.*)
Langley, John, of Colchester, Esq. (also *c.*)
Langton, John, Gent. (*c.*)
Lumley, Sir Martin, Bart.
Luther, Anthony, Esq.
Maidstone, Robert, Gent.
Martin, Sir William, Kt.
Masham, Sir William, Bart.
Masham, William, Esq.
Matthews, Joachim, Esq. (*f.*)
Mayor for the time being. (*c.*)
Mead, John, Esq.
*Middleton, Timothy, Esq.
Mildmay, Cary, Esq.
Mildmay, Henry, of Graves, Esq.
Mildmay, Sir Henry, of Wansted, Bart.
Nicholson, Francis, Gent.
**Palmer, Edward, Esq.*
Pike, John, Esq.
Plume,[1] Samuel, Gent.
Raymond, Oliver, Esq.
*Reade, Dr. of Birchanger.
*Rowe, Sir William, Kt.

[1] Spelt also *Plum*, *Plumme*, *Plain*, *Plaune Plaque*.

*Sayer, John, Esq.
Shaw, John, jun., Gent. (*f.*)
Sheffield, Samson, Esq. (*f.*)
Smith, Robert, Esq.
*Sorrell,[1] John, Esq.
Stonehard, Francis, Esq.
Talcot, Robert, of Colchester, Gent.
Talcot, Thomas, Gent. (*f.*)
Thomas, Captain.
Thorogood, George, Esq.
Thorogood, John, of Walden, Gent.
*Tindall, Deane, Esq.
Topsfield, ——, Esq. (*f.*)
Turner, William, of Wimbish, Gent.
*Umphrevill,[2] William, Esq.
Vesey, Robert, Gent.
Wade, Thomas, Ald. (*c. f.*)
Walton, George, Esq.
Ward, Ald. (*c.*)
Watkins, John, Esq.
Whitcombe, Peter, Esq.
Williamson, Francis, of Walden, Gent.
Wincall, Isaac, Gent.
Wiseman, Henry, Esq.
Wiseman, Richard, Gent.
Wiseman, Robert, of Mayland, Esq.
*Wright,[3] John, Esq.
**Young, John, Gent.*
Young, Robert, Esq.

[1] Spelt also *Serrill* and *Correll*.
[2] " " *Humfreville*, &c.
[3] " " *Weight*.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Hertfordshire Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplements, 1st June, 21st June), p. 18, p. 194, p. 225; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 8 Appendix, p. 329; — Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644–5, and to the end of the War: 15th February, 1644–5, p. 604.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August; (*a.*) means, For St. Albans.

Atkins, Edward, Esq., Sergeant-at-law.
*Barber, Gabriel, Esq.
Carter, William, of Offley, Gent.
Cecil, Robert, Esq.
Combes, Toby, Esq.
Cranbourne, Charles Lord Viscount.
Dacres, Sir Thomas, Kt.
Fairecloth, Litton, Esq.
*Freeman, Ralph, Esq.
*Garret,[1] Sir John, Bart.
Harrison, Sir John.
*Heydon, John, Esq.
Humberston, John, sen., Gent.
Jennings, Richard, Esq.
*King, Dr. John, M.D.
*Leman,[2] William, Esq.
Litton, Rowland, Esq. (*f.*)
Litton, Sir William, Kt.
Lucy, Sir Richard, Bart. (*f.*)
Marsh, John, Gent.
Mayor for the time being. (*a.*)
Mayor of Hertford for the time being.
Meade, Thomas, Gent.
*Mewtys, Henry, Esq.
Norton, Gravely, Esq.
Pemberton, John, Esq.
*Pemberton, Ralph, Esq. (*a.*)
*Porter, Richard, Esq.
*Priestley, William, Esq.
Puller, Isaac, Gent.
*Read, Sir John, Bart.
*Robotham, John, Esq. (*a.*)
Sadler, Thomas, Esq.
*Scroggs, John, Esq.
Tooke, John, Esq.
*Tooke, Thomas, Esq.
*Washington, Adam, Esq.
*Wilde, Alexander, Esq.
Wingate, Edward, Esq.
*Witterong,[1] Sir John, Kt.

[1] Spelt also *Gerrat* and *Jerratt*.
[2] " " *Leeman*, *Lemon*, &c. &c.

[1] Spelt also *Whitterong*, *Whitteronge*, *Witterong*, *Witewrong*, *Witterounge*, and *Witterowng*.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

Huntingdonshire Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 8th July), p. 18, p. 229; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 8 Appendix, p. 329; — Association specially, 10th August, *p. 284. For support of* Fairfax in 1644–5, and to the end of the War: *15 February, 1644–5, p. 604.*

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August, the then *new* ones of whom are in italics.

Armyn, Sir William, Bart. (*f.*)
Bonner, John, Gent. (*f.*)
Bulkley, John, Esq.
*Burrell, Abraham, Esq.
Castle, John, Esq.
Cotton, Sir Thomas, Bart.
*Cromwell, Oliver, Esq.
Desborow, Isaac, Gent.
Drury, William. (*f.*)
**Fullwood, Gervaise, Gent.*
**Harvey, Robert, Gent.*
Hewet, Sir John, Kt.
Ingram, Robert, Gent.
*Joceline, Terrill, Esq.
King, William, Gent.
*Montague, Edward, Esq.
Montague, George, Esq. (*f.*)
Offley, John, Gent.
Petton, John, Gent.
*Temple, Thomas, Esq.
**Vintner, Robert, Gent.*
Walton, Valentine, Esq. (*f.*)
*Winch, Onslow, Esq.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Lincolnshire Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April, p. 18;—7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 194, p. 9 Appendix, p. 329. 3d July, 1644 (County now got; corresponds to 10th August, 1643, for the other Counties), p. 515. For support of Fairfax in 1644–5, and to the end of the War: 15th February, 1644–5 (with Supplements, 3d April, 11th August), p. 604, p. 633, p. 707.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 3d July, 1644, the then *new* ones of whom are in italics; (*l.*) means, For Lincoln.

Anderson, Edmund, Esq.
Archer, John, Esq.
Armyn, Sir William, Bart.
**Ashton, Peter, Esq.*
**Askham, Thomas.*
Ayscough, Sir Edward, Kt.
Ayscough, Edward, Esq.
Bernard, John, Gent.
Bowtal, Barnaby, Esq.
Brassbridge, Ald. (*f. l.*)
*Browne, John, Gent.
Brownlow, Sir John, Bart.
Brownlow, Sir William, Bart.
Broxholme, John, Esq. (also *l.*)
Bryan, Richard, Esq.
**Bury*,[1] *William*, Esq.
*Cave, Morris, Esq.
Cawdron, Robert, Esq.
*Cholmley, Montague, Esq.
*Coppledike, Thomas, Esq.
*Cornwallis, Thomas, Esq.
*Cust, Samuel, Esq.
Davison, William, Gent. (*f.*)
Dawson, Stephen, Ald. (*l.*)
*Disney, John, sen. Esq.
*Disney, Mollineux, Esq.
Disney, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
**Disney, William, Esq.*
*Ellis, Edmund, Esq.
Ellis, William, Esq.
*Emmerson, Alexander, Esq.
*Empson, Charles, Esq.
Empson, Francis, Gent. (*f.*)

[1] *Spelt also Burg and Berry.*

*Erle, Sir Richard, Bart.
Escote, Captain.
Filkin, Richard, Gent. (*f.*)
*Fines, Francis, Esq.
Fisher, Francis, Esq. (*f.*)
Grantham, Thomas, Esq. (also *l.*)
**Godfrey, William, Esq.*
*Hall, Charles, Esq.
Hall, —, of Kettlethorp, Esq.
Hall, Thomas, Gent.
Harrington, James, Esq. (*f.*)
Harrington, John, Esq.
Hatcher, Thomas, Esq.
Hitchcott, Edmund, Esq.
Hickman, Willoughby, Esq.
Hobson, John, Gent. (*f.*)
*Hobson, William, Esq.
Hudson, Christopher, Esq.
Irby, Sir Anthony, Knight
*Irby, Thomas, Esq.
Johnson, Martin, Gent.
King, Edward, Esq.
**Knight, Isaac.*
Leigh, Samuel, Esq.
Lister, Thomas, Esq.
*Lister, William, Esq.
*Luddington, William, Esq.
Marshal, William, Mayor. (*l.*)
*Massinbeard,[1] Draynard, Esq.
*Massinbeard,[1] Henry, Esq.
Massingden, ——, Esq.
Mayor of Boston for the time being.
Mayor of Lincoln for the time being. (*l.*)
*Miscendyne, Francis, Esq.
Moorcroft, Robert, Ald. (*l.*)
Munckton, Michael, Gent. (*f.*)
*Nelthorp, Edward, Esq.

[1] Spelt also *Massingbeard, Massingberde, Massingburgh, Massinbred,* and *Massinbury.*

Nelthorp, John, Esq. (*f.*)
*Nethercote, Thomas, Gent.
Owfield, Sir Samuel, Kt.
Owfield, William, Esq. (*f.*)
*Parkins, Wyat, Gent.
*Pelham, Henry, Esq.
**Pierpoint, Francis, Esq.*
Rawson, Nehemiah, Gent.
*Rossiter, Edward, Esq. (the Col.)
Rossiter, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
Samuel, Arthur, Esq. (*f.*)
Savile, Thomas, Esq.
*Savile, William, Esq.
Sheffield, John, Esq.
Skipworth, Edward, Esq.
Tharrald, Nathaniel, Gent.
*Thompson, William, Gent.
Tilson, Edmund, Esq.
*Trollop, James, Gent.
Trollop, Sir Thomas, Bart.
*Walcott, Humphrey, Esq.
Watson, William, Ald. (*l.*)
Welby, Thomas, Gent.
*Welcome, Thomas, Esq.
Whitchcot, Edward, Esq.
Whitchcot, Sir Hamond, Kt.
Whiting, John, Gent. (*f.*)
Willesby, John, Esq.
Williamson, Richard, Esq. (*f.*)
Williamson, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
Willoughby, Hickman, Esq.
Willoughby, Lord Francis. Parham.
Wincopp,[1] John, Gent.
*Woolley, William, Esq.
Wrath, John, Esq.
Wray, Sir Christopher, Kt.
Wray, Sir John, Bart.
Wray, John, Esq

[1] Spelt also *Wincock* and *Wincoch.*

NORFOLK.

Norfolk Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 18th April), p. 19, p. 38; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 194, p. 9 Appendix, p. 328; — Association specially, 10th August, p. 283. For support of Fairfax in 1644–5, and to the end of the War: 15th February, 1644–5, p. 605.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August, the then *new* ones of whom are in italics; (*n.*) means, For Norwich.

*Ashley, Sir Edward, Kt.
*Ashley, Sir Isaac, Kt.
Bailiffs of Yarmouth.
Bainham, Robert, Esq. (*f.*)
Baker, Thomas, Esq. (*n.*)
Barkham, Sir Edward, Bart.
Barret, Christopher, Esq. (*n.*)
Barret, Thomas, Sheriff. (*n. f.*)
Beddingfield, Philip, Esq.
Berkham, John.
Berney,[1] Sir Richard, Bart.
Blofield, Jeremy, of Alby.
*Brewster, John, Esq.
Brewster, Samuel, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Brown, John, of Sparks.
**Burnam, Edmund, Ald.* (*n.*)
Buxton, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Calthorp, James, Esq.
Calthorp, Philip, Esq.
Chamberlain, Edward, Esq. (*f.*)
Church, Bernard, Sheriff. (*n. f.*)
Clarke, of Gaywood.
Collier, John, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Collyns, of Blackborne Abbey.
Coney, William.
*Cooke,[2] John, Esq.
*Cooke, William, Esq.
Corbet, Miles, Esq.
Dagly, Robert, of Alsham.
Day, Sucklin.
Doylie, Sir William, Kt. (*f.*)
Earl, Erasmus, Esq. (*f.*)
Felsham, Robert, of Sculthrop.
Fountain, Briggs, Esq.
Fryer,[1] Tobias, Esq.
Gasley, William, of Holcan.
Gawdy, Edward, Esq. (*f.*)
Gawdy, Framlingham, Esq. (*f.*)
*Gawdy, Sir Thomas, Kt.
*Gawsell,[2] Gregory, Esq.
Gibbon,[3] John, Esq.
Gibbon,[3] Sir Thomas, Kt.
Gooch, Robert, of Elham.
Gower, Robert, of Yarmouth, Gent. (*f.*)
**Greenwood, John, Sheriff.* (*n.*)
Grey, James de, Esq. (*f.*)
Grey, John, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Harman, Richard, Esq.
Harvye, Richard.
Heveningham, William, Esq.
Heyward, Edward, Esq. (*f.*)
*Hobart, Sir John, Bart.
*Hobart, Sir Miles, Kt.
Holland, Sir John, Bart.
Houghton, John, Esq.
Houghton, Robert, Esq. (*f.*)

[1] Spelt also *Berne*, *Bernay*, and *Barney*.
[2] Spelt also *Crook* and *Coke*.

[1] Spelt also *Frere*, *Friar*, and *Fryar*.
[2] " " *Causell*, *Gousall*, and *Causey*.
[3] " " *Guibon*.

*Huggen,[1] Sir Thomas, Kt.
Hunt, George, Esq. (*f.*)
Jaye, John, of Ersham.
*Jermy, Francis, Esq.
Jermy, Robert, Esq.
Johnson, Thomas, Gent.
Ket, Robert, of Wicklewood.
Kettle, Henry, of Thetford. (*f.*)
King, Henry, Gent.
Lincoln, Thomas, of Thetford, Esq., Ald.
*Lindsey, Matthew, Ald. (*n.*)
Long, Robert, Esq. (*f.*)
May, John, of Lynn, Ald. (*f.*)
Mayor of Lynn for the time being.
Mayor of Norwich for the time being. (*n.*)
Money, Samuel, of Binnam.
Mountford, Sir Edmund, Kt.
Owner, Edward, Esq. (*f.*)
*Palgrave, Sir John, Bart.
Parkes,[2] Samuel, Gent.
*Parmenter, Adrian, Esq. (*n.*)
Paston, Sir William, Bart. (*f.*)
*Peckoner,[3] Matthew, Ald. (*n.*)
Pell, Sir Valentine, Kt. Vicecomes. (*f.*)
Percivall, John, Esq. of Lynn.
Pots, Sir John, Bart.
Raymes,[4] John, Esq. of Oxtron.
Rich, Robert, Esq.
Rower, Robert, Gent.
*Russell, Thomas, Esq.
Salter, John, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Scamler, Adam, Esq. (*f.*)
Scamler, James. Esq.
Scottow, Timothy, Gent. (*n. f.*)

[1] Spelt also *Hogan*, *Hoogan*, *Hoggin*.
[2] " " *Parks*, *Parker*, *Packle*.
[3] " " *Peckover* and *Peckford*.
[4] " " *Reygnes*, *Keyves*, *Reimes*, and *Regin*.

*Sedley,[1] Martin, Esq.
Sheppard, Robert, Esq.
Sheriffs of Norwich.
Sherwood, Livewell, Ald. (*n.*)
Shouldham, Francis, of Fulmerston.
Skippon, Philip, Esq. (*f.*)
*Smith, Samuel, Esq.
*Sotherton, Thomas, Esq.
*Spelman, John, Esq.
Springall, Thomas, of St. Mary's.
Steward, ——, Esq. (*n. f.*)
Swalter, John, of Southcreak.
*Symonds, William, of Norwich, Ald. (*n.*)
Taylor, Henry, Esq. (*f.*)
*Thacker, John, Ald. (*n.*)
Thorisby, Edmund, Esq. (*f.*)
Tofts, John, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Tofts, Thomas, Ald. (*n. f.*)
Toll, Thomas, Esq.
*Tooley, John, Esq. (*n.*)
Townsend, Roger, Esq. (*f.*)
Utber, Thomas.
Vincent, John, of Crinisham.
Walpool, John, Esq.
Walter, of Deram.
Ward, Hamon, Esq. (*f.*)
Warner, Richard, of Little Brand.
Wasted, Thomas, Gent. (*n. f.*)
*Watts, Henry, Ald. (*n.*)
Web, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Weld, Thomas, Esq.
*Wilton,[2] Robert, Esq.
Windham, Sir George, Kt. (*f.*)
*Windham, Thomas, Esq.
With, of Brodish.
*Wood, Robert, Esq.
Woodhouse, Sir Thomas, Bart.
**Wright*,[3] *Thomas, Esq.*

[1] Spelt also *Sidley* and *Redley*.
[2] " " *Wilson*.
[3] " " Weight.

SUFFOLK.

Suffolk Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 29th September), p. 19, p. 321; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 172, p. 193, p. 10 Appendix, p. 328; — Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644–5, and to the end of the War: 15th February, 1644–5, p. 605.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of the 10th August; (*i.*) means, For Ipswich; (*e.*) Bury St. Edmunds; (*a.*) Aldborough.

Aldermen of Bury St. Edmunds. (*e.*)
Aldus, John, Gent. (*i.*)
*Appleton, Isaac, Esq.
Bacon, Sir Butts, Bart.
*Bacon, Sir Edmund, Bart.
*Bacon, Francis, Esq.
*Bacon, Nathaniel, of Freeston, Esq.
*Bacon, Nathaniel, of Ipswich, Esq.
Bacon, Nicholas, Esq.
Bacon, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
Bailiffs of Aldborough. (*a.*)
Bailiffs of Ipswich. (*i.*)
*Baker, Thomas, Esq.
Barnardiston, Sir Nathaniel, Kt.
*Barnardiston, Sir Thomas, Kt.
*Barrow, Maurice, Esq.
Basse,[1] John, Esq.
Bence, Alexander, Esq. (*f.*)
Bence, Squire, Esq.
Blosse, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
*Bloyse, William, Esq.
Bokenham, Wiseman, Esq.
Brandling, John. (*i.*)
Brewster, Francis, Esq.
*Brewster,[2] Robert, Esq.
Bright, ——, Gent. (*e.*)
Brook, Sir Robert, Kt.
Brooke, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Cage,[1] William, Esq.
Chaplin, Thomas, Gent. (*e.*)
Chapman, Thomas, Esq. (*e.*)
Cheney, Henry. (*a. f.*)
Clinch, John, sen., Esq.
Clinch, John, of Culpho, Esq.
*Cole, Thomas, Esq.
Cotton, John, Esq. (*f.*)
D'Ewes, Sir Simond, Bart. (*f.*)
Duke, Sir Edward, Kt.
Duncombe,[2] Robert, Gent. (*i.*)
Fisher, Peter. (*i.*)
Gale, Jacob, Gent. (*i.*)
Gibbs, Thomas, Ald. (*e.*)
Gurdon, Brampton, Esq.
Gurdon, Brampton, jun., Esq.
Gurdon, John, Esq.
*Harvey, Edmund, Esq.
Heveningham, William, Esq.
*Hobart, James, Esq.
Hodges, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Johnson,[3] Thomas, Gent. (*a.*)
*Lawrence, William, Esq.
*Lucas, Gibson, Esq.
Moody, Samuel. (*e.*)
North, Henry, sen., Esq.
North, Henry, jun., Esq.
North, Sir Roger, Kt.
Parker, Sir Philip, Kt.
Parker, Sir William, Kt.

1 *Spelt also Bates, Base, and Bace.*
2 " " *Brechester.*

1 Spelt also *Gage.*
2 " " Duncom and Duncon.
3 " " Jackson.

Pemberton, Joseph, Gent. (*i.*)
Pepys, Richard, Esq.
Playters, Sir William, Bart.
Puplet,[1] Richard, Gent. (*i.*)
Read, Edward, Esq.
Reynolds, Robert, Esq.
River,[2] William, of Bilson, Esq.

[1] Spelt also *Pupler*, *Purplet*, *Pulpit*.
[2] " " *Biest* and *Ryvet*.

Rous, Sir John, Kt.
Sicklemer, John, Gent. (*i.*)
*Soame, Sir William, Kt.
*Spring, Sir William, Bart.
*Terrell,[1] Thomas, Esq.
*Vaughan, Theophilus, of Beccles, Esq.
Wentworth, Sir John, Kt.

[1] Spelt also *Tirrill*.

PART VIII.

FIRST PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT.

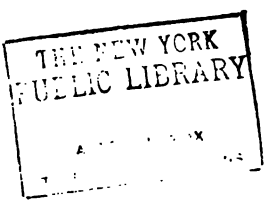
1654.

LETTERS CXCII.–CXCV.

THE 3d of September ever since Worcester Battle has been kept as a Day of Thanksgiving; commemorative of the mercy at Dunbar in 1650, and of the crowning-mercy which followed next year; — a memorable day for the Commonwealth of England. By Article Seventh of the Instrument of Government, it is now farther provided that a Parliament shall meet on that auspicious Anniversary when it next comes round. September 3d, 1654, then shall the First Protectorate Parliament meet; successive Parliaments, one at least every three years, are to follow, but this shall be the First. Not to be dissolved, or prorogued, for at least five months. Free Parliament of four hundred: for England three hundred and forty, for Scotland thirty, for Ireland thirty; fairly chosen by election of the People, according to rules anxiously constitutional, laid down in that same Instrument, — which we do not dwell upon here. Smaller Boroughs are excluded; among Counties and larger Boroughs is a more equable division of representatives according to their population: nobody to vote that has not some clearly visible property to the value of two hundred Pounds; but all that have can vote, and can be voted for, — except, of course, all such as have appeared against the Parliament in any of these Wars "since the First of January, 1642," and "not since given signal testimony" of their repenting that step. To appearance, a very

CHARLES I. GOING TO EXECUTION.

Carlyle, Vol. Eight, p. 87.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reasonable Reform Bill; — understood to be substantially the same with that invaluable measure once nearly completed by the Rump: only with this essential difference, That the Rump Members are not now to sit by nature and without election; not now to decide, they, in case of extremity, Thou shalt sit, Thou shalt not sit; — others than they will now decide that, in cases of extremity. How this Parliament, in its five months Session, will welcome the new Protector and Protectorate is naturally the grand question during those nine or ten months that intervene.

A question for all Englishmen; and most of all for Oliver Protector; — who however, as we can perceive, does not allow it to overawe him very much; but diligently doing this day the day's duties, hopes he may find, as God has often favored him to do, some good solution for the morrow, whatsoever the morrow please to be. A man much apt to be overawed by any question that is smaller than Eternity, or by any danger that is lower than God's Displeasure, would not suit well in Oliver's place at present! Perhaps no more perilous place, that I know clearly of, was ever deliberately accepted by a man. "The post of honor," — the post of terror and of danger and forlorn-hope: this man has all along been used to occupy such.

To see a little what kind of England it was, and what kind of incipient Protectorate it was, take, as usual, the following small and few fractions of Authenticity, of various complexion, fished from the doubtful slumber-lakes and dust-vortexes, and hang them out at their places in the void night of things. They are not very luminous; but if they were well let alone, and the positively tenebrific were well forgotten, they might assist our imaginations in some slight measure.

Sunday, 18th December, 1653. A certain loud-tongued, loud-minded Mr. Feak, of Anabaptist-Leveller persuasion, with a Colleague, seemingly Welsh, named Powel, have a Preaching-Establishment, this good while past, in Blackfriars; a Preaching-Establishment every Sunday, which on Monday Evening becomes a *National*-Charter Convention as we should *now call it: there Feak, Powel* and Company are in the habit

of vomiting forth from their own inner-man, into other inner-men greedy of such pabulum, a very flamy fuliginous set of doctrines, — such as the human mind, superadding Anabaptistry to Sansculottism, can make some attempt to conceive. Sunday, the 18th, which is two days after the Lord Protector's Installation, this Feak-Powel Meeting was unusually large; the Feak-Powel inner-man unusually charged. Elements of soot and fire really copious; fuliginous-flamy in a very high degree! At a time, too, when all Doctrine does not satisfy itself with spouting, but longs to become instant Action. "Go and tell your Protector," said the Anabaptist Prophet, That he has deceived the Lord's People; "that he is a perjured villain," — "will not reign long," or I am deceived; "will end worse than the last Protector did," Protector Somerset who died on the scaffold, or the tyrant Crooked Richard himself! Say, I said it! — A very foul chimney indeed, here got on fire. And "Major-General Harrison, the most eminent man of the Anabaptist Party, being consulted whether he would own the new Protectoral Government, answered frankly, No;" — was thereupon ordered to retire home to Staffordshire, and keep quiet.[1]

Does the reader bethink him of those old Leveller Corporals at Burford, and Diggers at St. George's Hill five years ago; of Quakerisms, Calvinistic Sansculottisms, and one of the strangest Spiritual Developments ever seen in any country? The reader sees here one foul chimney on fire, the Feak-Powel chimney in Blackfriars; and must consider for himself what masses of combustible material, noble fuel and base soot and smoky explosive fire-damp, in the general English Household it communicates with! Republicans Proper, of the Long Parliament; Republican Fifth-Monarchists of the Little Parliament; the solid Ludlows, the fervent Harrisons: from Harry Vane down to Christopher Feak, all manner of Republicans find Cromwell unforgivable. To the Harrison-and-Feak species Kingship in every sort, and government of man by man, is carnal, expressly contrary to various Gospel *Scriptures*. Very horrible for a man to think of governing

[1] Thurloe, i. 641; — 442, 591, 631.

men;—whether he ought even to govern cattle, and drive them to field and to needful penfold, "except in the way of love and persuasion," seems doubtful to me! But fancy a Reign of Christ and his Saints; Christ and his Saints just about to come,—had not Oliver Cromwell stept in and prevented it! The reader discerns combustibilities enough; conflagrations, plots, stubborn disaffections and confusions, on the Republican and Republican-Anabaptist side of things. It is the first Plot-department, which my Lord Protector will have to deal with, all his life long. This he must wisely damp down, as he may. Wisely: for he knows what is noble in the matter, and what is base in it; and would not sweep the fuel and the soot both out of doors at once.

Tuesday, 14th February, 1653–4. "At the Ship-Tavern in the Old Bailey, kept by Mr. Thomas Amps," we come upon the second life-long Plot-department: Eleven truculent, rather threadbare persons, sitting over small drink there, on the Tuesday night, considering how the Protector might be assassinated. Poor broken Royalist men; payless Old-Captains, most of them, or such like; with their steeple-hats worn very brown, and jackboots slit,—and projects that cannot be executed. Mr. Amps knows nothing of them, except that they came to him to drink; nor do we. Probe them with questions; clap them in the Tower for a while:[1] Guilty, poor knaves; but not worth hanging:—disappear again into the general mass of Royalist Plotting, and ferment there.

The Royalists have lain quiet ever since Worcester; waiting what issue matters would take. Dangerous to meddle with a Rump Parliament, or other steadily regimented thing; safer if you can find it fallen out of rank; hopefulest of all, when it collects itself into a Single Head. The Royalists judge, with some reason, that if they could kill Oliver Protector, this Commonwealth were much endangered. In these Easter weeks, too, or Whitsun weeks, there comes "from our Court [Charles Stuart's Court] at Paris," great encouragement to all men of *spirit* in straitened circumstances. A

[1] *Newspapers* (*in Cromwelliana*, p. 135).

Royal Proclamation "By the King," drawn up, say some, by Secretary Clarendon; setting forth that "Whereas a certain base mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell, has usurped our throne," much to our and other people's inconvenience, whosoever will kill the said mechanic fellow "by sword, pistol or poison," shall have £500 a year settled upon him, with colonelcies in our Army, and other rewards suitable, and be a made man, — "on the word and faith of a Christian King."[1] A Proclamation which cannot be circulated except in secret; but is well worth reading by all loyal men. And so Royalist Plots also succeed one another, thick and threefold through Oliver's whole life; — but cannot take effect. Vain for a Christian King and his cunningest Chancellors to summon all the Sinners of the Earth, and whatsoever of necessitous Truculent-Flunkyism there may be, and to bid, in the name of Heaven and of Another place, for the Head of Oliver Cromwell: once for all, they cannot have it, that Head of Cromwell; — not till *he* has entirely done with it, and can make them welcome to their benefit from it! We shall come upon these Royalist Plots, Rebellion Plots and Assassin Plots, in the order of time; and have to mention them, though with brevity. Oliver Protector, I suppose, understands and understood his Protectorship moderately well, and what Plots and other Hydra-coils were inseparable from it; and contrives to deal with these too, like a conscientious man, and not like a hungry slave.

Secretary Thurloe, once St. John's Secretary in Holland, has come now, ever since the Little-Parliament time, into decided action as Oliver's Secretary, or the State Secretary; one of the expertest Secretaries, in the real meaning of the word Secretary, any State or working King could have. He deals with all these Plots; it is part of his function, supervised by his Chief. Mr. John Milton, we all lament to know, has fallen blind in the Public Service; lives now in Bird-cage Walk, still doing a little when called upon; bating no jot of heart or hope. Mr. Milton's notion is, That this Protectorate

[1] *Thurloe*, ii. 248. "Given at Paris, 3d May (23d April by old style), *1654*."

of his Highness Oliver was a thing called for by the Necessities and the Everlasting Laws; and that his Highness ought now to quit himself like a Christian Hero in it, as in other smaller things he has been used to do.[1]

March 20th, 1653–4. By the Instrument of Government, the Lord Protector with his Council,[2] till once the First Parliament were got together, was empowered not only to raise moneys for the needful supplies, but also "to make Laws and Ordinances for the peace and welfare of these Nations:" which latter faculty he is by no means slack to exercise. Of his "Sixty Ordinances" passed in this manner before the Parliament met, which are well approved of by good judges, we cannot here afford to say much: but there is one bearing date as above, which must not be omitted. First Ordinance relating to the Settlement of a Gospel Ministry in this Nation; Ordinance of immense interest to Puritan England at that time. An object which has long been on the anvil, this same "Settlement;" much labored at, and striven for, ever since the Long Parliament began: and still, as all confess, no tolerable result has been attained. Yet is it not the greatest object; properly the soul of all these struggles and confused wrestlings and battlings, since we first met here? For the

[1] *Defensio Secunda.*

[2] Fifteen in number, which he may enlarge to twenty-one, if he see good. Not removable any of them, except by himself with advice of the rest. A very remarkable Majesty's Ministry; — of which, for its own sake and the Majesty's, take this List, as it stood in 1654: —

Philip Viscount Lisle (Algernon Sidney's Brother); Fleetwood; Lambert; Montague (of Hinchinbrook); Desborow (Protector's Brother-in-law); Ashley Cooper (Earl of Shaftesbury afterwards); Walter Strickland (Member for Minehead in the Long Parliament, once Ambassador in Holland); Colonel Henry Lawrence (for Westmoreland in the Long Parliament, of whom we have transiently heard, — became *President* of the Council); Mayor (of Hursley); Francis Rouse (our old friend); pious old Major-General Skippon; Colonels Philip Jones and Sydenham, Sirs Gilbert Pickering and Charles Wolseley, of whom my readers do not know much. Fifteen Councillors in all. To whom Nathaniel Fiennes (son of Lord Say and Sele) was afterwards added; with the Earl of Mulgrave; and another, Colonel Mackworth, who soon died (*Thurloe, iii. 581*). *Thurloe is* Secretary; and blind Milton, now *with assistants, is Latin Secretary.*

thing men are taught, or get to *believe*, that is the thing they will infallibly *do;* the kind of "Gospel" you settle, kind of "Ministry" you settle, or do not settle, the root of all is there! Let us see what the Lord Protector can accomplish in this business.

Episcopacy being put down, and Presbytery not set up, and Church-Government for years past being all a Church-Anarchy, the business is somewhat difficult to deal with. The Lord Protector, as we find, takes it up in simplicity and integrity, intent upon the real heart or practical outcome of it; and makes a rather satisfactory arrangement. Thirty-eight chosen Men, the acknowledged Flower of English Puritanism, are nominated by this Ordinance of the 20th of March,[1] nominated a Supreme Commission for the Trial of Public Preachers. Any person pretending to hold a Church-living, or levy tithes or clergy-dues in England, has first to be tried and approved by these men. Thirty-eight, as Scobell teaches us: nine are Laymen, our friend old Francis Rouse at the head of them; twenty-nine are Clergy. His Highness, we find, has not much inquired of what Sect they are; has known them to be Independents, to be Presbyterians, one or two of them to be even Anabaptists; — has been careful only of one characteristic, That they were men of wisdom, and had the root of the matter in them. Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, Marshall, Manton, and others not yet quite unknown to men, were among these Clerical *Triers:* the acknowledged Flower of Spiritual England at that time; and intent, as Oliver himself was, with an awful earnestness, on actually having the Gospel taught to England.

This is the First branch or limb of Oliver's scheme for Church-Government, this Ordinance of the 20th March, 1653–4. A second, which completes what little he could do in the matter at present, developed itself in August following. By this August Ordinance,[2] a Body of Commissioners, distinguished Puritan Gentry, distinguished Puritan Clergy, are nominated in all Counties of England, from Fifteen to Thirty in each County; who are to inquire into "scandalous, ignorant,

[1] Scobell, ii. 279–280. [2] 28th August, 1654 (Scobell, ii. 335–347)

insufficient," and otherwise deleterious alarming Ministers of the Gospel; to be a tribunal for judging, for detecting, ejecting them (only in case of ejection, if they have wives, let some small modicum of living be allowed them): and to sit there, judging and sifting, till gradually all is sifted clean, and can be kept clean. This is the Second branch of Oliver's form of Church-Government: this, with the other Ordinance, makes at last a kind of practicable Ecclesiastical Arrangement for England.

A very republican arrangement, such as could be made on the sudden; contains in it, however, the germ or essence of all conceivable arrangements, that of worthy men to judge of the worth of men; and was found in practice to work well. As, indeed, any arrangement will work well, when the men in it have the root of the matter at heart; and, alas, all arrangements, when the men in them have not, work ill and not well! Of the Lay Commissioners, from fifteen to thirty in each County, it is remarked that not a few are political enemies of Oliver's: friends or enemies of his, Oliver hopes they are men of pious probity, and friends to the Gospel in England. My Lord General Fairfax, the Presbyterian; Thomas Scott, of the Long Parliament, the fanatical Republican; Lords Wharton, Say, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Colonel Robert Blake, Mayor of Hursley, Dunch of Pusey, Montague of Hinchinbrook, and other persons known to us, — are of these Commissioners. Richard Baxter, who seldom sat, is one of the Clergy for his County: he testifies, not in the willingest manner, being no friend to Oliver, That these Commissioners, of one sort and the other, with many faults, did sift out the deleterious alarming Ministers of the Gospel, and put in the salutary in their stead, with very considerable success, — giving us "able, serious Preachers, who lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were;" so that "many thousands of souls blessed God" for what they had done; and grieved sore when, with the return of the Nell-Gwynn Defender, and his Four Surplices or what remained of them, it was undone again.[1] And so with these *Triers* and these

[1] Baxter's *Life*, part i. p. 72.

Expurgators both busy, and a faithful eye to watch their procedure, we will hope the Spiritual Teaching-Apparatus of England stood now on a better footing than usual, and actually succeeded in teaching somewhat.

Of the Lord Protector's other Ordinances; Ordinance "declaring the Law of Treason," Ordinances of finance, of Amnesty for Scotland, of Union with Scotland, and other important matters, we must say nothing. One elaborate Ordinance, "in sixty-seven Articles," for "Reforming the Court of Chancery," will be afterwards alluded to with satisfaction, by the Lord Protector himself. Elaborate Ordinance; containing essential improvements, say some; — which has perhaps saved the Court of Chancery from abolition for a while longer! For the rest, "not above Two Hundred Hackney-coaches" shall henceforth be allowed to ply in this Metropolis and six miles round it; the ever-increasing number of them, blocking up our thoroughfares, threatens to become insupportable.[1]

April 14th, 1654. This day, let it be noted for the sake of poor Editors concerned with undated Letters, and others, his Highness removed from his old Lodging in the Cockpit, into new properly Royal Apartments in Whitehall, now ready for him,[2] and lived there henceforth, usually going out to Hampton Court on the Saturday afternoon. He has "assumed somewhat of the state of a King;" due ceremonial, decent observance beseeming the Protector of the Commonwealth of England; Life-guards, ushers, state-coaches, — in which my erudite friend knows well what delight this Lord Protector had! Better still, the Lord Protector has concluded good Treaties; received congratulatory Embassies, — France, Spain itself have sent Embassies. Treaty with the Dutch, with Denmark, Sweden, Portugal:[3] all much to our satisfaction. Of the Portuguese Treaty there will perhaps another word be said. As for the Swedish, this, it is well known, was managed by our learned friend Bulstrode at Upsal itself; whose Narrative of that

[1] Scobell, ii. 313; Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 139).

[2] *Newspapers* (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 139).

[3] *Dutch Treaty* signed, 5th April, 1654; Swedish, 23th April; Portuguese, *10th July*; Danish Claims settled, 31st July (Godwin, iv. 49–56).

formidable Embassy exists, a really curious life-picture by our Pedant friend; whose qualities are always fat and good;—whose parting from poor Mrs. Whitlocke at Chelsea, in those interesting circumstances, may be said to resemble that of Hector from Andromache, in some points.

And now for our Four small Letters, for our First Protectorate Parliament, without waste of another word!

LETTER CXCII.

"For my loving Brother Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley, in Hampshire: These.

"[WHITEHALL,] 4th May, 1654.

"DEAR BROTHER,—I received your loving Letter; for which I thank you: and surely were it fit to proceed in that Business, you should not in the least have been put upon anything but the trouble; for indeed the land in Essex, with some money in my hand, should have gone towards it.

"But indeed I am so unwilling to be a seeker after the world, having had so much favor from the Lord in giving me so much without seeking; and [am] so unwilling that men should think me so, which they will though you only appear in it (for they will, by one means or other, know it),—that indeed I dare not meddle nor proceed therein. Thus I have told you my plain thoughts.

"My hearty love I present to you and my Sister, my blessing and love to dear Doll and the little one. With love to all, I rest,

"Your loving brother,

"OLIVER P."[1]

A "business" seemingly of making an advantageous purchase of land for Richard; which Mayor will take all the trouble of, and even advance the money for; but which Oliver P., for good reasons given, "dare not meddle with." No man can now guess what land it was,—nor need much. In the

[1] *Noble, i. 330; Harris, p. 515*:—one of the Pusey Letters.

Pamphletary dust-mountains is a confused story of Cornet Joyce's,[1] concerning Fawley Park in Hampshire; which, as the dim dateless indications point to the previous winter or summer, and to the "Lord General Cromwell" as looking towards that property for his Son Richard, — may be the place, for aught we know! The story sets forth, with the usual bewildered vivacity of Joyce: How Joyce, the same who took the King at Holmby, and is grown now a noisy Anabaptist and Lieutenant-Colonel, — how Joyce, I say, was partly minded and fully entitled to purchase Fawley Park, and Richard Cromwell was minded and not fully entitled: how Richard's Father thereupon dealt treacherously with the said Joyce; spake softly to him, then quarrelled with him, menaced him (owing to Fawley Park); nay ended by flinging him into prison, and almost reducing him to his needle and thimble again, — greatly to the enragement and distraction of the said Joyce. All owing to Fawley Park, thinks Joyce and prints; — so that my Lord Protector, if this Park be the place, is very wise "not to meddle or proceed therein." And so we leave it.

LETTER CXCIII.

Monk, in these summer months, has a desultory kind of Rebellion in the Highlands, Glencairn's or Middleton's Rebellion, to deal with; and is vigorously coercing and strangling it. Colonel Alured, an able officer, but given to Anabaptist notions, has been sent into Ulster to bring over certain forces to assist Monk. His loose tongue, we find, has disclosed designs or dispositions in him which seem questionable. The Lord Protector sees good to revoke his Commission to Alured, and order him up to Town.

[1] *True Narrative of the Causes of the Lord-General Cromwell's anger and indignation against Lieutenant-Colonel George Joyce:* reprinted (without date) in *Harleian Miscellany*, v. 557, &c. — Joyce "is in jail," 19th September 1655 (*Thurloe, i.* 470).

[*To the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland: These.*]

"[WHITEHALL,] 16th May, 1654.

"SIR, — By the Letter I received from you, and by the information of the Captain you sent to me, I am sufficiently satisfied of the evil intentions of Colonel Alured; and by some other considerations amongst ourselves, tending to the making up a just suspicion, — by the advice of friends here, I do revoke Colonel Alured from that Employment.

"Wherefore I desire you to send for him to return to you to Dublin; and that you cause him to deliver up the Instructions and Authorities into your hands, which he hath in reference to that Business; as also such moneys and accounts concerning the same, — according to the Letter, herein enclosed, directed to him, which I entreat you to deliver when he comes to you.

"I desire [you] also, to the end the Service may not be neglected, nor [for] one day stand, it being of so great concernment, To employ some able Officer to assist in Colonel Alured's room, until the men be shipped off for their design. We purpose also, God willing, to send one very speedily who, we trust, shall meet them at the place, to command in chief. As for provision of victual and other necessaries, we shall hasten them away; desiring that these Forces may by no means stay in Ireland; because we purpose they shall meet their provision in the place they are designed [for].

"If any farther discovery be with you about any other passages on Colonel Alured's part, I pray examine them, and speed them to us; and send Colonel Alured over hither with the first opportunity. Not having more upon this subject at present, I rest,

"Your loving father,

"OLIVER P.

"[P.S.] I desire you that the Officer, whom you appoint to assist the *shipping* of the Forces, may have the money in *Colonel Alured's hands*, for carrying on the Service; and also

that he may leave what remains at Carrickfergus for the Commander-in-chief, who shall call for it there."[1]

This is the Enclosure above spoken of:—

LETTER CXCIV.

[*To Colonel Alured: These.*]

"[WHITEHALL,] 16th May, 1654.

"SIR,—I desire you to deliver up into the hands of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood such Authorities and Instructions as you had for the prosecution of the Business of the Highlands in Scotland; and [that] you forthwith repair to me to London; the reason whereof you shall know when you come hither, which I would have you do with all speed. I would have you also give an account to the Lieutenant-General, before you come away, how far you have proceeded in this Service, and what money you have in your hands, which you are to leave with him. I rest,

"Your loving friend,

"OLIVER P."[2]

This Colonel Alured is one of several Yorkshire Alureds somewhat conspicuous in these wars; whom we take to be Nephews or Sons of the valuable Mr. Alured or Ald'red who wrote "to old Mr. Chamberlain,"—in the last generation, one morning, during the Parliament of 1628, when certain honorable Gentlemen held their Speaker down,—a Letter which we thankfully read.[3] One of them, John, was Member in this Long Parliament; a Colonel too, and King's Judge; who is now dead. Here is another, Colonel Matthew Alured, a distinguished soldier and republican; who is not dead; but whose career of usefulness is here ended. "Repairing forthwith to London," to the vigilant Lord Protector, he gives

[1] Thurloe, ii. 285. [2] Ibid. ii. 286.

[3] Vol. xvii. p. 59 et seq.

what account he can of himself; none that will hold water, I perceive; lingers long under a kind of arrest "at the Mews" or elsewhere; soliciting either freedom and renewed favor, or a fair trial and punishment; gets at length committal to the Tower, trial by Court Martial, — dismissal from the service.[1] A fate like that of several others in a similar case to his. — Poor Alured! But what could be done with him? He had Republican Anabaptist notions; he had discontents, enthusiasms, which might even ripen into tendencies to correspond with Charles Stuart. Who knows if putting him in a stone waistcoat, and general strait-waistcoat of a mild form, was not the mercifulest course that could be taken with him?

He must stand here as the representative to us of one of the fatalest elements in the new Lord Protector's position: the Republican discontents and tendencies to plot, fermenting in his own Army. Of which we shall perhaps find elsewhere room to say another word. Republican Overton, Milton's friend, whom we have known at Hull and elsewhere; Okey, the fierce dragoon Colonel and zealous Anabaptist; Alured, whom we see here; Ludlow, sitting sulky in Ireland: all these are already summoned up, or about being summoned, to give account of themselves. Honorable, brave and faithful men: it is, as Oliver often says, the saddest thought of his heart that he must have old friends like them for enemies! But he cannot help it; they will have it so. They must go their way, he his.

Much need of vigilance in this Protector! Directly on the back of these Republican commotions come out Royalist ones; with which, however, the Protector is less straitened to deal. Lord Deputy Fleetwood has not yet received his Letter at Dublin, when here in London emerges a Royalist Plot; the first of any gravity; known in the old Books and State-Trials as *Vowel and Gerard's Plot, or Somerset Fox's Plot.* Plot for assassinating the Protector, as usual. Easy to do it, as he goes to Hampton Court on a Saturday, — Saturday, the 20th of May, for example. Provide thirty stout men; and do it

[1] Whitlocke, *pp. 499, 510; Thurloe*, ii. 294, 313, 414; Burton's Diary (*London, 1828*), *iii. 46; Commons Journals*, vii. 678.

then. Gerard, a young Royalist Gentleman, connected with Royalist Colonels afterwards Earls of Macclesfield, — he will provide five-and-twenty; some Major Henshaw, Colonel Finch, or I know not who, shall bring the other five. "Vowel a Schoolmaster at Islington, who taught many young gentlemen," strong for Church and King, cannot act in the way of shooting; busies himself consulting, and providing arms. "Billingsley the Butcher in Smithfield," he, aided by Vowel, could easily "seize the Troopers' horses grazing in Islington fields;" while others of us unawares fall upon the soldiers at the Mews? Easy then to proclaim King Charles in the City; after which Prince Rupert arriving with "ten thousand Irish, English and French," and all the Royalists rising, — the King should have his own again, and we were all made men; and Oliver once well killed, the Commonwealth itself were as good as dead! Saturday, the 20th of May; then, say our Paris expresses, then! —

Alas, in the very birthtime of the hour, "five of the Conspirators are seized in their beds;" Gerard, Vowel, all the leaders are seized; Somerset Fox confesses for his life whosoever is guilty can be seized: and the Plot is like water spilt upon the ground![1] A High Court of Justice must decide upon it; and with Gerard and Vowel it will probably go hard.

LETTER CXCV.

Refers to a small private or civic matter: the Vicarage of Christ-Church, Newgate Street, the patronage of which belongs to "the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of London as Governors of the Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew" ever since Henry the Eighth's time.[2] The former Incumbent, it would seem, had been removed by the Council of State; some Presbyterian probably, who was, not without cause,

[1] French Le Bas dismissed for his share in it: Appendix, No. 28.

[2] *Elmes's Topographical Dictionary of London*, in voce.

offensive to them. If now the Electors and the State could both agree on Mr. Turner, — it would "silence" several questions, thinks the Lord Protector. Whether they did agree? Who "Mr. Turner," of such "repute for piety and learning," was? These are questions.

"*To the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Vyner, Knight, Lord Mayor of London: These.*

"[WHITEHALL,] 5th July, 1654.

"MY LORD MAYOR, — It is not my custom now, nor shall be, without some special cause moving, to interpose anything to the hindrance of any in the free course of their presenting persons to serve in the Public Ministry.

"But, well considering how much it concerns the public peace, and what an opportunity may be had of promoting the interest of the Gospel, if some eminent and fit person of a pious and peaceable spirit and conversation were placed in Christ-Church, — and though I am not ignorant what interest the State may justly challenge to supply that place, which by an Order of State is become void, notwithstanding any resignation that is made:

"Yet forasmuch as your Lordship and the rest of the Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital are about to present thereunto a person of known nobility and integrity before you, namely Mr. Turner, I am contented, if you think good so to improve the present opportunity as to present *him* to the place, to have all other questions silenced; — which will not alone be the fruit thereof; but I believe also the true good of the Parish therein concerned will be thereby much furthered. I rest,

"Your assured friend,

"OLIVER P.

"[P.S.] I can assure you few men of his time in England have a better repute for piety and learning than Mr. Turner."[1]

[1] Lansdowne MSS. *1236, fol. 104.* The Signature alone of the Letter is *Oliver's; but he has added the Postscript* in his own hand.

I am apt to think the Mr. Turner in question may have been Jerom Turner, of whom there is record in Wood:[1] a Somersetshire man, distinguished among the Puritans; who takes refuge in Southampton, and preaches with zeal, learning, piety and general approbation during the Wars there. He afterwards removed "to Neitherbury, a great country Parish in Dorsetshire," and continued there, "doing good in his zealous way." If this were he, the Election did not take effect according to Oliver's program; — perhaps Jerom himself declined it? He died, still at Neitherbury, next year; hardly yet past middle age. "He had a strong memory, which he maintained good to the last by temperance," says old Antony: "He was well skilled in Greek and Hebrew, was a fluent preacher, but too much addicted to Calvinism," — which is to be regretted. "*Pastor vigilantissimus, doctrinâ et pietate insignis:*" so has his Medical Man characterized him; one "Dr. Loss of Dorchester," who kept a Note-book in those days. *Requiescat, requiescant.*

The High Court of Justice has sat upon Vowel and Gerard; found them both guilty of High Treason; they lie under sentence of death, while this Letter is a-writing; are executed five days hence, 10th July, 1654; and make an edifying end.[2] Vowel was hanged at Charing Cross in the morning; strong for Church and King. The poor young Gerard, being of gentle blood and a soldier, petitioned to have beheading; and had it, the same evening, in the Tower. So ends Plot First. Other Royalists, Plotters or suspect of Plotting, — Ashburnham, who rode with poor Charles First to the Isle of Wight on a past occasion; Sir Richard Willis, who, I think, will be useful to Oliver by and by, — these and a list of others[3] were imprisoned; were questioned, dismissed; and the Assassin Project is rather cowed down for a while.

Writs for the New Parliament are out, and much electioneering interest over England: but there is still an anecdote connected with this poor Gerard and the 10th of July, detailed

[1] *Athenæ*, iii. 404. [2] State Trials (London, 1810), v. 516–539.
[3] *Newspapers*, 1st–8th June, 1654 (in Cromwelliana, p. 142).

at great length in the old Books, which requires to be mentioned here. About an hour after Gerard, there died, in the same place, by the same judicial axe, a Portuguese Nobleman, Don Pantaleon Sa, whose story, before this tragic end of it, was already somewhat twisted up with Gerard's. To wit, on the 23d of November last, this same young Major Gerard was walking in the crowd of Exeter 'Change, where Don Pantaleon, Brother of the Portuguese Ambassador, chanced also to be. Some jostling of words, followed by drawing of rapiers, took place between them; wherein as Don Pantaleon had rather the worse, he hurried home to the Portuguese Embassy; armed some twenty of his followers, in headpieces, breast-pieces, with sword and pistol, and returned to seek revenge. Gerard was gone; but another man, whom they took for him, these rash Portugals slew there; and had to be repressed, after much other riot, and laid in custody, by the watch or soldiery. Assize-trial, in consequence, for Don Pantaleon; clear Trial in the "Upper Bench Court," jury half foreigners; and rigorous sentence of death; — much to Don Pantaleon's amazement, who pleaded and got his Brother to plead the rights of Ambassadors, all manner of rights and considerations; all to no purpose. The Lord Protector would not and could not step between a murderer and the Law: poor Don Pantaleon perished on the same block with Gerard; two Tragedies, once already in contact, had their fifth-act together. Don Pantaleon's Brother, all sorrow and solicitation being fruitless, signed the Portuguese Treaty that very day, and instantly departed for his own country, with such thoughts as we may figure.[1]

SPEECH II.

But now the New Parliament has got itself elected; not without much interest: — the first Election there has been in England for fourteen years past. Parliament of four hundred, thirty Scotch, thirty Irish; freely chosen according to

[1] *Whitlocke*, pp. 550, 577.

the Instrument, according to the Bill that was in progress when the Rump disappeared. What it will say to these late inarticulate births of Providence, and high transactions? Something edifying, one may hope.

Open Malignants, as we know, could not vote or be voted for, to this Parliament; only active Puritans or quiet Neutrals, who had clear property to the value of £200. Probably as fair a Representative as, by the rude method of counting heads, could well be got in England. The bulk of it, I suppose, consists of constitutional Presbyterians and use-and-wont Neutrals; it well represents the arithmetical account of heads in England: whether the real divine and human value of thinking-souls in England, — that is a much deeper question; upon which the Protector and this First Parliament of his may much disagree. It is the question of questions, nevertheless; and he that can answer it best will come best off in the long-run. It was not a successful Parliament this, as we shall find. The Lord Protector and it differed widely in certain fundamental notions they had! —

We recognize old faces, in fair proportion, among those four hundred; — many new withal, who never become known to us. Learned Bulstrode, now safe home from perils in Hyperborean countries, is here; elected for several places, the truly valuable man. Old-Speaker Lenthall sits, old Major-General Skippon, old Sir William Masham, old Sir Francis Rouse. My Lord Herbert (Earl of Worcester's son) is here; Owen, Doctor of Divinity, for Oxford University; — a certain not entirely useless Guibon Goddard, for the Town of Lynn, to whom we owe some Notes of the procedure. Leading Officers and high Official persons have been extensively elected; several of them twice and thrice: Fleetwood, Lambert, the Claypoles, Dunches, both the young Cromwells; Montague for his County, Ashley Cooper for his. On the other hand, my Lord Fairfax is here; nay Bradshaw, Haselrig, Robert Wallop, Wildman, and Republicans are here. Old Sir Harry Vane; not young Sir Harry, who sits meditative in the *North*. Of Scotch Members we mention only Laird Swinton, *and the* Earl of Hartfell; of the Irish, Lord Broghill and

Commissary-General Reynolds, whom we once saw fighting well in that country.[1] — And now hear the authentic Bulstrode; and then the Protector himself.

"*September 3d*, 1654. — The Lord's day, yet the day of the Parliament's meeting. The Members met in the afternoon at sermon, in the Abbey Church at Westminster: after sermon they attended the Protector in the Painted Chamber; who made a Speech to them of the cause of their summons," Speech unreported; "after which, they went to the House, and adjourned to the next morning.

"*Monday, September 4th.* — The Protector rode in state from Whitehall to the Abbey Church in Westminster. Some hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers went before him bare; with the Life-guard; and next before the coach, his pages and lackeys richly clothed. On the one side of his coach went Strickland, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guard, with the Master of the Ceremonies; both on foot. On the other side went Howard,[2] Captain of the Life-guard. In the coach with him were his son Henry, and Lambert; both sat bare. After him came Claypole, Master of the Horse; with a gallant led horse richly trapped. Next came the Commissioners of the Great Seal," Lisle, Widdrington, and I; "Commissioners of the Treasury, and divers of the Council in coaches; last the ordinary Guards.

"He alighting at the Abbey Church door," and entering, "the Officers of the Army and the Gentlemen went first; next them four maces; then the Commissioners of the Seal, Whitlocke carrying the Purse; after, Lambert carrying the Sword bare: the rest followed. His Highness was seated over against the Pulpit; the Members of the Parliament on both sides.

"After the sermon, which was preached by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, his Highness went, in the same equipage, to the Painted Chamber. Where he took seat in a chair of state set upon steps," raised chair with a canopy over it, under which his Highness sat covered, "and the Members upon benches round about sat all bare. All being silent, his Highness,"

[1] Letter CVII. vol. xvii. p. 467.

[2] *Colonel Charles*, ancestor of the Earl of Carlisle.

rising, "put off his hat, and made a large and subtle speech to them."[1]

Here is a report of the Speech, "taken by one who stood very near," and "published[2] to prevent mistakes." As we, again, stand at some distance, — two centuries with their chasms and ruins, — our hearing is nothing like so good! To help a little, I have, with reluctance, admitted from the latest of the Commentators a few annotations; and intercalated them the best I could; suppressing very many. Let us listen well; and again we shall understand somewhat.

"GENTLEMEN, — You are met here on the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw; having upon your shoulders the Interests of Three great Nations with the territories belonging to them; — and truly, I believe I may say it without any hyperbole, you have upon your shoulders the Interest of all the Christian People in the world. And the expectation is, that I should let you know, as far as I have cognizance of it, the occasion of your assembling together at this time.

"It hath been very well hinted to you this day,[3] that you come hither to settle the Interests above mentioned: for your work here, in the issue and consequences of it, *will* extend so far [even to all Christian people]. In the way and manner of my speaking to you, I shall study plainness; and to speak to you what is truth, and what is upon my heart, and what will in some measure reach to these great concernments.

"After so many changes and turnings, which this Nation hath labored under, — to have such a day of hope as this is, and such a door of hope opened by God to us, truly I believe, some months since, would have been beyond all our thoughts! — I confess it would have been worthy of such a meeting as this is, To have remembered[4] that which was the rise [of], and gave the first beginning to, all these Troubles which have been upon this Nation: and to have given you a series of the Transactions, — not of men, but of the Providence of God, all

[1] Whitlocke, p. 582.

[2] *By G. Sawbridge, at the Bible on Ludgate Hill, London, 1654.*

[3] *in the Sermon we have just heard.* [4] commemorated.

along unto our late changes: as also the ground of our first undertaking to oppose that usurpation and tyranny[1] which was upon us, both in civils and spirituals; and the several grounds particularly applicable to the several changes that have been. But I have two or three reasons which divert me from such a way of proceeding at this time.

"If I should have gone in that way, [then] that which lies upon my heart [as to these things], — which is [so] written there that if I would blot it out I could not, — would [itself] have spent this day: the providences and dispensations of God have been so stupendous. As David said in the like case, *Psalm* xl. 5, 'Many, O Lord my God, are thy wonderful works which thou hast done, and thy thoughts which are to-us-ward: they cannot be reckoned up in order unto thee: if I would declare and speak of them, they are more than can be numbered.' — Truly, another reason, unexpected by me, you had to-day in the Sermon:[2] you had much recapitulation of Providence; much allusion to a state and dispensation in respect of discipline and correction, of mercies and deliverances [to a state and dispensation similar to ours], — to, in truth, the only parallel of God's dealing with us that I know in the world, which was largely and wisely held forth to you this day: To Israel's bringing out of Egypt through a wilderness by many signs and wonders, towards a Place of Rest, — I say *towards* it.[3] And that having been so well remonstrated to you this day, is another argument why I shall not trouble you with a recapitulation of those things; — though they are things which I hope will never be forgotten, because written in better Books than those of paper; written, I am persuaded, in the heart of every good man!

"[But] a third reason was this: What I judge to be the end of your meeting, the great end, which was likewise remembered to you this day;[4] to wit, Healing and Settling. The

[1] of Charles, Wentworth, Laud and Company.

[2] This Sermon of Goodwin's is not in the collected Edition of his Works; not among the King's Pamphlets; not in the Bodleian Library. We gather what the subject was, from this Speech, and know nothing of it otherwise.

[3] *not yet at it; nota bene.* [4] in the Sermon.

remembering of Transactions too particularly, perhaps instead of healing, — at least in the hearts of many of you, — might set the wound fresh a-bleeding. [And] I must profess this unto you, whatever thoughts pass upon me: That if this day, if this meeting, prove *not* healing, what shall we do! But, as I said before, I trust it is in the minds of you all, and much more in the mind of God, to cause healing. It must be first in His mind: — and He being pleased to put it into yours, this will be a Day indeed, and such a Day as generations to come will bless you for! — I say, for this and the other reasons, I have forborne to make a particular remembrance and enumeration of things, and of the manner of the Lord's bringing us through so many changes and turnings as have passed upon us.

"Howbeit, I think it will be more than necessary to let you know, at least so well as I may, in what condition this Nation, or rather these Nations were, when the present Government[1] was undertaken. And for order's sake: It 's very natural to consider what our condition was, in Civils; [and then also] in Spirituals.

"What was our condition! Every man's hand almost was against his brother; — at least his heart [was]; little regarding anything that should cement, and might have a tendency in it to cause us to grow into one. All the dispensations of God; His terrible ones, when He met us in the way of His judgment[2] in a Ten-years Civil War; and His merciful ones: they did not, they did not work upon us![3] [No.] But we had our humors and interests; and indeed I fear our humors went for more with us than even our interests. Certainly, as it falls out in such cases, our passions were more than our judgments. — Was not everything almost grown arbitrary? Who of us knew where or how to have right [done him], without some obstruction or other intervening? Indeed we were almost grown arbitrary in everything.

"What was the face that was upon our affairs as to the

[1] Protectorate.

[2] punishment for our sins.

[3] *Reiteration* of the word is not an uncommon mode of emphasis with *Oliver*.

Interest of the Nation? As to the Authority in the Nation; to the Magistracy; to the Ranks and Orders of men, — whereby England hath been known for hundreds of years? [*The Levellers!*] A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman [the distinction of these]: that is a good interest of the Nation, and a great one! The [natural] Magistracy of the Nation, was it not almost trampled under foot, under despite and contempt, by men of Levelling principles? I beseech you, For the orders of men and ranks of men, did not that Levelling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality? Did it [consciously] think to do so; or did it [only unconsciously] practise towards that for property and interest? [At all events,] what was the purport of it but to make the Tenant as liberal a fortune as the Landlord? Which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long! The men of that principle, after they had served their own turns, would *then* have cried up property and interest fast enough! — This instance is instead of many. And that the thing did [and might well] extend far, is manifest; because it was a pleasing voice to all Poor Men, and truly not unwelcome to all Bad Men. [*Far-extended classes, these two both!*] To my thinking, this is a consideration which, in your endeavors after settlement, you will be so well minded of, that I might have spared it here: but let that pass. —

"[Now as to Spirituals.] Indeed in Spiritual things the case was more sad and deplorable [still]; — and that was told to you this day eminently. The prodigious blasphemies; contempt of God and Christ, denying of Him, contempt of Him and His ordinances, and of the Scriptures: a spirit visibly acting[1] those things foretold by Peter and Jude; yea those things spoken of by Paul to Timothy! Paul declaring some things to be worse than the Antichristian state (of which he had spoken in the *First to Timothy*, Chapter fourth, verses first and second [under the title of the Latter times]), tells us what should be the lot and portion of the *Last* Times. He says (*Second to Timothy*, Chapter third, verses second, third,

[1] *a general temper visibly* bringing out in practice.

fourth), 'In the Last Days perilous times shall come; men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful,' and so on. But in speaking of the Antichristian state, he told us (*First to Timothy*, Chapter fourth, verses first and second), that 'in the *latter* days' that state shall come in [not the *last* days but the latter], wherein 'there shall be a departing from the faith, and a giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy,' and so on. This is only his description of the *latter* times, or those of Antichrist; and we are given to understand that there are *last* times coming, which will be worse![1] — And surely it may be feared, these are *our* times. For when men forget all rules of Law and Nature, and break all the bonds that fallen man hath on him; [obscuring] the remainder of the image of God in their nature, which they cannot blot out, and yet shall endeavor to blot out, 'having a form of godliness without the power,' — [surely] these are sad tokens of the last times!

"And indeed the character wherewith this spirit and principle is described in that place [of Scripture], is so legible and visible, that he who runs may read it to be amongst us. For by such 'the grace of God is turned into wantonness,' and

[1] There is no express mention of Antichrist either here or elsewhere in the Text of *Timothy* at all; but, I conclude, a full conviction on the part of Cromwell and all sound Commentators that Antichrist is indubitably shadowed forth there. Antichrist means, with them and him, the Pope; to whom Laud, &c., with his "four surplices at Allhallowtide" and other clothweb and cobweb furniture, are of kindred. "We have got rid of Antichrist," he seems to intimate, "we have got pretty well done with Antichrist: and are we now coming to something *worse*? To the Levellers, namely! The *Latter* times are over, then; and we are coming now into the *Last* times?" It is on this contrast of comparative and superlative, *Latter* and *Last*, that Oliver's logic seems to ground itself: Paul says nothing of Antichrist, nor anything directly of the one time being worse or better than the other; only the one time is "latter," the other is "last." — This paragraph is not important; but to gain any meaning from it whatever, some small changes have been necessary. I do not encumber the reader with *double* samples of what at best is grown obsolete to him: such as wish to see the original unadulterated unintelligibility, *will find it*, in clear print, p. 321, vol. XX. of *Parliamentary History*, and satisfy *themselves* whether I have read well or ill.

Christ and the Spirit of God made a cloak for all villany and spurious apprehensions. [*Threatening to go a strange course, those Antinomian, Levelling, day-dreaming Delusionists of ours!*] And though nobody will own these things publicly as to practice, the things being so abominable and odious; yet [the consideration] how this principle extends itself, and whence it had its rise, makes me to think of a Second sort of Men [tending in the same direction]; who it's true, as I said, will not practise nor own these things, yet can tell the Magistrate 'That he hath nothing to do with men holding such notions: These [forsooth] are matters of conscience and opinion: they are matters of Religion; what hath the Magistrate to do with these things? He is to look to the outward man, not to the inward'—[and so forth]. And truly it so happens that though these things do break out visibly to all, yet the principle wherewith these things are carried on so forbids the Magistrate to meddle with them, that it hath hitherto kept the offenders from punishment.[1]

"Such considerations, and pretensions to 'liberty of conscience' [what are they leading us towards]! Liberty of Conscience, and Liberty of the Subject,—two as glorious things to be contended for, as any that God hath given us; yet both these abused for the patronizing of villanies! Insomuch that it hath been an ordinary thing to say, and in dispute to affirm, 'That the restraining of such pernicious notions was not in the Magistrate's power; he had nothing to do with it. Not so much as the printing of a Bible in the Nation for the use of the People [was competent to the Magistrate], lest it should be imposed upon the consciences of men,'—for 'they would receive the same traditionally and implicitly from the Magis-

[1] The latest of the Commentators says: "This drossy paragraph has not much Political Philosophy in it, according to our modern established Litany of 'toleration,' 'freedom of opinion,' 'no man responsible for what opinions he may form,' &c. &c.; but it has some honest human sagacity in it, of a much more perennial and valuable character. Worth looking back upon, worth looking up towards,—as the blue skies and stars might be, if through the great deep element of 'temporary London Fog' there were any chance of seeing them!—*Strange exhalations* have risen upon us, and the Fog is *very deep: nevertheless very indubitably* the stars still are."

trate, if it were thus received!' The afore-mentioned abominations did thus swell to this height among us.

"[So likewise] the axe was laid to the root of the Ministry.[1] It was Antichristian, it was Babylonish [said they]. It suffered under such a judgment, that the truth is, as the extremity was great according to the former system,[2] I wish it prove not as great according to this. The former extremity [we suffered under] was, That no man, though he had never so good a testimony, though he had received gifts from Christ, might preach, unless ordained. So now [I think we are at the other extremity, when] many affirm, That he who is ordained hath a nullity, or Antichristianism, stamped [thereby] upon his calling; so that he ought not to preach, or not be heard. — I wish it may not be too justly said, That there was severity and sharpness [in our old system]! Yea, too much of an imposing spirit in matters of conscience; a spirit unchristian enough in any times, most unfit for these [times]; — denying liberty [of conscience] to men who have earned it with their blood; who have earned civil liberty, and religious also, for those [*Stifled murmurs from the Presbyterian Sect*] who would thus impose upon them! —

"We may reckon among these our Spiritual evils, an evil that hath more refinedness in it, more color for it, and hath deceived more people of integrity than the rest have done; — for few have been catched by the former mistakes except such as have apostatized from their holy profession, such as, being corrupt in their consciences, have been forsaken by God, and left to such noisome opinions. But, I say, there is another error of more refined sort; [which] many honest people whose hearts are sincere, many of them belonging to God [have fallen into]: and that is the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy —

[Yes, your Highness! — But will his Highness and the old Parliament be pleased here to pause a little, till a faithful Editor take the great liberty of explaining somewhat to the

[1] *Preaching* Clergy.

[2] "*on that* hand" in orig. He alludes to the Presbyterian system.

modern part of the audience? Here is a Note saved from destruction; not without difficulty. To his Highness and the old Parliament it will be inaudible; to them, standing very impassive, — serene, immovable in the fixedness of the old Eternities, — it will be no hardship to wait a little! And to us who still live and listen, it may have its uses.

"The common mode of treating Universal History," says our latest impatient Commentator, "not yet entirely fallen obsolete in this country, though it has been abandoned with much ridicule everywhere else for half a century now, was to group the Aggregate Transactions of the Human Species into Four Monarchies: the Assyrian Monarchy of Nebuchadnezzar and Company; the Persian of Cyrus and ditto; the Greek of Alexander; and lastly the Roman. These I think were they, but am no great authority on the subject. Under the dregs of this last, or Roman Empire, which is maintained yet by express name in Germany, *Das heilige Römische Reich*, we poor moderns still live. But now say Major-General Harrison and a number of men, founding on Bible Prophecies, Now shall be a Fifth Monarchy, by far the blessedest and the only real one, — the Monarchy of Jesus Christ, his Saints reigning for Him here on Earth, — if not He himself, which is probable or possible, — for a thousand years, &c. &c. — O Heavens, there are tears for human destiny; and immortal Hope itself is beautiful because it is steeped in Sorrow, and foolish Desire lies vanquished under its feet! They who merely laugh at Harrison take but a small portion of his meaning with them. Thou, with some tear for the valiant Harrison, if with any thought of him at all, tend thou also valiantly, in thy day and generation, whither he was tending; and know that, in far wider and diviner figure than that of Harrison, the Prophecy is very sure, — that it *shall* be sure while one brave man survives among the dim bewildered populations of this world. Good shall reign on this Earth: has *not* the Most High said it? To approve Harrison, to justify Harrison, will avail little for thee; go and *do likewise*. Go and do better, thou that disapprovest him. Spend thou thy life for the Eternal: we will call thee *also brave, and remember* thee for a while!"

So much for "that mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy:" and now his Highness, tragically audible across the Centuries, continues again:]

—Fifth Monarchy. A thing pretending more spirituality than anything else. A notion I hope we all honor, and wait, and hope for [the fulfilment of]: That Jesus Christ *will* have a time to set up His Reign in our hearts; by subduing those corruptions and lusts and evils that are there; which now reign more in the world than, I hope, in due time they shall do. And when more fulness of the Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity, and bring in everlasting righteousness, then will the approach of that glory be. [*Most true;—and not till then!*] The carnal divisions and contentions among Christians, so common, are not the symptoms of that Kingdom!—But for men, on this principle, to be title themselves, that they are the only men to rule kingdoms, govern nations, and give laws to people, and determine of property and liberty and everything else,—upon such a pretension as this is:—truly they had need to give clear manifestations of God's presence with them, before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions! Nevertheless, as many of these men have good meanings, which I hope in my soul they have, it will be the wisdom of all knowing and experienced Christians to do as Jude saith. [Jude,] when he reckoned up those horrible things, done upon pretences, and haply by some upon mistakes: 'Of some,' says he, 'have compassion, making a difference; others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire.'[1] I fear they will give too often opportunity for this exercise! But I hope the same will be for their good. If men do but [so much as] pretend for justice and righteousness, and be of peaceable spirits, and will manifest this, let them be the subjects of the Magistrate's encouragement. And if the Magistrate, by punishing visible miscarriages, save them by that discipline, God having ordained him for that end,—I hope it will evidence *love* and not hatred, [so] to punish where there *is cause.* [*Hear!*]

[1] *Jude* 22, 23. A passage his Highness frequently refers to.

"Indeed this is that which doth most declare the danger[1] of that spirit. For if these were but notions, — I mean these instances I have given you of dangerous doctrines both in Civil things and Spiritual; if, I say, they were but notions, they were best let alone. Notions will hurt none but those that have them. But when they come to such practices as telling us [for instance], That Liberty and Property are not the badges of the Kingdom of Christ; when they tell us, not that we are to regulate Law, but that Law is to be abrogated, indeed subverted; and perhaps wish to bring in the Judaical Law —

[Latest Commentator *loquitur:* "This, as we observed, was the cry that Westminster raised when the Little Parliament set about reforming Chancery. What countenance this of the Mosaic Law might have had from Harrison and his minority, one does not know. Probably they did find the Mosaic Law, in some of its enactments, more cognate to Eternal Justice and 'the mind of God' than Westminster-Hall Law was; and so might reproachfully or admonitorily appeal to it on occasion, as they had the clearest title and call to do: but the clamor itself, as significant of any practical intention, on the part of that Parliament, or of any considerable Sect in England, to bring in the Mosaic Law, is very clearly a long-wigged one, rising from the Chancery regions, and is descriptive of nothing but of the humor that prevailed there. His Highness alludes to it in passing; and from him it was hardly worth even that allusion."]

— Judaical Law; instead of our known laws settled among us: this is worthy of every Magistrate's consideration. Especially where every stone is turned to bring in confusion. I think, I say, this will be worthy of the Magistrate's consideration. [*Shall he step beyond his province, then, your Highness? And interfere with freedom of opinion?* — *"I think, I say, it will be worth his while to consider about it!"*]

[1] This fact, that they come so often to "visible miscarriages," these Fifth-Monarchists and Speculative Levellers, who "have good meanings."

"Whilst these things were in the midst of us; and whilst the Nation was rent and torn in spirit and principle from one end to the other, after this sort and manner I have now told you; family against family, husband against wife, parents against children; and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but 'Overturn, overturn, overturn!' (a Scripture phrase very much abused, and applied to justify unpeaceable practices by all men of discontented spirits), — the common Enemy sleeps not: our adversaries in civil and religious respects did take advantage of these distractions and divisions, and did practise accordingly in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland. We know very well that Emissaries of the Jesuits never came in such swarms as they have done since those things[1] were set on foot. And I tell you that divers Gentlemen here can bear witness with me How that they [the Jesuits] have had a Consistory abroad which rules all the affairs of things [*"Affairs of things:" rough and ready!*] in England, from an Archbishop down to the other dependents upon him. And they had fixed in England — of which we are able to produce the particular Instruments in most of the limits of their Cathedrals [or pretended Dioceses] — an Episcopal Power [*Regular Episcopacy of their own!*], with Archdeacons, &c. And had persons authorized to exercise and distribute those things [*I begin to love that rough-and-ready method, in comparison with some others!*]; who pervert and deceive the people. And all this, while we were in that sad, and as I said deplorable condition.

"And in the mean time all endeavors possible were used to hinder the work [of God] in Ireland, and the progress of the work of God in Scotland; by continual intelligences and correspondences, both at home and abroad, from hence into Ireland, and from hence into Scotland.[2] Persons were stirred up, from our divisions and discomposure of affairs, to do all they could to ferment the War in both these places. To add yet to our misery, whilst we were in this condition, we were in a

[1] Speculations of the Levellers, Fifth-Monarchists, &c. &c.

[2] Middleton-Glencairn Revolts and what not.

[foreign] War. Deeply engaged in War with the Portuguese;[1] whereby our Trade ceased: the evil consequences by that War were manifest and very considerable. And not only this, but we had a War with Holland; consuming our treasure; occasioning a vast burden upon the people. A War that cost this Nation full as much as the [whole] Taxes came unto; the Navy being a hundred and sixty ships, which cost this Nation above £100,000 a month; besides the contingencies, which would make it £120,000. That very one War [*sic*] did engage us to so great a charge. — At the same time also we were in a War with France. [*A Bickering and Skirmishing and Liability to War;*[2] *— Mazarin as yet thinking our side weaker.*] The advantages that were taken of the discontents and divisions among ourselves did also ferment that War, and at least hinder us of an honorable peace; every man being confident we could not hold out long. And surely they did not calculate amiss, if the Lord had not been exceedingly gracious to us! I say, at the same time we had a War with France. [*Yes, your Highness said so, — and we admit it!*] And besides the sufferings in respect to the Trade of the Nation, it 's most evident that the Purse of the Nation could not have been able much longer to bear it, — by reason of the advantages taken by other States to improve their own, and spoil our Manufacture of Cloth, and hinder the vent thereof; which is the great staple commodity of this Nation. [*And has continued to be!*] Such was our condition: spoiled in our Trade, and we at this vast expense; thus dissettled at home, and having these engagements abroad.

"Things being so, — and I am persuaded it is not hard to convince every person here they were so, — what a heap of confusions were upon these poor Nations! And either things must have been left to sink into the miseries these premises would suppose, or else a remedy must be applied. [*Apparently!*] A remedy hath been applied; that hath been this

[1] Who protected Rupert in his quasi-piracies, and did require chastisement from us.

[2] *See Appendix, No. 22.*

Government;[1] a thing I shall say little unto. The thing i open and visible to be seen and read by all men; and ther fore let it speak for itself. [*Even so, your Highness; there is silence prouder and nobler than any speech one is used to hear.* Only let me say this, — because I can speak it with comfo and confidence before a Greater than you all: That in th intention of it, as to the approving of our hearts to God, le men judge as they please, it was calculated [with our be wisdom] for the interest of the People. For the interest o the People alone, and for their good, without respect had t any other interest. And if that be not true [*With animation!*] I shall be bold to say again, Let it speak for itself. Truly may — I hope, humbly before God, and modestly before yo — say somewhat on the behalf of the Government. [*Recite little what it "speaks for itself," after all?*] Not that I woul discourse of the particular heads of it, but acquaint you a littl with the effects it has had: and this not for ostentation's sak but to the end I may at this time deal faithfully with you, an acquaint you with the state of things, and what proceeding have been entered into by[2] this Government, and what th state of our affairs is. This is the main end of my putting yo to this trouble.

"The Government hath had some things in desire; and i hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the Laws. I say to reform them [*Hear!*]: — and for tha end it hath called together Persons, without offence be i spoken, of as great ability and as great interest as are in thes Nations,[3] to consider how the Laws might be made plain an short, and less chargeable to the People; how to lessen expense for the good of the Nation. And those things are in prepara tion, and Bills prepared; which in due time, I make no ques tion, will be tendered to you. [In the mean while] there hat been care taken to put the administration of the Laws into th

[1] He means, and his hearers understand him to mean, "*Form* of Govern ment" mainly; but he diverges now and then into our modern acceptation o the word "Government," — Administration or Supreme Authority.

[2] "*been* upon" in orig.

[3] *Ordinance* for the Reform of Chancery: antea, v. 332.

hands of just men [*Matthew Hale, for instance*]; men of the most known integrity and ability. The Chancery hath been reformed —

[From the Moderns: "Only to a very small extent and in a very temporary manner, your Highness! His Highness returns upon the Law, on subsequent occasions, and finds the reform of it still a very pressing matter. Difficult to sweep the intricate foul chimneys of Law his Highness found it, — as we after two centuries of new soot and accumulation now acknowledge on all hands, with a sort of silent despair, a silent wonder each one of us to himself, 'What, in God's name, is to become of all that?'"]

— hath been reformed; I hope, to the satisfaction of all good men: and as for the things [or causes] depending there, which made the burden and work of the honorable Persons intrusted in those services too heavy for their ability, it[1] hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen love to have their rights tried, the Courts of Law at Westminster.

"This Government hath [farther] endeavored to put a stop to that heady way (likewise touched of [in our Sermon] this day) of every man making himself a Minister and Preacher. [*Commission of Triers; Yea!*] It hath endeavored to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning of men of piety and ability to discharge that work. And I think I may say it hath committed the business to the trust of Persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgments, of as known ability, piety and integrity, as any, I believe, this Nation hath. And I believe also that, in that care they have taken, they have labored to approve themselves to Christ, to the Nation and to their own consciences. And indeed I think, if there be anything of quarrel against them, — though I am not here to justify the proceedings of any, — it is that they [in fact] go upon such a character as the Scripture warrants: To put men into that great Employment, and to approve men for

[1] *The Government.*

it, who are men that have 'received gifts from Him that ascended up on high, and gave gifts' for the work of the Ministry, and for the edifying of the Body of Christ. The Government hath also taken care, we hope, for the expulsion [*Commission of Expurgation, too,*] of all those who may be judged any way unfit for this work; who are scandalous, and the common scorn and contempt of that function.

"One thing more this Government hath done: it hath been instrumental to call a free Parliament; — which, blessed be God, we see here this day! I say, a free Parliament. [*Mark the iteration!*] And that it may continue so, I hope is in the heart and spirit of every good man in England, — save such discontented persons as I have formerly mentioned. It 's that which as I have desired above my life, so I shall desire to keep it above my life. [*Verily?*] —

"I did before mention to you the plunges we were in with respect to Foreign States; by the War with Portugal, France, the Dutch, the Danes, and the little assurance we had from any of our neighbors round about. I perhaps forgot, but indeed it was a caution upon my mind, and I desire now it may be so understood, That if any good hath been done, it was the Lord, not we His poor instruments. —

[Pity if this pass entirely for "cant," my esteemed modern friends! It is not cant, nor ought to be. O Higginbotham, there is a *Selbsttödtung*, a killing of Self, as my friend Novalis calls it, which is, was, and forever will be, "the beginning of all morality," of all real work and worth for man under this Sun.]

— I did instance the Wars; which did exhaust your treasure; and put you into such a condition that you must have sunk therein, if it had continued but a few months longer: this I can affirm, if strong probability may be a fit ground. And now you have, though it be not the first in time — Peace with Swedeland; an honorable peace; through the endeavors of an *honorable* Person here present as the instrument. [*Whitlocke seen blushing!*] I say you have an honorable peace with a

Kingdom which, not many years since, was much a friend to France, and lately perhaps inclinable enough to the Spaniard. And I believe you expect not much good from any of your Catholic neighbors [*No; we are not exactly their darlings!*]; nor yet that they would be very willing you should have a good understanding with your Protestant friends. Yet, thanks be to God, that Peace is concluded; and as I said before, it is an honorable Peace.

"You have a Peace with the Danes, — a State that lay contiguous to that part of this Island which hath given us the most trouble. [*Your Montroses, Middletons came always, with their Moss-troopers and Harpy hosts, out of the Danish quarter.*] And certainly if your enemies abroad be able to annoy you, it is likely they will take their advantage (where it best lies) to give you trouble from that country. But you have a Peace there, and an honorable one. Satisfaction to your Merchants' ships; not only to their content, but to their rejoicing.[1] I believe you will easily know it is so [an honorable peace]. You have the Sound open; which used to be obstructed. That which was and is the strength of this Nation, the Shipping, will now be supplied thence. And whereas you were glad to have anything of that kind[2] at second-hand, you have now all manner of commerce there, and at as much freedom as the Dutch themselves [who used to be the carriers and venders of it to us]; and at the same rates and tolls; — and I think, by that Peace, the said rates now fixed upon cannot be raised to you [in future].

"You have a Peace with the Dutch: a Peace unto which I shall say little, seeing it is so well known in the benefit and consequences thereof. And I think it was as desirable, and as acceptable to the spirit of this Nation, as any one thing that lay before us. And, as I believe nothing so much gratified our

[1] "Danish claims settled," as was already said somewhere, "on the 31st of July:" Dutch and English Commissioners did it, in Goldsmiths' Hall; met on the 27th of June; if the business were not done when August began, they were then to be "shut up without fire, candle, meat or drink," — and to do it out very speedily! They allowed our Merchants £98,000 for damages against the Danes. (Godwin, *iv. 49*, — *who cities* Dumont, *Traité* 24.)

[2] *Baltic Produce, namely.*

enemies as to see us at odds [with that Commonwealth]; so I persuade myself nothing is of more terror or trouble to them than to see us thus reconciled. [Truly] as a Peace with the Protestant States hath much security in it, so it hath as much of honor and of assurance to the Protestant Interest abroad; without which no assistance can be given thereunto. I wish it may be written upon our hearts to be zealous for that Interest! For if ever it were like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now. In all the Emperor's Patrimonial Territories, the endeavor is to drive the Protestant part of the people out, as fast as is possible; and they are necessitated to run to Protestant States to seek their bread. And by this conjunction of Interests, I hope you will be in a more fit capacity to help them. And it begets some reviving of their spirits, that you will help them as opportunity shall serve. [*We will!*]

"You have a Peace likewise with the Crown of Portugal; which Peace, though it hung long in hand, yet is lately concluded. It is a Peace which, your Merchants make us believe, is of good concernment to their trade; the rate of insurance to that Country having been higher, and so the profit which could bear such rate,[1] than to other places. And one thing hath been obtained in this treaty, which never [before] was, since the Inquisition was set up there: That our people which trade thither have Liberty of Conscience [liberty to worship in Chapels of their own].

"Indeed, Peace is, as you were well told to-day, desirable with all men, as far as it may be had with conscience and honor! We are upon a Treaty with France. And we may say this, That if God give us honor in the eyes of the Nations about us, we have reason to bless Him for it, and so to own it. And I dare say that there is not a Nation in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you.

"I am sorry I am thus tedious: but I did judge that it was somewhat necessary to acquaint you with these things. And things being so, — I hope you will not be unwilling to hear a

[1] "their assurance being greater, and so their profit in trade thither," in *orig.*

little again of the Sharp as well as of the Sweet! And I should not be faithful to you, nor to the interest of these Nations which you and I serve, if I did not let you know *all*.

"As I said before, when this Government was undertaken, we were in the midst of those [domestic] divisions and animosities and scatterings; engaged also with those [foreign] enemies round about us, at such a vast charge, — £120,000 a month for the very Fleet. Which sum was the very utmost penny of your Assessments. Ay; and then all your treasure was exhausted and spent when this Government was undertaken: all *accidental* ways of bringing in treasure [were], to a very inconsiderable sum, consumed; — the [forfeited] Lands sold, the sums on hand spent; Rents, Fee-farms, Delinquents' Lands, King's, Queen's, Bishops', Dean-and-Chapters' Lands, sold. These were *spent* when this Government was undertaken. I think it 's my duty to let you know so much. And that 's the reason why the Taxes do yet lie so heavy upon the People; — of which we have abated £30,000 a month for the next three months. Truly I thought it my duty to let you know, That though God hath dealt thus [bountifully] with you,[1] yet these are but entrances and doors of hope. Whereby, through the blessing of God, you *may* enter into rest and peace. But you are not yet entered! [*Looking up, with a mournful toss of the head, I think.* — "*Ah, no, your Highness; not yet!*"]

"You were told to-day of a People brought out of Egypt towards the Land of Canaan; but through unbelief, murmuring, repining, and other temptations and sins wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to come back again, and linger many years in the Wilderness before they came to the Place of Rest. *We* are thus far, through the mercy of God. We have cause to take notice of it, That we are not brought into misery [not totally wrecked]; but [have] as I said before, a door of hope open. And I may say this to you: If the Lord's blessing and His presence go along with the management of affairs at this Meeting, you will be enabled to put the topstone to the work, and make the Nation happy. But this must be by knowing the true state of affairs! [*Hear!*] You are yet, like the

[1] *In regard to our Successes* and Treaties, &c. enumerated above.

People under Circumcision, but raw.[1] Your Peaces are but newly made. And it 's a maxim not to be despised, 'Though peace be made, yet it 's interest that keeps peace;' — and I hope you will not trust such peace except so far as you see interest upon it. [But all settlement grows stronger by mere continuance.] And therefore I wish that you may go forward, and not backward; and [in brief] that you may have the blessing of God upon your endeavors! It 's one of the great ends of calling this Parliament, that the Ship of the Commonwealth may be brought into a safe harbor; which, I assure you, it will not be, without your counsel and advice.

"You have great works upon your hands. You have Ireland to look unto. There is not much done to the Planting thereof, though some things leading and preparing for it are. It is a great business to settle the Government of that Nation upon fit terms, such as will bear that work[2] through. — You have had laid before you some considerations, intimating your peace with several foreign States. But yet you have not made peace with *all*. And if they should see we do not manage our affairs with that wisdom which becomes us, — truly we may sink under disadvantages, for all that 's done. [*Truly, your High ness!*] And our enemies will have their eyes open, and be revived, if they see animosities amongst us; which indeed will be their great advantage.

"I do therefore persuade you to a sweet, gracious and holy understanding of one another, and of your business. [*Alas!*] Concerning which you had so good counsel this day; which as it rejoiced my heart to hear, so I hope the Lord will imprint it upon your spirits, — wherein you shall have my Prayers. [*Prayers, your Highness? — If this be not "cant," what a noble thing is it, O reader! Worth thinking of, for a moment.*]

"Having said this, and perhaps omitted many other materia[illegible]l things through the frailty of my memory, I shall exercise plai[illegible]n-ness and freeness with you; and say, That I have not spoke [illegible]n

[1] See, in *Joshua*, v. 2–8, the whole Jewish Nation circumcised at once. So, too, your Settlements of Discord are yet but indifferently cicatrized.

[2] *Of planting* Ireland with persons that will plough and pray, instead *of quarrel* and blarney.

these things as one who assumes to himself dominion over you; but as one who doth resolve to be a fellow-servant with you to the interest of these great affairs, and of the People of these Nations. I shall trouble you no longer; but desire you to repair to your House, and to exercise your own liberty in the choice of a Speaker, that so you may lose no time in carrying on your work."[1]

At this Speech, say the old Newspapers, "all generally seemed abundantly to rejoice, by extraordinary expressions and hums at the conclusion," — Hum-m-m![2] "His Highness withdrew into the old House of Lords, and the Members of Parliament into the Parliament House. His Highness, so soon as the Parliament were gone to their House, went back to Whitehall, privately in his barge, by water."

This Report of Speech Second, "taken by one that stood near," and "published to prevent mistakes," may be considered as exact enough in respect of matter, but in manner and style it is probably not so close to the Original Deliverance as the foregoing Speech was. He "who stood near" on this occasion seems to have had some conceit in his abilities as a Reporter; has pared off excrescences, peculiarities, — somewhat desirous to present the Portrait of his Highness without the warts. He, or his Parliamentary-History Editor and he, have, for one thing, very arbitrarily divided the Discourse into little fractional paragraphs; which a good deal obstruct the sense here and there; and have accordingly been disregarded in our Transcript. Our changes, which, as before, have been insignificant, are indicated wherever they seem to have importance or physiognomic character, — indicated too often, perhaps, for the reader's convenience. As to the meaning, I have not anywhere remained in doubt, after due study. The rough Speech when read faithfully

[1] Old Pamphlet cited above: reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 318-333.

[2] *Cromwelliana, p. 147; see also* Guibon Goddard, Member for Lynn (in *Burton, I. Introd. p. xviii.*).

becomes transparent, every word of it; credible, calculated to produce conviction, every word of it; — and that I suppose is or should be, as our impatient Commentator says, "the definition of a *good Speech*. Other 'good speeches,'" continues he, "ought to be spoken in Bedlam; — unless, indeed, you will concede them Drury Lane, and admittance one shilling Spoken in other localities than these, without belief on the speaker's part, or hope or chance of producing belief on the hearer's — Ye Heavens, as if the good-speeching individual were some frightful Wood-and-leather Man, made at Nürnberg and tenanted by a Devil; set to *increase* the Sum of Human Madness, instead of lessening it —!" But we here cut short our impatient Commentator. — The Reporter of Cromwell we may say for ourselves, like the painter of him, has not to suppress the warts, the natural rugged physiognomy of the man; which only very poor tastes would exchange for any other. He has to wash the natural face *clean*, however; that men may see *it*, and not the opaque mass of mere soot and featureless confusions which, in two Centuries of considerable Stupidity in regard to that matter, have settled there.

SPEECH III.

This First Protectorate Parliament, we said, was not successful. It chose, judiciously enough, old Lenthall for Speaker; appointed, judiciously enough, a Day of general Fasting: — but took, directly after that, into constitutional debate about Sanctioning the Form of Government (which nobody was specially asking it to "sanction"); about Parliament and Single Person; powers of Single Person and of Parliament; Co-ordination, Subordination; and other bottomless subjects; — in which getting always the deeper the more it puddled in them, inquiry or intimation of inquiry rose not obscurely in the distance, Whether this Government should *be by* a Parliament and Single Person? These things the *honorable* gentlemen, with true industry, debated in Grand

Committee, "from eight in the morning till eight at night, with an hour for refreshment about noon," debates waxing ever hotter, question ever more abstruse, — through Friday, Saturday, Monday; ready, if Heaven spared them, to debate it farther for unlimited days. Constitutional Presbyterian persons, Use-and-wont Neuters; not without a spicing of sour Republicans, as Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott, to keep the batch in leaven.

His Highness naturally perceived that this would never do, not this; — sent therefore to the Lord Mayor, late on Monday night I think, to look after the peace of the City; to Speaker Lenthall, that he must bring his people to the Painted Chamber before going farther: and early on Tuesday morning, poor Mr. Guibon Goddard, Member for Lynn, just about to proceed again, from the Eastern parts, towards his sublime constitutional day's-work, is overwhelmed by rumors, "That the Parliament is dissolved; that, for certain, the Council of State, and a Council of War, had sat together all the Sabbath-day before, and had then contrived this Dissolution!"

"Notwithstanding," continues Guibon, "I was resolved to go to Westminster, to satisfy myself of the truth; and to take my share of what I should see or learn there. Going by water to Westminster, I was told that the Parliament-doors were locked up, and guarded with soldiers, and that the Barges were to attend the Protector to the Painted Chamber. As I went, I saw two Barges at the Privy Stairs. River and City in considerable emotion. Being come to the Hall, I was confirmed in what I had heard. Nevertheless I did purpose not to take things merely upon trust; but would receive an actual repulse, to confirm my faith. Accordingly, I attempted up the Parliament stairs; but a guard of Soldiers was there, who told me, 'There was no passage that way; the House was locked up, and command given to give no admittance to any; — if I were a Member, I might go into the Painted Chamber, where the Protector would presently be.' The Mace had been taken away by Commissary-General Whalley. The Speaker and all the Members were *walking up and down the* Hall, the Court of Requests, and

the Painted Chamber; expecting the Protector's coming. The passages there likewise were guarded with soldiers." [1]

No doubt about it, therefore, my honorable friend! Dissolution, or something, is not far. Between nine and ten, the Protector arrived, with due escort of Officers, halberds, Life-guards; took his place, covered, under "the state" as before, we all sitting bareheaded on our benches as before; and with fit salutation spake to us;—as follows. "Speech of an hour and a half long;" taken in characters by the former individual who "stood near;" audible still to modern men. Tuesday morning, 12th September, 1654; a week and a day since the last Speech here.

In this remarkable Speech, the occasion of which and the Speaker of which are very extraordinary, an assiduous reader, or "modern hearer," will find Historical indications, significant shadowings-forth both of the Protectorate and the Protector; which, considering whence they come, he will not fail to regard as documentary in those matters. Nay perhaps, here for the first time, if he read with real industry, there may begin to paint itself for him, on the void Dryasdust Abyss, hitherto called History of Oliver, some dim adumbration of How this business of Assuming the Protectorate may actually have been. It was, many years ago, in reading these Speeches, with a feeling that they must have been credible when spoken, and with a strenuous endeavor to find what their meaning was, and try to believe it, that to the present Editor the Commonwealth, and Puritan Rebellion generally, first began to be conceivable. Such was his experience.—

But certainly the Lord Protector's place, that September Tuesday, 1654, is not a bed of roses! His painful asseverations, appeals and assurances have made the Modern part of his audience look, more than once, with questioning eyes. On this point, take from a certain Commentator sometimes above cited from, and far oftener suppressed, the following rough words:—

"'Divers persons who do know whether I lie in that,' says *the Lord* Protector. What a position for a hero, to be reduced

[1] *Ayscough MSS.*, printed in Burton's Diary, i. Introd. p. xxxiii.

continually to say He does not lie! — Consider well, nevertheless, What else could Oliver do? To get on with this new Parliament was clearly his one chance of governing peaceably. To wrap himself up in stern pride, and refuse to give any explanation: would that have been the wise plan of dealing with them? Or the stately and not-so-wise plan? Alas, the *wise* plan, when all lay yet as an experiment, with so dread issues in it to yourself and the whole world, was not very discoverable. Perhaps not quite reconcilable with the *stately* plan, even if it had been discovered!"

And again, with regard to the scheme of the Protectorship, which his Highness says was done by "the Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government," after divers days consulting, and without the least privity of his: "You never guessed what they were doing, your Highness? Alas, his Highness guessed it, — and yet must not say, or think, he guessed it. There is something sad in a brave man's being reduced to explain himself from a barrel-head in this manner! Yet what, on the whole, will he do? Coriolanus curled his lip, and scowled proudly enough on the sweet voices: but Coriolanus had likewise to go over to the Volscians; Coriolanus had not the slightest chance to govern by a free Parliament in Rome! Oliver was not prepared for these extremities; if less would serve. Perhaps in Oliver there is something of better than 'silent pride'? Oliver will have to explain himself before God Most High, ere long; — and it will not stead him there, that he went wrong because his pride, his 'personal dignity,' his &c. &c. were concerned. — Who would govern men! 'Oh, it were better to be a poor fisherman,' exclaimed Danton, 'than to meddle with governing of men!' 'I would rather keep a flock of sheep!' said Oliver. And who but a Flunky would not, if his real trade lay in keeping sheep?" —

On the whole, concludes our Commentator: "As good an explanation as the case admits of, — from a barrel-head, or 'raised platform under a state.' Where so much that is true cannot be said; and yet nothing that is false shall be said, — under penalties forgotten in our Time! With regard to those *asseverations and reiterated* appeals, note this also: An oath

was an oath then; not a solemn piece of blasphemous cant, as too often since. No *contemporary* that I have met with, who had any opportunity to judge, disbelieved Oliver in these protestations; though many believed that he was unconsciously deceiving himself. Which, of course, we too, where needful, must ever remember that he was liable to do; nay, if you will, that he was continually doing. But to this Commentator, at this stage in the development of things, 'Apology' seems not the word for Oliver Cromwell; — not that, but a far other word! The Modern part of his Highness's audience can listen now, I think, across the Time-gulfs, in a different mood; — with candor, with human brotherhood, with reverence and grateful love. Such as the noble never claim in vain from those that have any nobleness. This of tasking a great soul continually to prove to us that he was not a liar, is too unwashed a way of welcoming a Great Man! Scrubby Apprentices of tender years, to them it might seem suitable; — still more readily to Apes by the Dead Sea!" Let us have done with it, my friend; and listen to the Speech itself, of date, Painted Chamber, 12th September, 1654, the best we can!

"GENTLEMEN, — It is not long since I met you in this place, upon an occasion which gave me much more content and comfort than this doth. That which I have now to say to you will need no preamble, to let me into my discourse: for the occasion of this meeting is plain enough. I could have wished with all my heart there had been no cause for it.

"At our former meeting I did acquaint you what was the first rise of this Government, which hath called you hither, and by the authority of which you have come hither. Among other things which I then told you of, I said, You were a Free Parliament. And [truly] so you are, — whilst you own the Government and Authority which called you hither. But certainly that word [Free Parliament] implied a reciprocity,[1] or it implied nothing at all! Indeed there was a reciprocity implied *and* expressed; and I think your actions and carriages

[1] "reciprocation" in orig.

ought to be suitable! But I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my Office. Which I have not been apt to do. I have been of this mind, I have been always of this mind, since I first entered upon my Office, If God will not bear it up, let it sink! [*Yea!*] But if a duty be incumbent upon me to bear my testimony unto it (which in modesty I have hitherto forborne), I am in some measure necessitated thereunto. And therefore that will be the prologue to my discourse.

"I called not myself to this place. I say again, I called not myself to this place! Of that God is witness: — and I have many witnesses who, I do believe, could lay down their lives bearing witness to the truth of that. Namely, That I called not myself to this place! [*His Highness is growing emphatic.*] And being in it, I bear not witness to myself [or my office]; but God and the People of these Nations have also borne testimony to it [and me]. *If* my calling be from God, and my testimony from the People, — God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. [*Do you mark that, and the air and manner of it, my honorable friends!*] I should be false to the trust that God hath placed in me, and to the interest of the People of these Nations, if I did.

"'That I called not myself to this place,' is my first assertion. 'That I bear not witness to myself, but have many witnesses,' is my second. These two things I shall take the liberty to speak more fully to you of. — To make plain and clear what I have here asserted, I must take liberty to look [a little] back.

"I was by birth a Gentleman; living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the Nation: To serve in Parliament [and others]; and — not to be over-tedious — I did endeavor to discharge the duty of an honest man, in those services, to God and His People's Interest, and to the Commonwealth; having, when time was, a competent acceptation in the hearts of men, and some evidences thereof. I resolve, not to recite the times and occasions and opportunities, which have been *appointed me by God to* serve Him in; nor the presence and

blessings of God therein bearing testimony to me. [*Well said, and well forborne to be said!*]

"Having had some occasions to see, together with my brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp Wars and contests with the then common Enemy, I hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit, together with my brethren, of our hard labors and hazards: the enjoyment, to wit, of Peace and Liberty, and the privileges of a Christian and a Man, in some equality with others, according as it should please the Lord to dispense unto me. And when, I say, God had put an end to our Wars, or at least brought them to a very hopeful issue, very near an end, — after Worcester Fight, — I came up to London to pay my service and duty to the Parliament which then sat: hoping that all minds would have been disposed to answer what seemed to be the mind of God, namely, To give peace and rest to His People, and especially to those who had bled more than others in the carrying on of the Military affairs, — I was much disappointed of my expectation. For the issue did not prove so. [*Suppressed murmurs from Bradshaw and Company.*] Whatever may be boasted or misrepresented, it was not so, not so!

"I can say, in the simplicity of my soul, I love not, I love not, — I declined it in my former Speech,[1] — I say, I love not to rake into sores, or to discover nakednesses! The thing I drive at is this: I say to you, I hoped to have had leave [for my own part] to retire to a private life. I begged to be dismissed of my charge; I begged it again and again; — and God be Judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter! [*Groans from Dryasdust, scarcely audible, in the deep silence.*] That I lie not in matter of fact is known to very many [*"Hum-m-m!" Look of "Yea!" from the Military Party*]: but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as laboring to represent to you what was not upon my heart, I say the Lord be Judge.[2] Let uncharitable men, who measure others by themselves, judge as they please. As to the matter of fact, I say, It is true. As to the ingenuity and integrity of my heart in that

[1] Antea, Speech I. p. 298.

[2] He: Believe you about that as you see good.

desire, — I do appeal as before upon the truth of that also! — But I could not obtain [what I desired] what my soul longed for. And the plain truth is, I did afterwards apprehend some were of opinion (such the difference of their judgment from mine), That it could not well be.[1]

"I confess I am in some strait to say what I could say, and what is true, of what then followed. I pressed the Parliament, as a Member, To period themselves; — once and again, and again, and ten, nay twenty times over. I told them, — for I knew it better than any one man in the Parliament could know it; because of my manner of life, which had led me everywhere up and down the Nation,[2] thereby giving me to see and know the temper and spirits of all men, and of the best of men, — that the Nation loathed their sitting. [*Haselrig, Scott and others looking very grim.*] I knew it. And, so far as I could discern, when they *were* dissolved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general and visible repining at it! [*How astonishing there should not have been!*] You are not a few here present who can assert this as well as myself.

"And that there was high cause for their dissolution, is most evident: not only in regard there was a just fear of that Parliament's perpetuating themselves, but because it [actually] was their design. [Yes] had not their heels been trod upon by importunities from abroad, even to threats, I believe there never would have been [any] thoughts of rising, or of going out of that Room, to the world's end. I myself was sounded, and, by no mean persons [*Oh, Sir Harry Vane!*], tempted; and proposals were made me to that very end: That the Parliament[3] might be thus perpetuated; that the vacant places might be supplied by new elections; — and so continue from generation to generation.

"I have declined, I have declined very much, to open these things to you. [*What noble man would not, your Highness?*]

[1] That I could not be spared from my post.

[2] While soldiering, &c.: the original has, "which was to run up and down the Nation."

[3] "*it*" *in orig.*

But, having proceeded thus far, I must tell you [this also]: That poor men, under this arbitrary power, were driven, like flocks of sheep, by forty in a morning; to the confiscation of goods and estates; without any man being able to give a reason why two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling![1] I tell you the truth. And my soul, and many persons' whom I see in this place, were exceedingly grieved at these things; and knew not which way to help them, except by our mournings, and giving our negatives when occasion served. — I have given you but a taste of miscarriages [that then were]. I am confident you have had opportunities to hear much more of them; for nothing was more obvious. It 's true this will be said, That there was a remedy endeavored: To put an end to this Perpetual Parliament, by giving us a future Representative. How that was gotten, by what importunities that was obtained, and how unwillingly yielded unto, is well known.

"[But] what *was* this remedy? It was a seeming willingness to give us Successive Parliaments. And what was [the nature of] that Succession? It was, That when one Parliament had left its seat, another was to sit down immediately in the room thereof, without any caution to avoid what was the real danger, namely, Perpetuating of the same [men in] Parliaments. Which is a sore, now, that will ever be running, so long as men are ambitious and troublesome, — if a remedy be not found.

"Nay, at best what will such a remedy amount to? It is a conversion of a Parliament that would have been and was Perpetual, to a Legislative Power Always Sitting! [*Which, however, consists of different men, your Highness!*] And so the liberties and interests and lives of people *not* judged by any certain known Laws and Power, but by an arbitrary Power; which is incident and necessary to Parliaments. [*So!*] By an arbitrary Power, I say:[2] to make men's estates liable to confiscation, and their persons to imprisonment, — sometimes [even] by laws made after the fact committed; often by the Parliament's assuming to itself to

[1] Antea, p. 278.

[2] Such as the Long Parliament did continually exert.

give judgment both in capital and criminal things, which in former times was not known to exercise such a judicature.[1] This, I suppose, was the case [then before us]. And, in my opinion, the remedy was fitted to the disease! Especially coming in the rear of a Parliament which had so exercised its power and authority as that Parliament had done but immediately before.

"Truly I confess, — upon these grounds, and with the satisfaction of divers other persons who saw nothing could be had otherwise, — that Parliament was dissolved [*Not a doubt of it!*]: and we, desiring to see if a few might have been called together for some short time who might put the Nation into some way of certain settlement, — did call those Gentlemen [*The Little Parliament; we remember them!*] out of the several parts of the Nation. And as I have appealed to God before you already,[2] — though it be a tender thing to make appeals to God, yet in such exigences as these I trust it will not offend His Majesty; especially to make them before Persons that know God, and know what conscience is, and what it is to 'lie before the Lord'! I say, As a principal end in calling that Assembly was the settlement of the Nation, so a chief end to myself was to lay down the Power which was in my hands. [*Hum-m-m!*] I say to you again, in the

[1] Intricate paragraphs, this and the foregoing; treating of a subject complex in itself, and very delicate to handle before such an audience. His Highness's logic perhaps hobbles somewhat: but this strain of argument, which to us has fallen so dim and obsolete, was very familiar to the audience he was now addressing, — the staple indeed of what their debates for the last three days had been (Burton, i. Introd. pp. 25–33; Whitlocke, p. 587, &c.). "Perpetuating of the same men in Parliament:" that clearly is intolerable, says the first Paragraph. But not only so, says the second Paragraph, "a Legislative Assembly always sitting," though it consist of new men, is likewise intolerable: any Parliament, as the Long Parliament has too fatally taught us, if left to itself, is, by its nature, arbitrary, of unlimited power, liable to grow tyrannous; — ought therefore only to sit at due intervals, and to have other Powers (Protectorate, for example) ready to check it on occasion. All this the ancient audience understands very well; and the modern needs only to understand that they understood it.

[2] "I know, and I *hope* I *may* say it," follows in orig., — deleted here, for *light's sake, though characteristic.*

Presence of that God who hath blessed, and been with me in all my adversities and successes: That was, as to myself, my greatest end! [*Your Highness—? And 'God" with you ancients is not a fabulous polite Hearsay, but a tremendous all-irradiating Fact of Facts, not to be "lied before" without consequences?*] A desire perhaps, I am afraid, sinful enough, To be quit of the Power God had most clearly by His Providence[1] put into my hands, before He called me to lay it down; before those honest ends of our fighting were attained and settled.—I say, the Authority I had in my hand being so boundless as it was,—for, by Act of Parliament, I was General of all the Forces in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland; in which unlimited condition I did not desire to live a day,—we called that Meeting, for the ends before expressed.

"What the event and issue of that Meeting was, we may sadly remember. It hath much teaching in it,[2] and I hope will make us all wiser for the future! But [in short] that Meeting not succeeding, as I already said unto you, and giving such a disappointment to our hopes, I shall not now make any repetition thereof: only the result was, That they came and brought to me a Parchment, signed by very much the major part of them; expressing their re-delivery and resignation of the power and authority that had been committed them back again into my hands. And I can say it, in the presence of divers persons here, who do know whether I lie in that [*Hum-m-m!*], That I did not know one tittle of that Resignation [of theirs], till they all came and brought it, and delivered it into my hands. Of this also there are in this presence many witnesses. [*Yes, many are convinced of it,—some not.*] I received this Resignation; having formerly used my endeavors and persuasions to keep them together. Observing their differences, I thought it my duty to give advice to them, that so I might prevail with them for union. But it had the effect I told you; and I had my disappointment.

[1] "most providentially" in orig.: has not the modern meaning; means only as in the Text.

[2] *Warning* us not to quarrel, and get into insoluble theories, as they did.—

"When this proved so, we were exceedingly to seek how to settle things for the future. My [own] Power was again, by this resignation, [become] as boundless and unlimited as before; all things being subjected to arbitrariness; and myself [the only constituted authority that was left] a person having power over the three Nations, without bound or limit set; — and all Government, upon the matter, being dissolved; all *civil* administration at an end,[1] — as will presently appear. [*"A grave situation: but who brought us to it?" murmur my Lord Bradshaw and others.*]

"The Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government[2] did consult divers days together (men of known integrity and ability), How to frame somewhat that might give us settlement. They did consult; — and that I was not privy to their Councils they know it. [*Alas!*] — When they had finished their model in some measure, or made a good preparation of it, they became communicative. [*Hum-m-m!*] They told me that except I would undertake the Government, they thought things would hardly come to a composure or settlement, but blood and confusion would break in upon us. [*A plain truth they told.*] I refused it again and again; not complimentingly, — as they know, and as God knows! I confess, after many arguments, they urging on me, 'That I did not hereby receive anything which put me into a *higher* capacity than before; but that it *limited* me; that it bound my hands to act nothing without the consent of a Council, until the Parliament, and then limited [me] by the Parliament, as the Act of Government expresseth,' — I did accept it. I might repeat again to you, if it were needful, but I think it hardly is: I was arbitrary in power; having the Armies in the three Nations under my command; — and truly not very ill beloved by them, nor very ill beloved by the People. By the good People. And I believe I should have been more beloved if they had known the truth, as things *were*, before God and in themselves, and also before divers of those Gentlemen whom I but now mentioned unto you. [*His Highness is*

[1] *Civil Office-bearers feeling* their commission to be ended.

[2] *Plan or Model of* Government.

rallying; getting out of the Unutterable into the Utterable!] I did, at the entreaty of divers Persons of Honor and Quality, at the entreaty of very many of the chief Officers of the Army then present, — [at their entreaty] and at their request, I did accept of the place and title of PROTECTOR: and was, in the presence of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, the Soldiery, divers Gentlemen, Citizens, and divers other people and persons of quality, and so forth, — accompanied to Westminster Hall; where I took the Oath to this Government. [*Indisputably: draw your own inferences from it!*] This was not done in a corner: it was open and public! — This Government hath been exercised by a Council;[1] with a desire to be faithful in all things: — and, among all other trusts, to be faithful in *calling this Parliament.*

"And thus I have given you a very bare and lean Discourse;[2] which truly I have been necessitated to [do], — and contracted in [the doing of], because of the unexpectedness of the occasion, and because I would not quite weary you nor myself. But this is a Narrative that discovers to you the series of Providences and of Transactions leading me into the condition wherein I now stand. The next thing I promised [to demonstrate to] you, wherein, I hope, I shall be briefer — Though I am sure the occasion does require plainness and freedom! — [But as to this first thing][3] That I brought not myself into this condition: surely in my own apprehension I did not! And whether I did not, the things being true which I have told you, I shall submit to your

[1] According to the "Instrument" or Program of it.

[2] Narration.

[3] This paragraph is characteristic. One of Oliver's *starts*. His Highness, in haste to be through, is for breaking off into the "next thing," with hope of greater "brevity;" but then suddenly bethinks him that he has not yet quite completely winded off the "*first* thing," and so returns to that. The paragraph, stark nonsense in the original (where they that are patient of such can read it, *Parliamentary History*, xx. 357), indicates, on intense inspection, that this is the purport of it. A glimpse afforded us, through one of Oliver's *confused* regurgitations and incondite misutterances of speech, into the real *inner man of* him. Of which there will be other instances as we proceed.

judgment. And there shall I leave it. Let God do what He pleaseth.

"The other thing, I say, that I am to speak of to you is, 'That I have not [borne], and do not bear, witness to myself.' I am far from alluding to Him that said so![1] Yet truth, concerning a member of His, He will own, though men do not. — But I think, if I mistake not, I have a cloud of witnesses. I think so; let men be as froward as they will. [*My honorable friends!*] I have witness Within, — Without, — and Above! But I shall speak of my witnesses Without; having fully spoken of the Witness who is Above, and [who is] in my own conscience, before. Under the other head[2] I spoke of these; because that subject had more obscurity in it, and I in some sort needed appeals; — and, I trust, might lawfully make them (as lawfully as take an oath), where the things were not so apt to be made evident [otherwise. — *In such circumstances, Yea!*] — I shall enumerate my witnesses as well as I can.

"When I had consented to accept of the Government, there was some Solemnity to be performed. And that was accompanied by some persons of considerableness in all respects: there were the persons before mentioned to you;[3] these accompanied me, at the time of my entering upon this Government, to Westminster Hall to receive my Oath. There was an express[4] consent on the part of these and other interested persons. And [there was also] an implied consent of many; showing their good liking and approbation thereof. And, Gentlemen, I do not think you are altogether strangers to it in your countries. Some did not nauseate it; very many did approve it.

"I had the approbation of the Officers of the Army, in the

[1] "Then answered Jesus, and said unto them, — If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true. There is Another that beareth witness of me." (*John* v. 31, 32.)

[2] "upon the other account" in orig.

[3] "before expressed" in orig.

[4] "explicit" and "implicit" in the original; but we must say "express" and "implied," — the word "implicit" having now got itself tacked to "faith" (*implicit-faith*), and become thereby hopelessly degraded from any independent meaning.

three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland. I say, of the Officers: I had that by their [express] Remonstrances,[1] and under signature. But there went along with that express consent of theirs, an implied consent also [of a body] of persons who had [had] somewhat to do in the world; who had been instrumental, by God, to fight down the Enemies of God and of His People in the three Nations. [*The Soldiery of the Commonwealth. Persons of "some considerableness," these too!*] And truly, until my hands were bound, and I [was] limited (to my own great satisfaction, as many can bear me witness); while I had in my hands so great a power and arbitrariness, — the Soldiery were a very considerable part of these Nations, especially all Government being dissolved. I say, when all Government was thus dissolved, and nothing to keep things in order but the Sword! And yet they, — which many Histories will not parallel, — even they were desirous that things might come to a consistency; and arbitrariness be taken away; and the Government be put into [the hands of] a person limited and bounded, as in the Act of Settlement, whom they distrusted the least, and loved not the worst. [*Hear!*] There was another evidence [of consent, implied if not express].

"I would not forget the honorable and civil entertainment, with the approbation I found in the great City of London;[2] — which the City knows whether I directly or indirectly sought. And truly I do not think it folly to remember this. For it was very great and high; and very public; and [included] as numerous a body of those that are known by names and titles, — the several Corporations and Societies of Citizens in this City, — as hath at any time been seen in England And not without some appearance of satisfaction also. — And I had not this witness only. I have had from the greatest County in England, and from many Cities and Boroughs and Counties, express approbations. [Express approbations] not of men gathered here and there, but from the County General Assizes; — the Grand Jury, in name of the Noblemen, Gen-

[1] Means "Public Letters of Adherence."

[2] *Dinner, with all manner of gala, in the common Royal Style; 8th February, 1653–4* (Whitlocke, 2d edition, p. 581).

tlemen, Yeomen and Inhabitants of that County, giving very great thanks to me for undertaking this heavy burden at such a time; and giving very great approbation and encouragement to me to go through with it.[1] These are plain; I have them to show. And by these, in some measure, it will appear 'I do not bear witness to myself.'

"This is not all. The Judges, — truly I had almost forgotten it [*Another little window into his Highness!*], — the Judges, thinking that there had now come a dissolution to all Government, met and consulted; and did declare one to another, That they could not administer justice to the satisfaction of their consciences, until they had received Commissions from me. And they did receive Commissions from me; and by virtue of those Commissions they have acted: — and all Justices of the Peace that have acted have acted by virtue of like Commissions. Which was a little more than an implied approbation! And I believe all the Justice administered in the Nation hath been by this authority. Which also I lay before you; desiring you to think, Whether all those persons now mentioned must not come to you for an Act of Oblivion and General Pardon, for having acted under and testified to this Government, if it be disowned by you! —

"And I have two or three witnesses more, — equivalent to all these I have yet mentioned, if I be not mistaken, and greatly mistaken! If I should say, All *you* that are here are my witnesses, — I should say no untruth! I know that you are the same persons here that you were in your countries[2] — But I will reserve this for a little; this will be the *issue* [the general outcome and climax] of my Proof. [*Another little window: — almost a half-soliloquy; you see the Speech getting ready in the interior of his Highness.*] I say I have two or three witnesses, of still more weight than all I have

[1] "Humble Petition and Representation of the Grand Jury at the Assizes held at York, March, 1653 (1654), in name of" &c. &c.: Newspapers; *Perfect Diurnal*, 3d–10th April, 1654 (King's Pamphlets, large 4to, no. 82, § 12), and others. — Similar recognition "by the Mayor" &c. &c. "of the ancient City of York" (Ibid.).

[2] Where *you had to acknowledge* me before election, he means, but does *not yet see good to say.*

counted and reckoned yet. All the People in England are my witnesses; and many in Ireland and Scotland! All the Sheriffs in England are my witnesses: and all that have come in upon a Process issued out by Sheriffs are my witnesses. [*My honorable friends, how did* YOU *come in?*] Yea, the Returns of the Elections to the Clerk of the Crown, — not a thing to be blown away by a breath, — the Return on behalf of the Inhabitants in the Counties, Cities and Boroughs, all are my witnesses of approbation to the Condition and Place I stand in.

"And I shall now make *you* my last witnesses! [*Here comes it, "the issue of my Proof!"*] And shall ask you, Whether you came not hither by my Writs directed to the several Sheriffs [of Counties], and through the Sheriffs to the other Officers of Cities and Liberties? To which [Writs] the People gave obedience; having also had the Act of Government communicated to them, — to which end great numbers of copies [thereof] were sent down to be communicated to them. And the Government[1] [was] also required to be distinctly read unto the People at the place of election, to avoid surprises [or misleadings of them through their ignorance]: — where also they signed the Indenture,[2] with proviso, 'That the Persons so chosen should *not* have power to alter the Government as now settled in one Single Person and a Parliament!' [*My honorable friends — ?*] — And thus I have made good my second Assertion, 'That I bear not witness to myself;' but that the good People of England and you all are my witnesses.

"Yea, surely! — And [now] this being so, — though I told you in my last Speech 'that you were a Free Parliament,' yet I thought it was understood withal that I was the Protector, and the Authority that called you! That I was in possession of the Government by a good right from God and men! And I believe if the learnedest men in this Nation were called to show a precedent, equally clear, of a Government so many ways approved of, they would not in all their search find it — *I did* not in my other Speech take upon me to justify the

[1] *Act or Instrument of Government.* [2] *Writ of Return.*

[Act of] Government in every particular; and I told you the reason, which was plain: The Act of Government was public, and had long been published, [in order] that it might be under the most serious inspection of all that pleased to peruse it.

"This is what I had to say at present for approving[1] myself to God and my conscience in my actions throughout this undertaking; and for giving cause of approving myself to every one of your consciences in the sight of God. — And if the fact be so, why should we sport with it? With a business so serious! May not this character, this stamp [*Stamp put upon a man by the Most High and His providences*], bear equal poise with any Hereditary Interest that could furnish, or hath furnished, in the Common Law or elsewhere, matter of dispute and trial of learning? In the like of which many have exercised more wit, and spilt more blood, than I hope ever to live to see or hear of again in this Nation! [*Red and White Roses, for example; Henry of Bolingbroke, and the last "Protector."*] — I say, I do not know why I may not balance this Providence, in the sight of God, with *any* Hereditary Interest [*Nor do I!*]; as a thing *less* subject to those cracks and flaws which that [other] is commonly incident unto; the disputing of which has cost more blood in former times in this Nation than we have leisure to speak of now! —

"Now if this be thus, and I am deriving a title from God and men upon such accounts as these are — Although some men be froward, yet that *your* judgments who are Persons sent from all parts of the Nation under the notion of *approving* this Government — [*His Highness, bursting with meaning, completes neither of these sentences; but pours himself, like an irregular torrent, through other orifices and openings.*] — For you to disown or not to own it: for you to act with Parliamentary Authority especially in the disowning of it; contrary to the very fundamental things, yea against the very root itself of this Establishment: to sit, and not own the Authority by which you sit, — is that which I believe astonisheth more

[1] "By what I *have said*, I have approved," &c. in orig.: but rhetorical *charity required the change*

men than myself; and doth as dangerously disappoin discompose the Nation as anything [that] could have invented by the greatest enemy to our peace and welfa [that] could well have happened. [*Sorrow, anger a proach on his Highness's countenance; the voice risen som into* ALT, *and rolling with a kind of rough music in the of it!*]

"It is true, as there are some things in the Establis which are Fundamental, so there are others which are nc are Circumstantial. Of these no question but I shall agree to vary, to leave out, [according] as I shall be con by reason. But some things are Fundamentals! About I shall deal plainly with you: These may *not* be parted but will, I trust, be delivered over to Posterity, as the of our blood and travail. The Government by a Single I and a Parliament is a Fundamental! It is the *esse*, it i stitutive. And as for the Person, — though I may se plead for myself, yet I do not: no, nor can any reas man say it. If the things throughout this Speech be t plead for this Nation, and for all honest men therein wh borne their testimony as aforesaid, and not for myself! if things should do otherwise than well (which I woul fear), and the Common Enemy and discontented person advantage of these distractions, the issue will be put up God: let Him own it, or let Him disown it, as He pleases

"In every Government there must be Somewhat Fund tal [*Will speak now of Fundamentals*], Somewhat like a *Charta*, which should be standing, be unalterable. there is a stipulation on one side, and that fully accept appears by what hath been said, — surely a return[1] ou be; else what does that stipulation signify? If I have, the terms aforesaid, undertaken this great Trust, and exe it; and by it called *you*, — surely it ought [by you] owned. — That Parliaments should not make themselve petual is a Fundamental. [*Yea; all know it: taught l example of the Rump!*] Of what assurance is a *Law* t *vent so* great an evil, if it lie in the same Legislature to

[1] reciprocal engagement.

it again? [*Must have a Single Person to check your Parliament.*] Is such a Law like to be lasting? It will be a rope of sand; it will give no security; for the same men may unbuild what they have built.

"[Again,] is not Liberty of Conscience in Religion a Fundamental? So long as there is Liberty of Conscience for the Supreme Magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what Form of Church-Government he is satisfied he should set up ["HE *is to decide on the Form of Church-Government, when?*" *The Moderns, especially the Voluntary Principle, stare*], —why should he not give the like liberty to others? Liberty of Conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it, ought to give it; having [himself] liberty to settle what he likes for the Public. ["*Where, then, are the limits of Dissent?*" *An abstruse question, my Voluntary friends; especially with a Gospel really* BELIEVED!] Indeed that hath been one of the vanities of our Contest. Every Sect saith: 'Oh, give me liberty!' But give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to anybody else. Where is our ingenuousness? [Liberty of Conscience] —truly that is a thing ought to be very reciprocal! The Magistrate hath *his* supremacy; he may settle Religion [that is, Church-Government] according to his conscience. And [as for the People] —I may say it to you, I can say it: All the money of this Nation would not have tempted men to fight upon such an account as they have here been engaged in, if they had not had hopes of Liberty [of Conscience] better than Episcopacy granted them, or than would have been afforded by a Scots Presbytery, —or an English either, if it had made such steps, and been as sharp and rigid, as it threatened when first set up![1] This, I say, is a Fundamental. It ought to be so. It is for us and the generations to come. And if there be an absoluteness in the Imposer [*As you seem to argue*], without fitting allowances and exceptions from the rule ["*Fitting:*" *that is a wide word!*], —we shall have the

[1] Liberty of Conscience must not be refused to a People who have fought and conquered "upon such an account" as ours was! For more of Oliver's notions concerning the Magistrate's power in Church matters, see his Letter *to the Scotch Clergy, Letter* CXLVIII., antea, p. 156.

People driven into wildernesses. As they were, when those poor and afflicted people, who forsook their estates and inheritances here, where they lived plentifully and comfortably, were necessitated, for enjoyment of their Liberty, to go into a waste-howling wilderness in New England; — where they have, for Liberty's sake, stript themselves of all their comfort; embracing rather loss of friends and want than be so ensnared and in bondage. [*Yea!*]

"Another [Fundamental] which I had forgotten is the Militia. That is judged a Fundamental if anything be so. That *it* should be well and equally placed is very necessary. For, put the absolute power of the Militia into [the hands of] one [Person], — without a check, what doth it serve? [On the other hand,] I pray you, what check is there upon your Perpetual Parliaments, if the Government be wholly stript of this of the Militia? [This as we now have it] is[1] equally placed, and men's desires were to have it so; — namely, in one Person, and in the Parliament [along with him], while the Parliament sits. What signified a provision against perpetuating of Parliaments, if this power of the Militia be solely in *them?* Think, Whether without some check, the Parliament have it not in their power to alter the Frame of Government altogether, — into Aristocracy, Democracy, into Anarchy, into anything, if this [of the Militia] be fully in them! Yea, into all confusion; and that without remedy! If this one thing be placed in one [party], that one, be it Parliament, be it Supreme Governor, hath power to make what he pleases of all the rest. ["*Hum-m-m!*" *from the old Parliament.*] — Therefore if you would have a balance at all; if you agree that some Fundamentals must stand, as worthy to be delivered over to Posterity, — truly I think it is not unreasonably urged that [this power of] the Militia should be disposed as we have it in the Act of Government; — should be placed so equally that no one party neither in Parliament nor out of Parliament have the power of ordering it. [Well] — the Council are the Trustees of the Commonwealth, in all *intervals* of Parliament; and have *as* absolute a negative upon the Supreme Officer in the said

[1] "It is" in orig.

intervals, as the Parliament hath while it is sitting. [*So that we are safe — or safish, your Highness? No one party has power of the Militia at any time.*] The power of the Militia cannot be made use of; not a man can be raised, nor a penny charged upon the People, nothing can be done, without consent of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, without consent of the Council. Give me leave to say, There is very little power, none but what is co-ordinate, [placed] in the Supreme Officer; and yet enough in him in that particular. He is bound in strictness by the Parliament, and out of Parliament by the Council, who do as absolutely bind him as the Parliament while sitting doth. —

"As for that of Money — I told you some things were Circumstantials [*Comes to the Circumstantials*]; — as, for example, this is: That we should have £200,000 to defray Civil Offices, — to pay the Judges and other Officers; to defray the charges of the Council in sending their embassies, in keeping intelligence, and doing what is necessary; and to support the Governor in Chief:[1] All this is, by the Instrument, supposed and intended. But it is not of the *esse* so much; nor [is it] limited [so strictly] as [even] the number of Soldiers is, — 20,000 Foot and 10,000 Horse. [*Guard even afar off against any sinking below the minimum in that!*] Yet if the spirits of men were composed, 5,000 Horse and 10,000 Foot might serve. These things are [Circumstantial], are between the Chief Officer and the Parliament, to be moderated [regulated] as occasion shall offer.

"Of this sort there are many Circumstantial things, which are not like the laws of the Medes and Persians. But the things which shall be necessary to deliver over to Posterity, these should be unalterable. Else every succeeding Parliament will be disputing to alter the Government; and we shall be as often brought into confusion as we have Parliaments, and so make our remedy our disease. The Lord's Providence, evil [effects] appearing, and good appearing, and better judgment [in ourselves], will give occasion for ordering of things to the

[1] *Instrument of Government*, Art. 27 (*Somers Tracts*, vi. 294).

best interest of the People. Those [Circumstantial] things are the matter of consideration between you and me.

"I have indeed almost tired myself. What I have farther to say is this [*Does not yet say it*] — I would it had not been needful for me to call you hither to expostulate these things with you, and in such a manner as this! But Necessity hath no law. Feigned necessities, imaginary necessities, — [certainly these] are the greatest cozenage that men can put upon the Providence of God, and make pretences to break known rules by. [Yes;] but it is *as* legal [contrary to God's free Grace], as carnal, and as stupid [*A tone of anger*], to think that there are no Necessities which are manifest [and real], because necessities may be abused or feigned! And truly that were my case [1] if I should so think [here]; and I hope none of you so think. I have to say [*Says it now*]: The wilful throwing away of this Government, such as it is, so owned by God, so approved by men, so witnessed to (in the Fundamentals of it) as was mentioned above [were a thing which], — and in reference [not to *my* good, but] to the good of these Nations and of Posterity, — I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave and buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto! [*Never! — Do you catch the tone of that voice, reverberating like thunder from the roof of the Painted Chamber, over the heads of Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott and Company; the aspect of that face, with its lion-mouth and mournful eyes, — kindled now and radiant all of it, with sorrow, with rebuke and wrathful defiance? — Bradshaw and Company look on it unblanched; but will be careful not to provoke such a one. There lie penalties in him!*]

"You have been called hither to save a Nation, — Nations. You had the best People, indeed, of the Christian world put into your trust, when you came hither. You had the affairs of these Nations delivered over to you in peace and quiet; you were, and we all are, put into an undisturbed possession, nobody making title to us. Through the blessing of God, our enemies were hopeless and scattered. We had peace at home; peace with almost all our Neighbors round about, — apt [other-

[1] To be legal, and carnal and stupid.

wise] to take advantages where God did administer them. [These things we had, few days ago, when you came hither. And now?] To have our peace and interest, whereof those were our hopes the other day, thus shaken, and put under such a confusion; and ourselves [*Chiefly "I"*] rendered hereby almost the scorn and contempt of those strangers [*Dutch Ambassadors and the like*] who are amongst us to negotiate their masters' affairs! To give *them* opportunity to see our nakedness as they do: 'A people that have been unhinged this twelve-years day,[1] and are unhinged still,'—as if scattering, division and confusion came upon us like things we desired: [*these*] which are the greatest plagues that God ordinarily lays upon Nations for sin!

"I would be loath to say these are matters of our desire.[2] But if not, then why not matters of our *care*,—as wisely as by our utmost endeavors we might, to *avoid* them! Nay if, by such actings as these [now] are, these poor Nations shall be thrown into heaps and confusion, through blood, and ruin, and trouble[3]— And upon the saddest account that ever was, if breaking [and confusion] should come upon us;—all because we would not settle when we could, when God put it into our hands! Your affairs now almost settled everywhere: and to have all recoil upon us; and ourselves [to be] shaken in our affections, loosened from all known and public interests: —as I said before, who shall answer for these things to God?

"Who can answer for these things to God or to men? [To men]—to the People who sent you hither; who looked for refreshment from you; who looked for nothing but peace and quietness, and rest and settlement? When we come to give an account to them, we shall have it to say, 'Oh, we quarrelled for the *Liberty of England;* we contested, and [went to confusion] for that!'—[Now,] Wherein, I pray you, for the 'Liberty of England'? I appeal to the Lord, that the desires

[1] An old phrase; "day" emphatic.

[2] Politely oblique for "your desire."

[3] "*what shall we then say?*" his Highness means, but does not complete the sentence,—as is sometimes his habit.

and endeavors we have had — Nay the things will speak for themselves. The 'Liberty of England,' the Liberty of the People; the avoiding of tyrannous impositions either upon men as men, or Christians as Christians; — is made so safe by this Act of Settlement, that it will speak for itself. And when it shall appear to the world what [really] hath been said and done by all of us, and what our real transactions were — For God can discover; no Privilege [*What! Not even Privilege of Parliament?*] will hinder the Lord from discovering! No Privilege, or condition of man can hide from the Lord; He can and will make all manifest, if He see it for His glory![1] — And when these [things, as I say] shall be manifested; and the People will come and ask, 'Gentlemen, what condition is this we are in? We hoped for light; and behold darkness, obscure darkness! We hoped for rest after ten-years Civil War, but are plunged into deep confusion again!' — Ay; we know these consequences will come upon us, if God Almighty shall not find out some way to prevent them.

"I had a thought within myself, That it would not have been dishonest nor dishonorable, nor against true Liberty, no not [the Liberty] of Parliaments, [if,] when a Parliament was so chosen [as you have been], in pursuance of this Instrument of Government, and in conformity to it, and with such an approbation and consent to it, — some Owning of your Call and of the Authority which brought you hither, had been required before your entrance into the House. [*Deep silence in the audience.*] This was declined, and hath not been done, because I am persuaded scarce any man could doubt you came with contrary minds. And I have reason to believe the people that sent you least of all doubted thereof. And therefore I must deal plainly with you: What I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now! [*Paleness on some faces.*] Seeing the Authority which called you is so little valued, and so much slighted, — till some such Assurance be given and made known, that the Fundamental Interest shall be settled and approved according to the proviso in the [Writ

[1] "*Privilege*" of Parliament, in those days, strenuously forbids reporting; *but it will not serve in the case referred to.*

of] Return, and such a consent testified as will make it appear that the same is accepted, I HAVE CAUSED A STOP TO BE PUT TO YOUR ENTRANCE INTO THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE. [*You understand that, my honorable friends?*]

"I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death, that there is cause for this! But there is cause: and if things be not satisfied which are reasonably demanded, I, for my part, will do that which becomes *me*, seeking my counsel from God. — There is therefore Somewhat [*A bit of written Parchment!*] to be offered to you; which I hope will answer, being understood with the qualifications I have told you, — [namely, of] reforming as to Circumstantials, and agreeing in the Substance and Fundamentals, [that is to say,] in the Form of Government now settled, which is expressly stipulated in your Indentures 'not to be altered.' The making of your minds known in that by giving your assent and subscription to it, is the means that will let you in, to act those things as a Parliament which are for the good of the People. And this thing, [*The Parchment!* — when once it is] shown to you and signed as aforesaid, doth determine the controversy; and may give a happy progress and issue to this Parliament. [*Honorable gentlemen look in one another's faces, — find general blank.*]

"The place where you may come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the Lobby without the Parliament Door. [*My honorable friends, you know the way, don't you?*] —

"The [Instrument of] Government doth declare that you have a legislative power without a negative from me. As the Instrument doth express it, you may make any Laws; and if I give not my consent, within twenty days, to the passing of your Laws, they are *ipso facto* Laws, whether I consent or no, — if not contrary to the [Frame of] Government. You have an absolute Legislative Power in all things that can possibly concern the good and interest of the public; and I think you may make these Nations happy by this Settlement. And I, *for my part, shall* be willing to be bound more than I *am, in anything concerning* which I can become convinced

that it may be for the good of the People, or tend to the preservation of the Cause and Interest so long contended for."[1]

Go your ways, my honorable friends, and sign, so many of you as God hath made free thereunto! The place, I tell you, is in the Lobby without the Parliament Door. The "Thing," as you will find there, is a bit of Parchment with these words engrossed on it: "*I do hereby freely promise, and engage myself, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenor of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament) propose, or give my consent, to alter the Government as it is settled in a Single Person and a Parliament.*"[2] Sign that, or go home again to your countries.

Let honorable gentlemen therefore consider what they will do! — "About a hundred signed directly, within an hour." Guibon Goddard and all the Norfolk Members (except one, who was among the direct hundred) went and "had dinner together," to talk the matter over; — mostly thought it would be better to sign; and did sign, all but some two. The number who have signed this first day, we hear, is a hundred and twenty, a hundred and thirty, nay a hundred and forty.[3] Blank faces of honorable gentlemen begin to take meaning again, — some mild, some grim. To-morrow being Fast-day, there is an adjournment. The recusants are treated "with all tenderness;" most of them come in by degrees: "Three hundred before the month ends."

Deep Republicans, Bradshaw, Haselrig, Thomas Scott and the like, would not come in; still less would shallow noisy ones, as Major Wildman; — went home to their countries again, their blank faces settling into permanent grim. My Lord Protector molested no man for his recusancy; did indeed take that absence as a comparative favor from the parties. Harrison and other suspect persons are a little looked after: the Parliament resumes its function as if little had happened.

[1] Old Pamphlet, brother to the foregoing; reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 349–369.

[2] *Whitlocke*, p. 587. [3] Goddard, Whitlocke, Letter in Thurloe.

With a singular acquiescence on the part of the Public, write our correspondents, Dutch and other. The Public, which I have known rebel against crowned Kings for twitching the tippet of a Parliament, permits this Lord Protector to smite it on the cheek, and say, "Have a care, wilt thou!" Perhaps this Lord Protector is believed to mean better than the King did? There is a difference in the objects of men, as the Public understands; — a difference in the men too for rebelling against! At any rate, here is singular submission everywhere; and my Lord Protector getting ready a powerful Sea-Armament, neither his Parliament nor any other creature can yet guess for what.[1]

Goddard's report of this Parliament is distinct enough; brief, and not without some points of interest; "the misfortune is," says one Commentator, "he does not give us *names*." Alas, a much greater misfortune is, the Parliament itself is hardly worth naming! It did not prove a successful Parliament; — it held on by mere Constitution-building; and effected, so to speak, nothing. Respectable Pedant persons; never doubting but the Ancient sacred Sheepskins would serve for the New Time, which also has its sacredness; thinking, full surely, constitutional logic was the thing England now needed of them! Their History shall remain blank, to the end of the world. I have read their Debates, and counsel no other man to do it. Wholly upon the "Institution of Government," modelling, new-modelling of that: endless anxious spider-webs of constitutional logic; vigilant checks, constitutional jealousies, &c. &c. To be forgotten by all creatures.

They had a Committee of Godly Ministers sitting in the Jerusalem Chamber; a kind of miniature Assembly of Divines; intent upon "Scandalous Ministers and Schoolmasters," upon tender consciences, and the like objects: but there were only twenty in this Assembly; they could hardly ever get fairly under way at all; — and have left in English History no trace that I could see of their existence, except a very reasonable Petition, noted in the Record, That the Parliament would be

[1] Dutch *Ambassadors, French*, &c. in *Thurloe*, ii. 606, 613, 638 (15th, 18th *Sept.; 9th Oct.*). *See also* Appendix, No. 28.

pleased to advance them a little money towards the purchase of fire and candle, — in these cold dark months. The Parliament, I hope, allowed them coals and a few tallow-lights; but neither they nor it could accomplish anything towards the Settling of a Godly Ministry in England: my Lord Protector and *his* Commissions will have to settle that too; an object dear to all good men. This Parliament spent its time in constitutional jangling, in vigilant contrivance of balances, checks, and that species of entities. With difficulty could, at rare intervals, a hasty stingy vote, not for the indispensable Supplies, but for some promise of them, be wrung from it. An unprofitable Parliament.

For the rest, they had Biddle the Socinian before them; a poor Gloucester Schoolmaster once, now a very conspicuous Heresiarch, apparently of mild but entirely obstinate manners, — poor devil: him they put into the Gatehouse; him and various others of that kidney. Especially "Theauro John, who laid about him with a drawn sword at the door of the Parliament House one day,"[1] — a man clearly needing to be confined. "Theauro John:" his name had originally been John Davy, if I recollect; but the Spirit, in some preternatural hour, revealed to him that it ought to be as above. Poor Davy: his labors, life-adventures, financial arrangements, painful biography in general, are all unknown to us; till, on this "Saturday, 30th December, 1654," he very clearly "knocks loud at the door of the Parliament House," as much as to say, "What is this *you* are upon?" and "lays about him with a drawn sword;" — after which all again becomes unknown. Seemingly a kind of Quaker. Does the reader know James Nayler, and the devout women worshipping him? George Fox, in his suit of leather, independent of mankind, looks down into the soft Vale of Belvoir, native "Vale of Bever:" Do not the whispering winds and green fields, do not the still smoke-pillars from these poor cottages under the eternal firmaments, say in one's heart, "George, canst thou do nothing for us? George, wilt thou not help us from the wrath to come?" George finds in the Vale of Bever "a very tender people."

[1] *Whitlocke*, p. 592. See Goddard (in Burton, i. Introd. cxxvi.).

In fact, most singular Quakerisms, frightful Socinianisms, and other portents, are springing up rife in England.

Oliver objected, now and always, to any very harsh punishment of Biddle and Company, much as he abhorred their doctrines. Why burn, or brand, or otherwise torment them, poor souls? They, wandering as we all do seeking for a door of hope into the Eternities, have, being tempted of the Devil as we all likewise are, *missed* the door of hope; and gone tumbling into dangerous gulfs, — dangerous, but not yet beyond the mercy of God. Do not burn them. They meant, some of them, *well;* bear, visibly to me, the scars of stern true battle against the Enemy of Man. Do not burn them; — lock them up, that they may not mislead others. On frugal wholesome diet in Pendennis Castle, or Elizabeth Castle in Jersey, or here in the Clink Prison at London, they will not cost you much, and may arrive at some composure. Branding and burning is an ugly business; — as little of that as you can.

Friday, 29th September, 1654. His Highness, say the old Lumber-Books, went into Hyde Park; made a small picnic dinner under the trees, with Secretary Thurloe, attended by a few servants; — was, in fact, making a small pleasure excursion, having in mind to try a fine new team of horses, which the Earl or Duke of Oldenburg had lately sent him. Dinner done, his Highness himself determined to drive, — two in hand I think, with a postilion driving other two. The horses, beautiful animals, tasting of the whip, became unruly; galloped, would not be checked, but took to plunging; plunged the postilion down; plunged or shook his Highness down, "dragging him by the foot for some time," so that "a pistol went off in his pocket," to the amazement of men. Whereupon? Whereupon — his Highness got up again, little the worse; was let blood; and went about his affairs much as usual![1] Small anecdote, that figures, larger than life, in all the Books and Biographies. I have known men thrown from their horses on occasion, and less noise made about it, my erudite friend! But the essential point was, his Highness wore a pistol. — Yes, his Highness is prepared to defend him-

[1] *Thurloe, i.* 652–653; Ludlow, ii. 508.

self; has men, and has also truculent-flunkies, and devils and devil's-servants of various kinds, to defend himself against;—and wears pistols, and what other furniture outward and inward may be necessary for the object. Such of you as have an eye that way can take notice of it!—

Thursday, 16th November, 1654. On the other hand, what a glimpse into the interior domesticities of the Protector Household have we in the following brief Note! Amid the darkness and buzzard dimness, one light-beam, clear, radiant, mournfully beautiful, like the gleam of a sudden star, disclosing for a moment many things to us! On Friday, Secretary Thurloe writes incidentally: "My Lord Protector's Mother, of ninety-four years old, died last night. A little before her death she gave my Lord her blessing, in these words: 'The Lord cause His face to shine upon you; and comfort you in all your adversities; and enable you to do great things for the glory of your Most High God, and to be a relief unto His People. My dear Son, I leave my heart with thee. A good night!'"[1]—and therewith sank into her long sleep. Even so. Words of ours are but idle. Thou brave one, Mother of a Hero, farewell!—Ninety-four years old: the royalties of Whitehall, says Ludlow very credibly, were of small moment to her: "at the sound of a musket she would often be afraid her Son was shot; and could not be satisfied unless she saw him once a day at least."[2] She, old, weak, wearied one, she cannot help him with his refractory Pedant Parliaments, with his Anabaptist plotters, Royalist assassins, and world-wide confusions; but she bids him, Be strong, be comforted in God. And so Good night! And in the still Eternities and divine Silences—Well, *are* they not divine?—

December 26th, 1654. The refractory Parliament and other dim confusions still going on, we mark as a public event of some significance, the sailing of his Highness's Sea-Armament. It has long been getting ready on the Southern Coast; sea-forces, land-forces; sails from Portsmouth on Christmas mor-

[1] Thurloe to Pell, 17th November, 1654: in Vaughan's *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1839), i. 81.

[2] *Ludlow*, ii. 488.

now, as above marked.[1] — None yet able to divine whither bound; not even the Generals, Venables and Penn, till they reach a certain latitude. Many are much interested to divine! Our Brussels Correspondent writes long since, "The Lord Protector's Government makes England more formidable and considerable to all Nations than ever it has been in my days."[2]

LETTERS CXCVI.–CXCVII.

HERE are Two small Letters, harmlessly reminding us of far interests and of near; — otherwise yielding no new light; but capable of being read without commentary. Read them; and let us hasten to dissolve the poor Constitutioning Parliament, which ought not to linger on these pages, or on any page.

LETTER CXCVI.

"*To Richard Bennet, Esq., Governor of Virginia: These.*

"WHITEHALL, 12th January, 1654.

"SIR, — Whereas the differences between the Lord Baltimore and the Inhabitants of Virginia, concerning the Bounds by them respectively claimed, are depending before our Council, and yet undetermined; and whereas we are credibly informed, you have notwithstanding gone into his Plantation in Maryland, and countenanced some people there in opposing the Lord Baltimore's Officers; whereby, and with other forces from Virginia, you have much disturbed that Colony and People, to the endangering of tumults and much bloodshed there, if not timely prevented:

"We therefore, at the request of the Lord Baltimore, and [of] divers other Persons of Quality here, who are engaged by great adventures in his interest, do, for preventing of

[1] *Penn's Narrative*, in *Thurloe*, iv. 28.

[2] *Thurloe*, *i.* 160 (11th March, 1653–4).

disturbances or tumults there, will and require you, and all others deriving any authority from you, To forbear disturbing the Lord Baltimore, or his Officers or People in Maryland; and to permit all things to remain as they were before any disturbance or alteration made by you, or by any other upon pretence of authority from you, till the said Differences above mentioned be determined by us here, and we give farther order therein.

"We rest your loving friend,

"OLIVER P."[1]

Commissioners, it would appear, went out to settle the business; got it, we have no doubt, with due difficulty settled. See Letter CCIII., —26th September, 1655, "To the Commissioners of Maryland."

LETTER CXCVII.

HERE again, while the Pedant Parliament keeps arguing and constitutioning, are discontents in the Army that threaten to develop themselves. Dangerous fermentings of Fifth-Monarchy and other bad ingredients, in the Army and out of it; encouraged by the Parliamentary height of temperature. Charles Stuart, on the word of a Christian King, is extensively bestirring himself. Royalist preparations, provisions of arms; Anabaptist Petitions: abroad and at home very dangerous designs on foot: but we have our eye upon them.

The Scotch Army seems, at present, the questionablest. "The pay of the men is thirty weeks in arrear," for one thing; the Anabaptist humor needs not that addition! Colonel Alured, we saw, had to be dismissed the Service last year; Overton and others were questioned, and not dismissed. But now some desperate scheme has risen among the Forces in Scotland, of deposing General Monk, of making Republican

[1] *Thurloe*, i. 724. The Signature only is Oliver's; signature, and sense. *Thurloe has* jotted on the back of this: "A duplicate also hereof was writ, *signed by his Highness.*"

Overton Commander, — and so marching off, all but the indispensable Garrison-troops, south into England, *there* to seek pay and other redress.[1] This Parliament, now in its Fourth Month, supplies no money; nothing but constitutional debatings. My Lord Protector had need be watchful! He again, in this December, summons Overton from Scotland; again questions him; — sees good, this time, to commit him to the Tower,[2] and end his military services. The Army, in Scotland and elsewhere, with no settlement yet to its vague fermenting humors, and not even money to pay its arrears, is dangerous enough.

Of Adjutant-General Allen whom this Letter concerns, it may be proper to say that Ludlow in mentioning him has mistaken his man. The reader recollects, a good while ago, Three Troopers, notable at the moment, who appeared once before the Long Parliament, with a Petition from the Army, in the year Forty-seven? Their names were Allen, Sexby, Sheppard: Ludlow will have it, the Trooper Allen was this Adjutant-General Allen;[3] which is a mistake of Ludlow's. Trooper Sexby we did since see, as Captain Sexby, after Preston Fight; and shall again, in sad circumstances see: but of Trooper Allen there is no farther vestige anywhere except this imaginary one; of Trooper Sheppard not even an imaginary vestige. They have vanished, these two; and Adjutant-General Allen, vindicating his identity such as it is, enters here on his own footing. A resolute devout man, whom we have seen before; the same who was deep in the Prayer-Meeting at Windsor years ago:[4] this is his third, and we hope his last appearance on the stage of things.

Allen has been in Ireland, since that Prayer-Meeting; in

[1] Postea, Speech IV.; and Thurloe, iii. 110, &c.

[2] 16th January, 1654–5 (Overton's Letter, *Thurloe*, iii. 110).

[3] Lud i. 189: "Edward Sexby," "William Allen;" but in the name of the third Trooper, which is not "Philips" but *Sheppard*, he is mistaken (*Commons Journals*, 30th April, 1647); and as to "Adjutant-General Allen" and the impossibility of his identity with this William Allen, see vol. xvii. pp. 283, 304.

[4] *Vol. xvii. p. 304.*

Ireland and elsewhere, resolutely fighting, earnestly praying, as from of old; has had many darkenings of mind; expects, for almost a year past, "little good from the Governments of this world," one or the other. He has honored, and still would fain honor, "the Person now in chief place," having seen in him much "upright-heartedness to the Lord;" must confess, however, "the late Change hath more stumbled me than any ever did;"—and, on the whole, knows not what he will resolve upon.[1] We find he has resolved on quitting Ireland, for one thing; has come over to "his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's in Devonshire:"—and, to all appearance, is not building established-churches there! "Captain Unton Crook," of whom we shall hear afterwards, is an active man, son of a learned Lawyer;[2] very zealous for the Protector's interest;—zealous for his own and his Father's promotion, growls Ludlow. Desborow, who fitted out the late mysterious Sea-Armament on the Southern Coast (not too judiciously, I doubt), is Commander-in-chief in those parts.

[*For Captain Unton Crook, at Exeter: These.*]

"WHITEHALL, 20th January, 1654.

"SIR,—Being informed by a Letter of yours and General Desborow, also by a Letter from the High Sheriff of Devon, that Adjutant-General Allen doth very ill offices by multiplying dissatisfaction in the minds of men to the present Government, I desire you and the High Sheriff to make diligent inquiry after him, and try to make out what can be made in this kind, and to give me speedy notice thereof. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest,

"Your loving friend,

"OLIVER P.

"If he be gone out of the Country, learn whither he is gone, and send me word by next post."[3]

[1] Two intercepted Letters of Allen's (Thurloe, ii. 214, 215), "Dublin, 6th April, 1654."

[2] Made Sergeant Crook in 1655 (Heath, p. 693).

[3] *Lansdowne* MSS. 1236, fol. 102. Superscription torn off;—only the *Signature is* in Oliver's hand: Address supplied here by inference.

Allen was not gone out of the Country; he was seized by Crook "in his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's house," on the 31st of January, 1654–5; his papers searched, and himself ordered to be and continue prisoner, at a place agreed upon, — Sand in Somersetshire, — "under his note of hand." So much we learn from the imbroglios of *Thurloe;*[1] where also are authentic Depositions concerning Allen, "by Captains John Copleston and the said Unton Crook;" and two Letters of Allen's own, — one to the Protector; and one to "Colonel Daniel Axtel [the Regicide Axtel], Dr. Philip Carteret, or either of them," enclosing that other Letter, and leaving it to them to present it or not, he himself thinking earnestly that they should. Both of these Letters, as well as Unton Crook's to the Protector, and the authentic Deposition of Copleston and Crook against Allen, are dated February 7th, 1654–5.

The witnesses depose,[2] That he has bragged to one "Sir John Davis Baronet," of an interview he had with the Protector not long since, — wherein he, Allen, told the Protector a bit of his mind; and left him in a kind of huff, and even at a nonplus; and so came off to the West Country in a triumphant manner. Farther he talks questionable things of Ireland, of discontents there, and in laud of Lieutenant-General Ludlow; says, There is plenty of discontent in Ireland; he himself means to be there in February, but will first go to London again. The Country rings with rumor of his questionable speeches. He goes to "meetings" about Bristol, whither many persons convene, — for Anabaptist or other purposes. Such meetings are often on week-days. Questionabler still, he rides thither "with a vizard or mask over his face;" "with glasses over his eyes," — barnacles, so to speak! Nay, questionablest of all, riding, "on Friday, the 5th of last month," month of January, 1654–5, "to a meeting at Luppit near Honiton, Devon," there rode also (but not I think to the same place!) a Mr. Hugh Courtenay, once a flaming Royalist Officer in Ireland, and still a flaming zealot to the lost Cause; who spake nothing all that afternoon but mere treason, of Anabaptists that would rise in London, of &c. &c. Allen, as

[1] *ib. 142; see pp. 140, 141.* [2] Thurloe, iii. 140.

we say, on the last morning of January was awoke from sleep in his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's, by the entrance of two armed troopers; who informed him that Captain Crook and the High Sheriff were below, and that he would have to put on his clothes, and come down.

Allen's Letter to the Lord Protector, from Sand in Somersetshire, we rather reluctantly withhold, for want of room. A stubborn, sad, stingily respectful piece of writing: Wife and baby terribly ill off at Sand; desires to be resigned to the Lord, "before whom both of us shall ere long nakedly appear;" — petitions that at least he might be allowed "to attend ordinances;" which surely would be reasonable! Are there not good horses that require to be ridden with a dexterous bridle-hand, — delicate, and yet hard and strong? Clearly a strenuous Anabaptist, this Allen; a rugged, true-hearted, not easily governable man; given to Fifth-Monarchy and other notions, though with a strong head to control them. Fancy him duly cashiered from the Army, duly admonished and dismissed into private life. Then add the Colonel Overtons and Colonel Alureds, and General Ludlows and Major-General Harrisons, and also the Charles Stuarts and Christian Kings; — and reflect once more what kind of task this of my Lord Protector's is, and whether he needs refractory Pedant Parliaments to worsen it for him!

SPEECH IV.

FINDING this Parliament was equal to nothing in the Spiritual way but tormenting of poor Heretics, receiving Petitions for a small advance towards coal and candle; and nothing in the Temporal but constitutional air-fabrics and vigilant checkings and balancings, — under which operations such precious fruits at home and abroad were ripening, — Oliver's esteem for this Parliament gradually sank to a marked degree. Check, *check*, — like maladroit ship-carpenters hammering, adzing, saw*ing at the* Ship of the State, instead of diligently caulking and

paying it; idly gauging and computing, nay recklessly tearing up and remodelling; — when the poor Ship could hardly keep the water as yet, and the Pirates and Sea-Krakens were gathering round! All which most dangerous, not to say half-frantic operations, the Lord Protector discerning well, and swallowing in silence as his hest was, — had for a good while kept his eye upon the Almanac, with more and more impatience for the arrival of the Third of February. That will be the first deliverance of the poor laboring Commonwealth, when at the end of Five Months we send these Parliament philosophers home to their Countries again. Five Months by the Instrument they have to sit; — oh, fly, lazy Time; it is yet but Four Months and — Somebody suggested, Is not the Soldier-month counted by Four Weeks? Eight-and-twenty days are a Soldier's Month: they have, in a sense, already sat five months, these vigilant Honorable Gentlemen!

Oliver Protector, on Monday morning, 22d of January, 1654–5, surprises the Constitutioning Parliament with a message to attend him in the Painted Chamber, and leave "Settling of the Government" for a while. They have yet voted no Supplies; nor meant to vote any. They thought themselves very safe till February 3d, at soonest. But my Lord Protector, from his high place, speaks, and dissolves.

Speech Fourth, "printed by Henry Hills, Printer to his Highness the Lord Protector," is the only one of these Speeches, concerning the reporting, printing or publishing of which there is any visible charge or notice taken by the Government of the time. It is ordered in this instance, by the Council of State, That nobody except Henry Hills or those appointed by him shall presume to print or reprint the present Speech, or any part of it. Perhaps an official precaution considered needful; perhaps also only a matter of copyright; for the Order is so worded as not to indicate which. At all events, there is no trace of the Report having been anywhere interfered with; which seems altogether a spontaneous one; probably the product of Rushworth or some such artist.[1]

[1] *See Burton's Diary.*

The Speech, if read with due intensity, can be understood; and what is equally important, be believed; nay, be found to contain in it a manful, great and valiant meaning, — in tone and manner very resolute, yet very conciliatory; intrinsically not ignoble but noble. For the rest, it is, as usual, sufficiently incondite in phrase and conception; the hasty outpouring of a mind which is *full* of such meanings. Somewhat difficult to read. Practical Heroes, unfortunately, as we once said, do not speak in blank-verse; their trade does not altogether admit of that! Useless to look here for a Greek Temple with its porticos and entablatures, and *styles*. But the Alp Mountain, with its chasms and cataracts and shaggy pine-forests, and huge granite masses rooted in the Heart of the World: this too is worth looking at, to some. I can give the reader little help; but will advise him to try.

"GENTLEMEN, — I perceive you are here as the House of Parliament, by your Speaker whom I see here, and by your faces which are in a great measure known to me. [*Doubtless we are here, your Highness!*]

"When I first met you in this room, it was to my apprehension the hopefulest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to the considerations of this world. For I did look at, as wrapt up in you together with myself, the hopes and the happiness of, — though not of the greatest, — yet a very great [People]; and the best People in the world. And truly and unfeignedly I thought [it] so: as a People that have the highest and clearest profession amongst them of the greatest glory, namely Religion: as a People that have been, like other Nations, sometimes up and sometimes down in our honor in the world, but yet never so low but we might measure with other Nations: — and a People that have had a stamp upon them from God [*Hah!*]; God having, as it were, summed up all our former honor and glory in the things that *are* of glory to Nations, in an Epitome, within these ten or twelve years last past! So that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

"*And if* I be not very much mistaken, we were arrived —

as I, and truly I believe as many others, did think — at a very safe port; where we might sit down and contemplate the Dispensations of God and our Mercies; and might know our Mercies not to have been like to those of the Ancients, — who did make out their peace and prosperity, as they thought, by their own endeavors; who could not say, as we, That all ours were let down to us from God Himself! Whose appearances and providences amongst us are not to be outmatched by any Story. [*Deep silence; from the old Parliament, and from us.*] Truly this was our condition. And I know nothing else we had to do, save as Israel was commanded in that most excellent Psalm of David: 'The things which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from our children; showing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and His strength, and His wonderful works that He hath done. For He established a Testimony in Jacob, and appointed a Law in Israel; which He commanded our fathers that they should make known to their children; that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to *their* children: that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep His commandments.'[1]

"This I thought had been a song and a work worthy of England, whereunto you might happily have invited them, — had you had hearts unto it. [*Alas!*] You had this opportunity fairly delivered unto you. And if a history shall be written of these Times and Transactions, it will be said, it will not be denied, that these things that I have spoken are true! [*No response from the Moderns: mere silence, stupor, not without sadness.*] This talent was put into your hands. And I shall recur to that which I said at the first: I came with very great joy and contentment and comfort, the first time I met you in this place. But we and these Nations are, for the present, under some disappointment! — If I had proposed to have played the Orator, — which I never did affect, nor do, nor I hope shall [*Hear!*], — I doubt not but upon easy suppositions,

[1] Psalm lxxviii. 3–7.

which I am persuaded every one among you will grant, we did meet upon such hopes as these.

"I met you a second time here: and I confess, at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes; though not a total frustration. I confess that that which damped my hopes so soon was somewhat that did look like a parricide. It is obvious enough unto you that the [then] management of affairs did savor of a Not owning, — too-too much savor, I say, of a Not owning of the Authority that called you hither. But God left us not without an expedient that gave a second possibility — Shall I say possibility? It seemed to me a probability — of recovering out of that dissatisfied condition we were all then in, towards some mutuality of satisfaction. And therefore by that Recognition [*The Parchment we had to sign: Hum-m!*], suiting with the Indenture that returned you hither; to which afterwards was also added your own Declaration,[1] conformable to, and in acceptance of, that expedient: thereby [I say] you had, though with a little check, another opportunity renewed unto you to have made this Nation as happy as it could have been if everything had smoothly run on from that first hour of your meeting. And indeed, — you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes, — I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged in as a soldier, That some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, have made way for very great and happy successes;[2] and I did not at all despond but the stop put upon you, in like manner, would have made way for a blessing from God. That Interruption being, as I thought, necessary to divert you from violent and destructive proceedings; to give time for better deliberations; — whereby leaving the Government as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made those good and wholesome Laws which the People expected from you, and might have answered the Grievances, and settled those other things proper to you as a Parliament: for which you would have had thanks from all that intrusted you. [*Doubtful "Hum-m-m!" from the old Parliament.*]

[1] *Commons Journals* (vii. 368), 14th Sept. 1654.

[2] Characteristic sentence, and sentiment; — not to be meddled with.

"What hath happened since that time I have not taken public notice of; as declining to intrench on Parliament privileges. For sure I am you will all bear me witness, That from your entering into the House upon the Recognition, to this very day, you have had no manner of interruption or hindrance of mine in proceeding to what blessed issue the heart of a good man could propose to himself, — to this very day [none]. You see you have me very much locked up, as to what you have transacted among yourselves, from that time to this. ["*None dare report us, or whisper what we do.*"] But some things I shall take liberty to speak of to you.

"As I may not take notice what you have been doing; so I think I have a very great liberty to tell you That I do not know what you have been doing! [*With a certain tone; as one may hear!*] I do not know whether you have been alive or dead. I have not once heard from you all this time; I have not: and that you all know. If that be a fault that I have not, surely it hath not been mine! — If I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have sat down by them, — why might it not have been very lawful for me to think that I was a Person judged unconcerned in all these businesses? I can assure you I have not so reckoned myself! Nor did I reckon myself unconcerned in you. And so long as any just patience could support my expectation, I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from you the issue of your consultations and resolutions. — I have been careful of your safety, and the safety of those that you represented, to whom I reckon myself a servant. —

"But what messages have I disturbed you withal? What injury or indignity hath been done, or offered, either to your persons or to any privileges of Parliament, since you sat? I looked at myself as strictly obliged by my Oath, since your recognizing the Government in the authority of which you were called hither and sat, To give you all possible security, and to keep you from any unparliamentary interruption. Think you I could not say more upon this subject, if I listed to expatiate thereupon? But because my actions plead for me, I shall say no more of this. [*Old Parliament* dubiously rolls its

eyes.] — I say, I have been caring for *you*, for your quiet sitting; caring for your privileges, as I said before, that they might not be interrupted; have been seeking of God, from the great God a blessing upon you, and a blessing upon these Nations. I have been consulting if possibly I might, in anything promote, in my place, the real good of this Parliament, of the hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you. And did think it to be my business rather to see the utmost issue and what God would produce by you, than unseasonably intermeddle with you.

"But, as I said before, I have been caring for you, and for the peace and quiet of these Nations: indeed I have; and that I shall a little presently manifest unto you. And it leadeth me to let you know somewhat, — which, I fear, I fear, will be, through some interpretation, a little too justly put upon *you*; whilst you have been employed as you have been, and, — in all that time expressed in the Government, in that Government, I say in that Government, — have brought forth nothing that you yourselves say *can* be taken notice of without infringement of your privileges![1] I will tell you somewhat, which, if it be not news to you, I wish you had taken very serious consideration of. If it be news, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner. And yet if any man will ask me why I did it not, the reason is given already: Because I did make it my business to give you no interruption.

"There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees: There be some that choose — a man may say so by way of allusion — to thrive under the shadow of other trees. I will tell you what hath thriven, — I will not say what you have *cherished*, under your shadow; that were too hard. Instead of Peace and Settlement, — instead of mercy and truth being brought together, and righteousness and peace kissing

[1] An embarrassed sentence; characteristic of his Highness. "You have done nothing noticeable upon this 'Somewhat' that I am about to speak of, — nor, indeed, it seems upon *any* Somewhat; — and *this* was one you may, without much 'interpretation, be blamed for doing nothing upon." "Government" means *Instrument of* Government: "the time expressed" therein is *Five Months*, — now, by my way of calculating it, expired! Which may account for the embarrassed iteration of the phrase, on his Highness's part.

h other, by [your] reconciling the Honest People of these ions, and settling the woful distempers that are amongst which had been glorious things and worthy of Christians ave proposed, — weeds and nettles, briers and thorns have iven under your shadow! Dissettlement and division, distent and dissatisfaction; together with real dangers to the ple, — have been more multiplied within these five months your sitting, than in some years before! Foundations have been laid for the future renewing of the Troubles of these ions by all the enemies of them abroad and at home. Let these words seem too sharp: for they are true as any thematical demonstrations are or can be. I say, the enes of the peace of these Nations abroad and at home, the ontented humors throughout these Nations, — which [prods] I think no man will grudge to call by that name, of rs and thorns, — *they* have nourished themselves under r shadow! [*Old Parliament looks still more uneasy.*]

'And that I may clearly be understood: They have taken ir opportunities from your sitting, and from the hopes they , which with easy conjecture they might take up and conle that there would be no Settlement; and they have med their designs, preparing for the execution of them ordingly. Now whether — which appertains not to me to ge of, on their behalf — they had any occasion ministered this, and from whence they had it, I list not to make any itiny or search. But I will say this: I think they had it from me. I am sure they had not [from me]. From nce they had, is not my business now to discourse: but t they had, is obvious to every man's sense. What preparais they have made, to be executed in such a season as they ught fit to take their opportunity from: that I know, not nen know things by conjecture, but by certain demonstrable wledge. That they have been for some time past furnishthemselves with arms; nothing doubting but they should e a day for it; and verily believing that, whatsoever their mer disappointments were, they should have more done for m by and from *our own* divisions, than they were able to *for themselves*. *I* desire to be understood That, in all I

have to say of this subject, you will take it that I have no reservation in my mind, — as I have not, — to mingle things of guess and suspicion with things of fact: but [that] the things I am telling of are fact; things of evident demonstration.

"These weeds, briers and thorns, — they have been preparing, and have brought their designs to some maturity, by the advantages given to them, as aforesaid, from your sittings and proceedings. ["*Hum-m-m!*"] But by the Waking Eye that watched over that Cause that God will bless, they have been, and yet are, disappointed. [*Yea!*] And having mentioned that Cause, I say, that slighted Cause, — let me speak a few words in behalf thereof; though it may seem too long a digression. Whosoever despiseth it, and will say, It is *non Causa pro Causâ* [a Cause without Cause], — the All-searching Eye before mentioned will find out that man; and will judge him, as one that regardeth not the works of God nor the operations of His hands! [*Moderns look astonished.*] For which God hath threatened that He will cast men down, and not build them up. That [man who], because he can dispute, will tell us he knew not when the Cause began, nor where it is; but modelleth it according to his own intellect; and submits not to the Appearances of God in the World; and therefore lifts up his heel against God, and mocketh at all His providences; laughing at the observations, made up not without reason and the Scriptures, and by the quickening and teaching Spirit which gives life to these other; — calling such observations 'enthusiasms:' such men, I say, no wonder if they 'stumble and fall backwards, and be broken and snared and taken,'[1] by the things of which they are so wilfully and maliciously ignorant! The Scriptures say, 'The Rod has a voice, and He will make Himself known by the judgments which He executeth.' And do we not think He will, and does, by the providences of mercy and kindness which He hath for His People and their just liberties; 'whom He loves as the apple of His eye'? Doth He not by them manifest Himself? And is He not thereby also seen giving kingdoms for them, 'giving

[1] *Isaiah*, xxviii. 13. A text that had made a great impression upon Oliver: see *Letter* to the General Assembly, antea, p. 113.

ıen for them, and people for their lives,' — as it is in Isaiah 'orty-third ?[1] Is not this as fair a lecture and as clear speak- ıg, as anything our dark reason, left to the letter of the criptures, can collect from them ? By this voice has God poken very loud on behalf of His People, by judging their nemies in the late War, and restoring them a liberty to 'orship, with the freedom of their consciences, and freedom ı estates and persons when they do so. And thus we have ɔund the Cause of God by the works of God; which are the stimony of God. Upon which rock whosoever splits shall ıffer shipwreck. But it is your glory, — and it is mine, if I ave any in the world concerning the Interest of those that ave an interest in a better world, — it is my glory that I ow a Cause which yet we have *not* lost; but do hope we hall take a little pleasure rather to lose our lives than lose ! *Hah !*] — But you will excuse this long digression. —

"I say unto you, Whilst you have been in the midst of these ransactions, that Party, that Cavalier Party, — I could wish ɔme of them had thrust in here, to have heard what I say, — ave been designing and preparing to put this Nation in blood gain, with a witness. But because I am confident there are one of that sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that. nly this I must tell you: They have been making great prep- rations of arms; and I do believe it will be made evident to ou that they have raked out many thousands of arms, even all ıat this City could afford, for divers months last past. But ; will be said, 'May we not arm ourselves for the defence f our houses ? Will anybody find fault for that ?' Not for ıat. But the reason for *their* doing so hath been as explicit, nd under as clear proof, as the fact of doing so. For which hope, by the justice of the land, some will, in the face of the ation, answer it with their lives: and then the business will ɜ pretty well out of doubt. — Banks of money have been aming, for these and other such like uses. Letters have been sued with Privy-seals, to as great Persons as most are in the ation, for the advance of money, — which [Letters] have

[1] Isaiah, xliii. *3, 4 : Another* prophecy of awful moment to his Highness: ı *Speech I., antea, p. 319.*

been discovered to us by the Persons themselves. Commissions for Regiments of horse and foot, and command of Castles, have been likewise given from Charles Stuart, since your sitting. And what the general insolences of that Party have been, the Honest People have been sensible of, and can very well testify.

"It hath not only been thus. But as in a quinsy or pleurisy, where the humor fixeth in one part, give it scope, all [disease] will gather to that place, to the hazarding of the whole: and it is natural to do so till it destroy life in that person on whomsoever this befalls. So likewise will *these* diseases take accidental causes of aggravation of their distemper. And this was that which I did assert, That they have taken accidental causes for the growing and increasing of those distempers, — as much as would have been in the natural body if timely remedy were not applied. And indeed things were come to that pass, — in respect of which I shall give you a particular account, — that no mortal physician, if the Great Physician had not stepped in, could have cured the distemper. Shall I lay this upon your account, or my own? I am sure I can lay it upon God's account: That if He had not stepped in, the disease had been mortal and destructive!

"And what is all this? [What are these new diseases that have gathered to this point?] Truly I must needs still say: 'A company of men like briers and thorns;' and worse, if worse can be. Of another sort than those before mentioned to you. These also have been and yet are endeavoring to put us into blood and into confusion; more desperate and dangerous confusion than England ever yet saw. [*Anabaptist Levellers.*] And I must say, as when Gideon commanded his son to fall upon Zeba and Zalmunna, and slay them, they thought it more noble to die by the hand of a man than of a stripling, — which shows there is some contentment in the hand by which a man falls: so it is some satisfaction if a Commonwealth must perish, that it perish by men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from beasts! That if it must *needs* suffer, it should rather suffer from rich men than from *poor men*, who, as Solomon says, 'when they oppress, leave

nothing behind them, but are as a sweeping rain.' Now such as these also are grown up under your shadow. But it will be asked, What have they done? I hope, though they pretend 'Commonwealth's Interest,' they have had no encouragement from you; but have, as in the former case, rather taken it than that you have administered any cause unto them for so doing. [Any cause] from delays, from hopes that this Parliament would not settle, from Pamphlets mentioning strange Votes and Resolves of yours; which I hope did abuse you! But thus you see that, whatever the grounds were, these have been the effects. And thus I have laid these things before you; and you and others will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned.

"'What these men have done?' They also have labored to pervert, where they could, and as they could, the Honest-meaning People of the Nation. They have labored to engage some in the Army: — and I doubt that not only they, but some others also, very well known to you, have helped to this work of debauching and dividing the Army. They have, they have! [*Overton, Allen and Company, your Highness?*] I would be loath to say Who, Where, and How? much more loath to say they were any of your own number. But I can say: Endeavors have been [made] to put the Army into a distemper, and to feed that which is the worst humor in the Army. Which though it was not a mastering humor, yet these took advantage from delay of the Settlement, and the practices before mentioned, and the stopping of the pay of the Army, to run us into Free-quarter, and to bring us into the inconveniences most to be feared and avoided. — What if I am able to make it appear in fact, That some amongst you have run into the City of London, to persuade to Petitions and Addresses to you for reversing your own Votes that you have passed? Whether these practices were in favor of your Liberties, or tended to beget hopes of Peace and Settlement from you; and whether debauching the Army in England, as is before expressed, and starving it, and putting it upon Free-quarter, and occasioning and necessitating the greatest part thereof in Scotland to *march into England,* leaving the remainder thereof to have

their throats cut there; and kindling by the rest a fire in our own bosoms, were for the advantage of affairs here, let the world judge!

"This I tell you also: That the correspondence held with the Interest of the Cavaliers, by that Party of men called Levellers who call themselves Commonwealth's-men [is in our hands]. Whose Declarations were framed to that purpose, and ready to be published at the time of their [projected] common Rising; whereof [I say] we are possessed; and for which we have the confession of themselves now in custody; who confess also they built their hopes upon the assurance they had of the Parliament's not agreeing to a Settlement: — whether these humors have not nourished themselves under your boughs, is the subject of my present discourse; and I think I shall say not amiss, if I affirm it to be so. [*His Highness looks animated!*] And I must say it again, That that which hath been their advantage, thus to raise disturbance, hath been by the loss of those golden opportunities which God had put into your hands for Settlement. Judge you whether these things were thus, or not, when you first sat down. I am sure things were not thus! There was a very great peace and sedateness throughout these Nations; and great expectations of a happy Settlement. Which I remembered to you at the beginning in my Speech; and hoped that you would have entered on your business as you found it. [*"Hum-m-m! We had a Constitution to make!"*]

"There was a Government [already] in the possession of the People, — I say a Government in the possession of the People, for many months. It hath now been exercised near Fifteen Months: and if it were needful that I should tell you *how* it came into their possession, and how willingly they received it; how all Law and Justice were distributed from it, in every respect, as to life, liberty and estate; how it was owned by God, as being the dispensation of His providence after Twelve Years' War; and sealed and witnessed unto by the People, — I should but repeat what I said in my last *Speech* unto you in this place: and therefore I forbear. When *you* were entered upon this Government, ravelling into it

You know I took no notice what you were doing — [*Nor will now, your Highness; let the Sentence drop!*] — If you had gone upon that foot of account, To have made such good and wholesome provisions for the Good of the People of these Nations [as were wanted]; for the settling of such matters in things of Religion as would have upheld and given countenance to a Godly Ministry, and yet [as] would have given a just liberty to godly men of different judgments, — [to] men of the same faith with them that you call the Orthodox Ministry in England, as it is well known the Independents are, and many under the form of Baptism, who are sound in the faith, and though they may perhaps be different in judgment in some lesser matters, yet as true Christians both looking for salvation only by faith in the blood of Christ, men professing the fear of God, and having recourse to the name of God as to a strong tower, — I say you might have had opportunity to have settled peace and quietness amongst all professing Godliness; and might have been instrumental, if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the Godly of all judgments from running one upon another; and by keeping them from being overrun by a Common Enemy, [have] rendered them and these Nations both secure, happy and well satisfied. [*And the Constitution? Hum-m-m!*]

"Are these things done; or any things towards them? Is there not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them unless they can press their finger upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there. To do this was no part of the Contest we had with the Common Adversary. For [indeed] Religion was not the thing at first contested for [at all]:[1] but God brought it to that issue at last; and gave it unto us by way of redundancy; and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us. And wherein consisted this more than In obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the Bishops to all species of Protestants to worship God according to their own light and consciences? For want of which many of our brethren forsook their native countries to seek their bread

[1] Power *of the Militia was the* point upon which the actual War began. *A statement not false; yet truer* in form than it is in essence.

from strangers, and to live in howling wildernesses [*Our poor brethren of New England!*]; and for which also many that remained here were imprisoned, and otherwise abused and made the scorn of the Nation. Those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labor for liberty, for a just liberty, that men might not be trampled upon for their consciences! Had not they [themselves] labored, but lately, under the weight of persecution? And was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands! — As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition; the contentious railers, evil-speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners; persons of loose conversation, — punishment from the Civil Magistrate ought to meet with these. Because, if they pretend conscience; yet walking disorderly and not according but contrary to the Gospel, and even to natural lights, — they are judged of all. And their sins being open, make them subjects of the Magistrate's sword, who ought not to bear it in vain. — The discipline of the Army *was* such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such practices as these. —

"And therefore how happy would England have been, and you and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such good accounts as these are, and to have discountenanced such practices as the other, and left men in disputable things free to their own consciences! Which was well provided for by the [Instrument of] Government; and liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil. Judge you, Whether the contesting for things that were provided for by this Government hath been profitable expense of time, for the good of these Nations! By means whereof you may see you have *wholly* elapsed your time, and done just nothing! — I will *say this to* you, in behalf of the Long Parliament: That, had

such an expedient as this Government been proposed to them; and could they have seen the Cause of God thus provided for; and been, by debates, enlightened in the grounds [of it], whereby the difficulties might have been cleared [to them], and the reason of the whole enforced, and the circumstances of time and persons, with the temper and disposition of the People, and affairs both abroad and at home when it was undertaken might have been well weighed [by them]: I think in my conscience, — well as they were thought to love their seats, — they would have proceeded in another manner than you have done! And *not* have exposed things to these difficulties and hazards they now are at; nor given occasion to leave the People so dissettled as they now are. Who, I dare say, in the soberest and most judicious part of them, did expect, not a questioning, but a doing of things in pursuance of the [Instrument of] Government. And if I be not misinformed, very many of you came up with this satisfaction; having had time enough to weigh and consider the same.

"And when I say 'such an expedient as this Government,' — wherein I dare assert there is a just Liberty to the People of God, and the just Rights of the People in these Nations provided for, — I can put the issue thereof upon the clearest reason; whatsoever any go about to suggest to the contrary. But this not being the time and place of such an averment [I forbear at present]. For satisfaction's sake herein, enough is said in a Book entituled '*A State of the Case of the Commonwealth*,' published in January, 1653.[1] And for myself, I desire not to keep my place in this Government an hour longer than I may preserve England in its just rights, and may protect the People of God in such a just Liberty of their Consciences as I have already mentioned. And therefore if this Parliament have judged things to be otherwise than as I have stated them, — it had been huge friendliness between persons who had such a reciprocation in so great concernments to the public, for *them* to have convinced me in what particulars therein my error lay!

[1] Read it he who wants satisfaction: "Printed by Thomas Newcomb, London, 1653-4;" — "*wrote with great spirit of language and subtilty of argument,*" *says the Parliamentary History* (xx. 419).

Of which I never yet had a word from you! But if, instead thereof, your time has been spent in setting up somewhat else, upon another bottom than this stands [upon], — it looks as if the laying grounds for a *quarrel* had rather been designed than to give the People *settlement*. If it be thus, it 's *well* your labors have not arrived to any maturity at all! [*Old Parliament looks agitated; — agitated, yet constant!*]

"This Government called you hither; the constitution thereof being limited so, — a Single Person and a Parliament. And this was thought most agreeable to the general sense of the Nation; — having had experience enough, by trial, of other conclusions; judging this most likely to avoid the extremes of Monarchy on the one hand, and of Democracy on the other; — and yet not to found *Dominium in Gratiâ* [either. — *Your Highness does not claim to be here as Kings do, By Grace, then? No!*] And if so, then certainly to make the Authority more than a mere notion, it was requisite that it should be as it is in this [Frame of] Government; which puts it upon a true and equal balance. It has been already submitted to the judicious, true and honest People of this Nation, Whether the balance be not equal? And what their judgment is, is visible, — by submission to it; by acting upon it; by restraining their Trustees from meddling with it. And it neither asks nor needs any better ratification! [*Hear!*] But when Trustees in Parliament shall, by experience, find any evil in any parts of this [Frame of] Government, [a question] referred by the Government itself to the consideration of the Protector and Parliament, — of which evil or evils Time itself will be the best discoverer: — how can it be reasonably imagined that a Person or Persons, coming in by election, and standing under such obligations, and so limited, and so necessitated by oath to govern for the People's good, and to make *their* love, under God, the best underpropping and only safe footing: — how can it, I say, be imagined that the present or succeeding Protectors will refuse to agree to alter any such thing in the Government as may be found to be for the good of the People? Or to recede from anything which he might be convinced casts the balance too much to the Single Person? And although

for the present, the keeping up and having in his power the Militia seems the hardest [condition], yet if the power of the Militia should be yielded up at such a time as this, when there is as much need of it to keep this Cause (now most evidently impugned by all Enemies), as there was to *get* it [for the sake of this Cause]: — what would become of us all! Or if it should not be equally placed in him and the Parliament, but yielded up *at any time,* — it determines his power either for doing the good he ought, or hindering Parliaments from perpetuating themselves; from imposing what Religion they please on the consciences of men, or what Government they please upon the Nation. Thereby subjecting us to dissettlement in every Parliament, and to the desperate consequences thereof. And if the Nation *shall* happen to fall into a blessed Peace, how easily and certainly will their charge be taken off, and their forces be disbanded! And then where will the danger be to have the Militia thus stated? — What if I should say: If there *be* a disproportion, or disequality as to the power, it is on the other hand! —

"And if this be so, Wherein have you had cause to quarrel? What demonstrations have you held forth to settle me to your opinion? I would you had made me so happy as to have let me known your grounds! I have made a free and ingenuous confession of my faith to *you.* And I could have wished it had been in your hearts to have agreed that some friendly and cordial debates might have been toward mutual conviction. Was there none amongst you to move such a thing? No fitness to listen to it? No desire of a right understanding? If it be not folly in me to listen to Town-talk, such things *have* been proposed; and rejected, with stiffness and severity, once and again. Was it not likely to have been more advantageous to the good of this Nation? I will say this to you for myself; and to that I have my conscience as a thousand witnesses, and I have my comfort and contentment in it; and I have the witness [too] of divers here, who I think truly [would] scorn to own me in a lie: That I would not have been averse to any alteration, of the good of which I might have *been convinced.* Although I could not have agreed to the

taking it off the foundation on which it stands; namely, the acceptance and consent of the People. [*"Our sanction not needed, then!"*]

"I will not presage what you have been about, or doing, in all this time. Nor do I love to make conjectures. But I must tell you this: That as I undertook this Government in the simplicity of my heart and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the Interest, — which in my conscience [I think] is dear to many of you; though it is not always understood what God in His wisdom may hide from us, as to Peace and Settlement: — so I can say that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honor or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to this undertaking. For if you had, upon the old Government,[1] offered me this one, this one thing, — I speak as thus advised, and before God; as having been to this day of this opinion; and this hath been my constant judgment, well known to many who hear me speak: — if [I say] this one thing had been inserted, this one thing, That the Government should have been placed in my Family hereditarily, I would have rejected it![2] And I could have done no other according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason; — though I cannot tell what God *will* do with me, nor with you, nor with the Nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us.

"This hath been my principle; and I liked it, when this Government came first to be proposed to me, That it puts us off that hereditary way. Well looking that God hath declared what Government He delivered to the Jews; and [that He] placed it upon such Persons as had been instrumental for the Conduct and Deliverance of His People. And considering that Promise in *Isaiah*, 'That God would give Rulers as at the first, and Judges as at the beginning,' I did not know but

[1] Means "the existing Instrument of Government" without modification of yours.

[2] *The matter in debate, running very high at this juncture, in the Parliament, was with regard to the Single Person's being hereditary. Hence partly the Protector's emphasis here.*

that God might [now] begin, — and though, at present, with a most unworthy person; yet, as to the future, it might be after this manner; and I thought this might usher it in! [*A noble thought, your Highness!*] I am speaking as to my judgment against making Government hereditary. To have men chosen, for their love to God, and to Truth and Justice; and not to have it hereditary. For as it is in the *Ecclesiastes:* 'Who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or a wise man?' Honest or not honest, whatever they be, they must come in, on that plan; because the Government is made a patrimony! And this I perhaps do declare with too much earnestness; as being my own concernment; — and know not what place it may have in your hearts, and in those of the Good People in the Nation. But however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainness.

"I have thus told you my thoughts; which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing He will not be mocked; and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I am supported in my speaking; — especially when I do not form or frame things without the compass of integrity and honesty; [so] that my own conscience gives me not the lie to what I say. And then in what I say, I can rejoice.

"Now to speak a word or two to you. Of that, I must profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you! I told you that I came with joy the first time; with some regret the second; yet now I speak with most regret of all! I look upon you as having among you many persons that I could lay down my life individually for. I could, through the grace of God, desire to lay down my life for you. So far am I from having an unkind or unchristian heart towards you in your particular capacities! I have this indeed as a work most incumbent upon me [this of speaking these things to you]. I consulted what might be my duty in such a day as this; casting up all considerations. I must confess, as I told you, that I did think occasionally, This Nation had suffered extremely in the respects mentioned; as also in the disappointment of their expec-

tations of that justice which was due to them by your sitting thus long. [Sitting thus long;] and what have you brought forth? I did not nor cannot comprehend what it is. I would be loath to call it a Fate; that were too paganish a word. But there has been Something in it that we had not in our expectations.

"I did think also, for myself, That I am like to meet with difficulties; and that this Nation will not, as it is fit it should not, be deluded with *pretexts* of Necessity in that great business of raising of Money. And were it not that I can make some dilemmas upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgment and actions, I should sink at the very prospect of my encounters. Some of them are general, some are more special. [*Hear the "dilemmas."*] Supposing this Cause or this Business must be carried on, it is either of God or of man. If it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger. [*Hear!*] If I had not had a hope fixed in me that this Cause and this Business was of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, He will bear it up. [*Yea!*] If it be of man, it will tumble; as everything that hath been of man since the world began hath done. And what are all our Histories, and other Traditions of Actions in former times, but God manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken, and tumbled down, and trampled upon, everything that He had not planted? [*Yes, your Highness; such is, was and forever will be, the History of Man, deeply as we poor Moderns have now forgotten it: and the Bible of every Nation is its Own History; if it have, or had, any real Bible!*] And as this is, so [let] the All-wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old Plotting and Contriving to bring things to this Issue, and that they are not the Births of Providence, — then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if He will do us good, — He is very able to bear us up! Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in His strength be able to encounter with them. And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties; and I never found *God failing* when I trusted in Him. I can laugh and sing, in *my heart*, when I speak of these things to you or elsewhere.

And though some may think it is an hard thing To raise Money without Parliamentary Authority upon this Nation; yet I have another argument to the Good People of this Nation, if they would be safe, and yet have no better principle: Whether they prefer the having of their will though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of Necessity? That will excuse me. But I should wrong my native country to suppose this.

"For I look at the People of these Nations as the blessing of the Lord: and they are a People blessed by God. They have been so; and they will be so, by reason of that immortal seed which hath been, and is, among them: those Regenerated Ones in the land, of several judgments; who are all the Flock of Christ, and lambs of Christ. [His,] though perhaps under many unruly passions, and troubles of spirit; whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others: yet they are not so to God; since to us He is a God of other patience; and He will own the least of Truth in the hearts of His People. And the People being the blessing of God, they will not be so angry but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms, when Necessity calls for Supplies. Had they not well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of Gospel Liberty.

"But if any man shall object, 'It is an easy thing to talk of Necessities when men create Necessities: would not the Lord Protector make himself great and his family great? Doth not he make these Necessities? And then he will come upon the People with his argument of Necessity!' —This were something hard indeed. But I have *not* yet known what it is to 'make Necessities,' whatsoever the thoughts or judgments of men are. And I say this, not only to this Assembly, but to the world, That the man liveth not who can come to me and charge me with having, in these Great Revolutions, 'made Necessities.' I challenge even all that fear God. And as God hath said, 'My glory I will not give unto another,' let men take heed and be twice advised how they call His Revolutions, the things of God, and His *working of things from one* period to another,—how, I say,

they call them Necessities of men's creation! For by so doing, they do vilify and lessen the works of God, and rob Him of His glory; which He hath said He will not give unto another, nor suffer to be taken from Him! We know what God did to Herod, when he was applauded and did not acknowledge God. And God knoweth what He will do with men, when they call His Revolutions human designs, and so detract from His glory. These issues and events have not been forecast; but [were] sudden Providences in things: whereby carnal and worldly men are enraged; and under and at which, many, and I fear some good men, have murmured and repined, because disappointed of their mistaken fancies. But still all these things have been the wise disposings of the Almighty; though instruments have had their passions and frailties. And I think it is an honor to God to acknowledge the Necessities to have been of God's imposing, when truly they have been so, as indeed they have. Let us take our sin in our actions to ourselves; it 's much more safe than to judge things so contingent, as if there were not a God that ruled the Earth!

"We know the Lord hath poured this Nation from vessel to vessel, till He poured it into your lap, when you came first together. I am confident that it came so into your hands; and was not judged by you to be from counterfeited or feigned Necessity, but by Divine Providence and Dispensation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I speak for God and not for men. I would have any man to come and tell of the Transactions that have been, and of those periods of time wherein God hath made these Revolutions; and find where he can fix a feigned Necessity! I could recite particulars, if either my strength would serve me to speak, or yours to hear. If you would consider[1] the great Hand of God in his great Dispensations, you would find that there is scarce a man who fell off, at any period of time when God had any work to do, who can give God or His work at this day a good word.

"'It was,' say some, 'the cunning of the Lord Protector,'— *I take it* to myself, — 'it was the craft of such a man, and his

[1] "if that you would revolve" in orig.

plot, that hath brought it about!' And, as they say in other countries, 'There are five or six cunning men in England that have skill; they do all these things.' Oh, what blasphemy is this! Because men that are without God in the world, and walk not with Him, know not what it is to pray or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the Spirit of God, — who speaks without a Written Word sometimes, yet according to it! God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners. Let him speak as He pleaseth. Hath He not given us liberty, nay is it not our duty, To go to the Law and the Testimony? And there we shall find that there *have* been impressions, in extraordinary cases, as well without the Written Word as with it. And therefore there is no difference in the thing thus asserted from truths generally received, — except we will exclude the Spirit; without whose concurrence all other teachings are ineffectual. [*Yea, your Highness; the true God's-Voice, Voice of the Eternal, is in the heart of every Man; there, wherever else it be.*] He doth speak to the hearts and consciences of men; and leadeth them to His Law and Testimony, and there [also] He speaks to them: and so gives them double teachings. According to that of Job: 'God speaketh once, yea twice;' and to that of David: 'God hath spoken once, yea twice have I heard this.' These men that live upon their *mumpsimus* and *sumpsimus* [*Bulstrode looks astonished*], their Masses and Service-Books, their dead and carnal worship, — no marvel if they be strangers to God, and to the works of God, and to spiritual dispensations. And because they say and believe thus, must we do so too? We, in this land, have been otherwise instructed; even by the Word, and Works, and Spirit of God.

"To say that men bring forth these things when God doth them, — judge you if God will bear this? I wish that every sober heart, though he hath had temptations upon him of deserting this Cause of God, yet may take heed how he provokes and falls into the hands of the Living God by such blasphemies as these! According to the Tenth of the *Hebrews*: 'If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sin.' [A terrible

word.] It was spoken to the Jews who, having professed Christ, apostatized from Him. What then? Nothing but a fearful 'falling into the hands of the Living God!' — They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and production of those mighty things God hath wrought in the midst of us; and [fancy] that they have not been the Revolutions of Christ Himself, 'upon whose shoulders the government is laid,' — they speak against God, and they fall under His hand without a Mediator. That is, if we deny the Spirit of Jesus Christ the glory of all His works in the world; by which He rules kingdoms, and doth administer, and is the rod of His strength, — we provoke the Mediator: and He may say: I will leave you to God, I will not intercede for you; let Him tear you to pieces! I will leave thee to fall into God's hands; thou deniest me my sovereignty and power committed to me; I will not intercede nor mediate for thee; thou fallest into the hands of the Living God! — Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for, howsoever you may say, 'This is cunning, and politic, and subtle,' — take heed again, I say, how you judge of His Revolutions as the product of men's inventions! — I may be thought to press too much upon this theme. But I pray God it may stick upon your hearts and mine. The worldly-minded man knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it; and thence his atheisms, and murmurings at instruments, yea repining at God Himself. And no wonder; considering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these thousand years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us! —

"There is another Necessity, which you have put upon us, and we have not sought. I appeal to God, Angels and Men, — if I shall [now] raise money according to the Article in the Government [whether I am not compelled to do it!]. Which [Government] had power to call you hither; and did; — and instead of seasonably providing for the Army, you have labored to overthrow the Government, and the Army is now upon Free-quarter! And you would never so much as let me hear a tittle *from* you concerning it. Where is the fault? Has it not been as if you had a purpose to put this extremity upon us

and the Nation? I hope, this was not in your minds. I am not willing to judge so: — but such is the state into which we are reduced. By the designs of some in the Army who are now in custody, it was designed to get as many of them as possible, — through discontent for want of money, the Army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other specious pretences, — to march for England out of Scotland; and, in discontent, to seize their General there [*General Monk*], a faithful and honest man, that so another [*Colonel Overton*] might head the Army. And all this opportunity taken from your delays. Whether will this be a thing of feigned Necessity? What could it signify, but 'The Army are in discontent already; and we will make them live upon stones; we will make them cast off their governors and discipline'? What can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle myself, and put the fault upon your backs. Whether it hath been for the good of England, whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other [*Building Constitutions*], and pretending liberty and many good words, — whether it has been as it should have been? I am confident you cannot think it has. The Nation will not think so. And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what the Cornish men nor the Lincolnshire men may think, or other Counties; but I believe they will all think *they are not safe*. A temporary suspension of 'caring for the greatest liberties and privileges' (if it were so, which is denied) would not have been of such damage as the not providing against Free-quarter hath run the Nation upon. And if it be my 'liberty' to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a journey, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my house is on fire! —

"I have troubled you with a long Speech; and I believe it may not have the same resentment[1] with all that it hath with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God; — and conclude with this: That I think myself bound, as in my duty to God, and to the People of these Nations for their safety and good in every respect, — I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these Nations, nor

[1] *Means* "sense excited by it."

for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer. And therefore I do declare unto you, That I do dissolve this Parliament."[1]

So ends the First Protectorate Parliament; suddenly, very unsuccessfully. A most poor hide-bound Pedant Parliament; which reckoned itself careful of the Liberties of England; and was careful only of the Sheepskin Formulas of these; very blind to the Realities of these! Regardless of the facts and clamorous necessities of the Present, this Parliament considered that its one duty was to tie up the hands of the Lord Protector well; to give him no supplies, no power; to make him and keep him the bound vassal and errand-man of this and succeeding Parliaments. This once well done, they thought all was done: — Oliver thought far otherwise. Their painful new-modelling and rebuilding of the Instrument of Government, with an eye to this sublime object, was pointing towards completion, little now but the key-stones to be let in: — when Oliver suddenly withdrew the centres! Constitutional arch and ashlar-stones, scaffolding, workmen, mortar-troughs and scaffold-poles sink in swift confusion; and disappear, regretted or remembered by no person, — not by this Editor for one.

By the arithmetical account of heads in England, the Lord Protector may surmise that he has lost his Enterprise. But by the real divine and human worth of thinking-souls in England, he still believes that he has it; by this, and by a higher mission too; — and "will take a little pleasure to lose his life" before he loses it! He is not here altogether to count heads, or to count costs, this Lord Protector; he is in the breach of battle; placed there, as he understands, by his Great Commander: whatsoever his difficulties be, he must fight them, cannot quit them; must fight there till he die. This is the law of his position, in the eye of God, and also of men. There is no return for him out of this Protectorship he has got into! Called to this post as I have been, placed in it as I am, "*To* quit it, is what I will be willing to be rolled into my grave, *and buried* with infamy, before I will consent unto!" —

[1] *Old Pamphlet*: reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 424-431.

PART IX.

THE MAJOR-GENERALS.

1655–1656.

CHRONOLOGICAL.

THE Plots and perils to the Commonwealth which my Lord Protector spoke of to his honorable Members, were not an imagination, but a very tragic reality. Under the shadow of this Constitutioning Parliament strange things had been ripening: without some other eye than the Parliament's, Constitution and Commonwealth in general had been, by this time, in a bad way! A universal rising of Royalists combined with Anabaptists is in a real state of progress. Dim meetings there have been of Royalist Gentlemen, on nocturnal moors, in this quarter and in that, "with cart-loads of arms,"—terrified at their own jingle, and rapidly dispersing again till the grand hour come. Anabaptist Levellers have had dim meetings, dim communications; will prefer Charles Stuart himself to the traitor Oliver, who has dared to attempt actual "governing" of men. Charles Stuart has come down to Middleburg, on the Dutch coast, to be in readiness; "Hyde is cocksure."[1] From the dreary old *Thurloes*, and rubbish-continents, of Spy Letters, Intercepted Letters, Letters of Intelligence; where, scattered at huge intervals, the History of England for those years still lies entombed, it is manifest enough what a winter and spring this was in England. A Protector left without supplies, obliged to cut his Parliament adrift, and front

[1] *Manning's Letter*, in *Thurloe*, iii. 384.

the matter alone; England, from end to end of it, ripe for an explosion; for a universal blazing up of all the heterogeneous combustibilities it had; the Sacred Majesty waiting at Middleburg, and Hyde cock-sure!

Nevertheless it came all to nothing;—there being a Protector in it. The Protector, in defect of Parliaments, issued his own Ordinance, the best he could, for payment of old rates and taxes; which, as the necessity was evident, and the sum fixed upon was low, rather lower than had been expected, the Country quietly complied with. Indispensable supply was obtained: and as for the Plots, the Protector had long had his eye on them, had long had his nooses round them;—the Protector strangled them everywhere at the moment suitable for him, and lodged the ringleaders of them in the Tower. Let us, as usual, try to extricate a few small elucidative facts from the hideous old Pamphletary Imbroglio, where facts and figments, ten thousand facts of no importance to one fact of some, lie mingled, like the living with the dead, in noisome darkness all of them: once extricated, they may assist the reader's fancy a little. Of Oliver's own in reference to this period, too characteristic a period to be omitted, there is little or nothing left us: a few detached Letters, hardly two of them very significant of Oliver; which cannot avail us much, but shall be inserted at their due places.

February 12th, 1654–5. News came this afternoon that Major John Wildman, chief of the *frantic* Anabaptist Party, upon whom the Authorities have had their eye of late, has been seized at Exton, near Marlborough, in Wilts; "by a party of Major Butler's horse." In his furnished lodging; "in a room up-stairs;" his door stood open: stepping softly up, the troopers found him leaning on his elbow, dictating to his clerk "A Declaration of the free and well-affected People of England now in Arms [or shortly to be in Arms] against the Tyrant Oliver Cromwell:"[1] a forcible piece, which can still be read, but only as a fragment, the zealous Major never having had occasion to finish it. They carried him to Chepstow

[1] Whitlocke, p. 599; Cromwelliana, p. 151.

stle; locked him up there: and the free and well-affected
ople of England never got to Arms against the Tyrant, but
re only in hopes of getting. Wildman was in the last Par-
nent; but could not sign the Recognition; went away in
tuous indignation, to act against the Tyrant by stratagem
iceforth. He has been the centre of an extensive world of
ts this winter, as his wont from of old was: the mainspring
Royalist Anabaptistry, what we call the *frantic* form of
ublicanism, which hopes to attain its object by assisting
1 Charles Stuart against the Tyrant Oliver. A stirring
; very flamy and very fuliginous: perhaps, since Freeborn
n was sealed up in Jersey, the noisiest man in England.
turning of the key on him in Chepstow will be a deliver-
to us henceforth.

'e take his capture as the termination of the Anabaptist-
alist department of the Insurrection. Thurloe has now
ll the threads of this Wildman business in his hand: the
leaders are laid in prison, Harrison, Lord Grey of Groby
various others; kept there out of harm's way; dealt with
rigorous, yet gentle, and what we must call great and man-
nanner. It is remarked of Oliver that none of this Party
ever brought to trial: his hope and wish was always that
might yet be reconciled to him. Colonel Sexby, once
tain Sexby, Trooper Sexby, our old acquaintance, one of
lman's people, — has escaped on this occasion: better for
self had he been captured now, and saved from still mad-
courses he got into.

unday, March 11th, 1654–5, in the City of Salisbury, about
night, there occurs a thing worth noting. What may be
d the general outcome of the Royalist department of the
rrection. This too over England generally has, in all quar-
where it showed itself, found some "Major Butler" with
"troops of horse" to seize it, to trample it out, and lay the
leaders under lock and key. Hardly anywhere could it get
length of fighting: too happy if it could but gallop and
. In Yorkshire, there was some appearance, and a few
s fired; but to no effect: poor Sir Henry Slingsby, and a
? *Malevrier, and others* were laid hold of here; of whom

the Lord escaped by stratagem; and poor Sir Henry lies prisoner in Hull, — where it will well behoove him to keep quiet if he can! But on the Sunday night above mentioned, peaceful Salisbury is awakened from its slumbers by a real advent of Cavaliers. Sir Joseph Wagstaff, "a jolly knight" of those parts, once a Royalist Colonel; he with Squire or Colonel Penruddock, "a gentleman of fair fortune," Squire or Major Grove, also of some fortune, and about two hundred others, did actually rendezvous in arms about the big Steeple that Sunday night, and ring a loud alarm in those parts.

It was Assize time; the Judges had arrived the day before. Wagstaff seizes the Judges in their beds, seizes the High Sheriff, and otherwise makes night hideous; — proposes on the morrow to hang the Judges, as a useful warning, which Mr. Hyde thinks it would have been; but is overruled by Penruddock and the rest. He orders the High Sheriff to proclaim King Charles; High Sheriff will not, not though you hang him; Town-crier will not, not even he though you hang him. The Insurrection does not speed in Salisbury, it would seem. The Insurrection quits Salisbury on Monday night hearing that troopers are on foot; marches with all speed towards Cornwall, hoping for better luck there. Marches; — but Captain Unton Crook, whom we once saw before, marches also in the rear of it; marches swiftly, fiercely; overtakes it at South Molton in Devonshire "on Wednesday about ten at night," and there in few minutes puts an end to it. "They fired out of windows on us," but could make nothing of it. We took Penruddock, Grove, and long lists of others: Wagstaff unluckily escaped.[1] The unfortunate men were tried, at Exeter, by a regular assize and jury; were found guilty, some of High Treason, some of "Horse-stealing:" Penruddock and Grove, stanch Royalists both and gallant men, were beheaded;

[1] Crook's Letter, "South Molton, 15th March, 1654, two or three in the morning" (King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 637, § 15). *State Trials*, v. 767 et seqq.; Whitlocke, p. 601; Thurloe, iii 365, 384, 391, 445; *Cromwelliana*, pp. 152, 153. — Official Letters in reference to this Plot, Appendix, No. 28.

several were hanged; a great many "sent to Barbadoes;" — and this Royalist conflagration too, which should have blazed all over England, is entirely damped out, having amounted to smoke merely, whereby many eyes are bleared! Indeed so prompt and complete is the extinction, thankless people begin to say there had never been anything considerable to extinguish. Had they stood in the middle of it, — had they seen the nocturnal rendezvous at Marston Moor, seen what Shrewsbury, what Rufford Abbey, what North Wales in general, would have grown to on the morrow, — in that case, thinks the Lord Protector not without some indignation, they had known![1] Wagstaff has escaped, and Wilmot Earl of Rochester so called; right glad to be beyond seas again; and will look twice at an Insurrection before they embark in it in time coming.

A terrible Protector this; no getting of him overset! He has the ringleaders all in his hand, in prison or still at large; — as they love their estates and their life, let them be quiet. He can take your estate: — is there not proof enough to take your head, if he pleases? He dislikes shedding blood; but is very apt "to *barbadoes*" an unruly man, — has sent and sends us by hundreds to Barbadoes, so that we have made an active verb of it: "barbadoes you."[2] Safest to let this Protector alone! Charles Stuart withdraws from Middleburg into the interior obscurities; and Mr. Hyde will not be so cock-sure another time. Mr. Hyde, much pondering how his secret could have been let out, finds that it is an underling of his, one Mr. Manning, a gentleman by birth, "fond of fine clothes," and in very straitened circumstances at present, who has been playing the traitor. Indisputably a traitor: wherefore the King in Council has him doomed to death; has him shot, in winter following, "in the Duke of Neuburg's territory."[3] Diligent Thurloe finds others to take his place.

May 28th, 1655. Desborow, who commands the Regular Troops in that insurrectionary Southwest region, is, by Com-

[1] Postea, Speech V.

[2] Intercepted Letters, Thurloe, iii.

[3] *Clarendon, iii. 752; Whitlocke*, p. 618 (Dec. 1655); Ludlow, ii. 606.

mission bearing date this day, appointed *Major-General* of the Militia-forces likewise, and of all manner of civic and military forces at the disposal of the Commonwealth in those parts. Major-General over six counties specified in this Document; with power somewhat enlarged, and not easy to specify, —power, in fact, to look after the peace of the Commonwealth there, and do what the Council of State shall order him.[1] He coerces Royalists; questions, commits to custody suspected persons; keeps down disturbance by such methods as, on the spot, he finds wisest. A scheme found to answer well. The beginning of a universal Scheme of MAJOR-GENERALS, which develops itself into full maturity in the autumn of this year; the Lord Protector and his Council of State having well considered it in the interim, and found it the feasiblest; if not *good*, yet best.

By this Scheme, which we may as well describe here as afterwards, All England is divided into Districts; Ten Districts, a Major-General for each; let him be a man most carefully chosen, a man of real wisdom, valor and veracity, a man fearing God and hating covetousness; for his powers are great. He looks after the Good of the Commonwealth, spiritual and temporal, as he finds wisest. Ejects, or aids in ejecting, scandalous ministers; summons disaffected, suspected persons before him; demands an account of them; sends them to prison, failing an account that satisfies him; —and there is no appeal except to the Protector in Council. His force is the Militia of his Counties; horse and foot, levied and kept in readiness for the occasion; especially troops of horse. Involving, of course, new expense; —which we decide that the Plotting Royalists, who occasion it, shall pay. On all Royalist disaffected Persons the Major-General therefore, as his first duty, is to lay an *Income-tax of Ten per cent;* let them pay it quietly, or it may be worse for them. They pay it very quietly. Strange as it may seem, the Country submits very quietly to this arrangement;—the Major-Generals being men carefully chosen. "It is an arbitrary Government!" murmur many. Yes; arbitrary, but beneficial. These are powers

[1] Thurloe, iii. 486.

unknown to the English Constitution, I believe; but they are very necessary for the Puritan English Nation at this time. With men of real wisdom, who do fear God and hate covetousness, when you can find such men, you may to some purpose intrust considerable powers!

It is in this way that Oliver Protector coerces the unruly elements of England; says to them: "Peace, ye! With the aid of Parliament and venerable Parchment, if so may be; without it, if so may not be, — I, called hither by a very good Authority, will hold you down. Quiet shall you, for your part, keep yourselves; or be 'barbadoesed,' and worse. Mark it; not while I live shall you have dominion, you nor the Master of you!" — Cock-matches, Horse-races and other loose assemblages are, for limited times, forbidden; over England generally, or in Districts where it may be thought somewhat is a-brewing. Without cock-fighting we can do; but not without Peace, and the absence of Charles Stuart and his Copartneries. It is a Government of some arbitrariness.

And yet singular, observes my learned friend, how popular it seems to grow. These considerable infringements of the constitutional fabric, prohibition of cock-fights, amercings of Royalists, taxing without consent in Parliament, seem not to awaken the indignation of England; rather almost the gratitude and confidence of England. Next year, we have "Letters of great appearances of the Country at the Assizes; and how the Gentlemen of the greatest quality served on Grand Juries; which is fit to be observed."[1]

We mention, but cannot dwell upon it, another trait belonging to those Spring Months of 1655: the quarrel my Lord Protector had in regard to his Ordinance for the Reform of Chancery. Ordinance passed merely by the Protector in Council; never confirmed by any Parliament; which nevertheless he insists upon having obeyed. How our learned Bulstrode, learned Widdrington, two of the Keepers of the Great Seal, durst not obey; and Lisle the other Keeper durst; — and Old-Speaker Lenthall, Master of the Rolls, "would be

[1] *Whitlocke*, p. 624 (April, 1656).

hanged at the Rolls Gate before he would obey." What profound consults there were among us; buzz in the Profession, in the Public generally. And then how Oliver Protector, with delicate patient bridle-hand and yet with resolute spur, made us all obey, or else go out of that, — which latter step Bulstrode and Widdrington, with a sublime conscientious feeling, preferred to take, the big heart saying to itself, "I have lost a thousand pounds a year!" And Lenthall, for all his bragging, was not hanged at the Rolls Gate; but kept his skin whole, and his salary whole, and did as he was bidden. The buzz in the Profession, notwithstanding much abatement of fees, had to compose itself again.[1] — Bulstrode adds, some two months hence, "The Protector being good-natured, and sensible of his harsh proceeding against Whitlocke and Widdrington," made them Commissioners of the Treasury, which was a kind of compensation. There, with Montague and Sydenham, they had a moderately good time of it; but saw, not without a sigh, the Great Seal remain with Lisle who durst obey, and for colleague to him a certain well-known Nathaniel Fiennes, a shrewd man, Lord Say and Sele's son, — who knew nothing of that business, says Bulstrode, nay Lisle himself knew nothing of it till he learned it from *us*.[2] Console thyself, big heart. How seldom is sublime virtue rewarded in this world!

June 3d, 1655. This day come sad news out of Piedmont; confirmation of bad rumors there had been, which deeply affects all pious English hearts, and the Protector's most of all. It appears the Duke of Savoy had, not long since, decided on having certain poor Protestant subjects of his converted at last to the Catholic Religion. Poor Protestant people, who dwell in the obscure valleys "of Lucerna, of Perosa and St. Martin," among the feeders of the Po, in the Savoy Alps: they are thought to be descendants of the old Waldenses; a pious inoffensive people: dear to the hearts and imaginations of all Protestant men. These, it would appear, the Duke of Savoy, in the past year, undertook to himself to *get converted*; for which object he sent friars to preach among

[1] Whitlocke, pp. 602–608. [2] Ibid. p. 608.

them. The friars could convert nobody; one of the friars, on the contrary, was found assassinated, — signal to the rest that they had better take themselves away. The Duke thereupon sent other missionaries: six regiments of Catholic soldiers; and an order to the People of the Valleys either to be converted straightway, or quit the country at once. They could not be converted all at once: neither could they quit the country well; the month was December; among the Alps; and it was their home for immemorial years! Six regiments, however, say they must; six Catholic regiments; — and three of them are Irish, made of the banished *Kurisees* we knew long since; whose humor, on such an occasion, we can guess at! It is admitted they behaved "with little ceremony;" it is not to be denied they behaved with much bluster and violence: ferocities, atrocities, to the conceivable amount, still stand in authentic black-on-white against them. The Protestants of the Valleys were violently driven out of house and home, not without slaughters and tortures by the road; — had to seek shelter in French Dauphiné or where they could; and, in mute or spoken supplication, appeal to all generous hearts of men. The saddest confirmation of the actual banishment, the actual violences done, arrives at Whitehall this day, 3d June, 1655.[1]

Pity is perennial: "Ye have *compassion* on one another," — is it not notable, beautiful? In our days too, there are Polish Balls and such like: but the pity of the Lord Protector and Puritan England for these poor Protestants among the Alps is not to be measured by ours. The Lord Protector is melted into tears, and roused into sacred fire. This day the French Treaty, not unimportant to him, was to be signed: this day he refuses to sign it till the King and Cardinal undertake to assist him in getting right done in those poor Valleys.[2] He sends the poor exiles £2,000 from his own purse; appoints a Day of Humiliation and a general Collection over England for that object; — has, in short, decided that he will bring help to these poor men; that England and he will see them helped

[1] Letter of the French Ambassador (in Thurloe, iii. 470).

[2] *Thurloe, ubi suprà.*

and righted. How Envoys were sent; how blind Milton [illegible]on wrote Letters to all Protestant States, calling on them for [illegible]or co-operation; how the French Cardinal was shy to meddle [illegible]e, and yet had to meddle, and compel the Duke of Savoy [illegible]y, much astonished at the business, to do justice and *not* wha[illegible]at he liked with his own: all this, recorded in the unreada[illegible]la-blest stagnant deluges of old Official Correspondence,[1] is ver[illegible]y certain, and ought to be fished therefrom and made mor[illegible]re apparent.

In all which, as we can well believe, it was felt that th[illegible]he Lord Protector had been the Captain of England, and ha[illegible]d truly expressed the heart and done the will of England; — [illegible] in this, as in some other things. Milton's Sonnet and Six Lat[illegible]in Letters are still readable; the Protector's Act otherwise [illegible]re-mains mute hitherto. Small damage to the Protector, if [illegible]no other suffer thereby! Let it stand here as a symbol to [illegible] us of his Foreign Policy in general; which had this one obje[illegible]ct, testified in all manner of negotiations and endeavors, notic[illegible]ed by us and not noticed, To make England Queen of the Prot[illegible]es-tant world; her, if there were no worthier Queen. To un[illegible]ite the Protestant world of struggling Light against the Pap[illegible]ist world of potent Darkness. To stand upon God's Gospel, [illegible]as the actual intrinsic Fact of this Practical Earth; and defy [illegible]all potency of Devil's Gospels on the strength of that. Where[illegible]in, again, Puritan England felt gradually that this Oliver *was* [illegible]ner Captain; and in heart could not but say, Long life to him [illegible] — as we do now.

Let us note one other small private trait of Oliver in th[illegible]ese months; and then hasten to the few Letters we have. [illegible]ull Bulstrode has jotted down: "The Protector feasted the Com-missioners for Approbation of Ministers."[2] Means the Com-mission of Triers;[3] whom he has to dinner with him *in* Whitehall. Old Sir Francis, Dr. Owen and the rest. "*He* sat at table with them; and was cheerful and familiar *in* their company:" Hope you are getting on, my friends: how

[1] Thurloe (much of vol. iii.); Vaughan's *Protectorate*, &c.

[2] Whitlocke, April, 1655.

[3] Antea, p. 386.

this is, and how that is? "By such kind of little caresses," adds Bulstrode, "he gained much upon many persons." Me, as a piece of nearly matchless law-learning and general wisdom, I doubt he never sufficiently respected; though he knew my fat qualities too, and was willing to use and recognize them! —

LETTERS CXCVIII.–CCIII.

Six Letters of somewhat miscellaneous character; which we must take in mass, and with no word of Commentary that can be spared. Straggling accidental light-beams, accidentally preserved to us, and still transiently illuminating this feature or that of the Protector and his business, — let them be welcome in the darkness for what they are.

LETTER CXCVIII.

Besides the great Sea-Armament that sailed from Portsmouth last December, and went Westward, with sealed orders, which men begin to guess were for the Spanish West Indies, — the Protector had another Fleet fitted out under Blake, already famous as a Sea-General; which has been in the Mediterranean during these late months; exacting reparation for damages, old or recent, done to the English Nation or to individuals of it, by the Duke of Florence or by others; keeping an eye on Spain too, and its Plate Fleets, apparently with still ulterior objects.

The Duke of Florence has handsomely done justice; the Dey of Tunis was not so well advised, and has repented of it. There are Letters, dated March last, though they do not come till June: "Letters that General Blake demanding at Tunis reparation for the losses of the English from Turkish Pirates, the Dey *answered him* with scorn, and bade him behold his

Castles." Blake did behold them; "sailed into the Harbor within musket-shot of them; and though the shore was planted with great guns, he set upon the Turkish ships, fired nine of them," and brought the Dey to reason, we apprehend.[1]

"*To General Blake* [*at Sea*].

"WHITEHALL, 13th June, 1655.

"SIR, — I have received yours of the 25th of March, which gives account of the late Transactions between yourself and the Governors of Tunis, concerning the losses which the English have sustained by the piracies of that place; and [of] the success it pleased God to give in the attempt you made upon their shipping, after their positive refusal to give you satisfaction upon your just demands. And as we have great cause to acknowledge the good hand of God towards us in this Action, who, in all the circumstances thereof, as they have been represented by you, was pleased to appear very signally with you; so I think myself obliged to take notice of your courage and good conduct therein; and do esteem that you have done therein a very considerable service to this Commonwealth.

"I hope you have received the former Despatches which were sent unto you by the way of Legorne, for your coming into Cadiz Bay with the Fleet; as also those which were sent by a Ketch immediately from hence; whereby you had also notice of three months' provisions then preparing to be sent, — which have since been sent away, under convoy of the Frigates the *Centurion* and *Dragon;* and [I] hope they are safely arrived with you, they sailing from hence about the 28th of April.

"With this come farther Instructions concerning your disposing of the Fleet for the future; whereunto we do refer you. Besides which, we, having taken into consideration the present Design we have in the West Indies, have judged it necessary, That not only the King of Spain's Fleets coming from thence be intercepted (which as well your former

[1] Whitlocke, p. 608 (8th June, 1655).

Instructions as those now sent unto you require and authorize you to do), but that we endeavor also, as much as in us lies, to hinder him from sending any relief or assistance thither. You are therefore, during your abode with the Fleet in those seas, to inform yourself, by the best means you can, concerning the going of the King of Spain's Fleet for the West Indies; and shall, according to such information as you can gain, use your best endeavors to intercept at sea, and fight with and take them, or otherwise to fire and sink them; as also any other of his ships which you shall understand to be bound for the West Indies with provisions of War, for the aid and assistance of his subjects there; carrying yourself towards other of his ships and people as you are directed by your general Instructions. [I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.]"[1]

The Sea-Armament *was* for the West Indies, then: good news of it were welcome!

Here is a short Letter of Blake's to the Protector, dated just the day before; in cipher;—which the reader, having never perhaps seen another Letter of Blake's, will not be displeased with. Unimportant; but bringing the old Seas, with their Puritan Sea-kings, with their "Plate Fleets," and vanished populations and traffics, bodily before us for moments.

"GEORGE, 12th June, 1655.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—The secret Instructions sent by your Highness, referring me to a former Instruction, touching the Silver Fleet of Spain coming from America, I have received; and shall carefully observe the same. We had information at Cadiz that the Fleet was expected about a month or five weeks hence. We are now off Cape Mary's; intending to spread with our Fleet what we can, and to range this sea, according to the wind and the information we can get; plying likewise over towards Cape Sprat, it being their

[1] Thurloe, iii. 547. (Same day, Letter to Poet Waller: Appendix, No. 28, § 7.)

most likely and usual course. They of Cadiz are very distrustful of us; and there being four Galleons designed for the Mediterranean, and six for New Spain, it is doubtful how they may be employed.

"We shall use our best endeavors to put the Instructions in execution, as God shall afford an opportunity; desiring your Highness to rest assured of our diligence, and of the integrity of

"Your most humble and faithful servant,

"ROBERT BLAKE."

June 13th is Wednesday. On the morrow is universal Fast-Day, Humiliation and Prayer, and public Collection of Money for the Protestants of Piedmont. A day of much pious emotion in England; and of liberal contribution, which continued on the following days. "Clerks come to every man's house," says a disaffected witness; "come with their papers, and you are forced to contribute." The exact amount realized I never could very authentically learn. The Dutch Ambassador says £100,000. The disaffected witness says, "London City itself gave half a million,"—or seemed as it would give. "The Ministers played their part to the full."—The Ministers and the People and their Ruler. No French Treaty signed or signable till this thing be managed. At length the French were obliged to manage it; 9th September of this same year the thing was got managed;[1] and by and by was got improved and still better managed, the Protector continuing all his days to watch over it, and over other similar things as they occurred, and to insist on seeing justice done respecting them.

LETTER CXCIX.

THE scheme of Major-Generals for England is not yet come to maturity; but it is coming: new occasional arrests and *barbadoes*ings continue, as the threads of old Plots are traced

[1] Thurloe, iii. 541. [2] See Thurloe, iii. 549, 623, 745, &c.

farther and farther. Monk keeps Scotland quiet; the hydra is for the present well under foot.

Meanwhile Henry Cromwell is despatched for Ireland, to see with his own eyes how matters stand there. A reverend godly Mr. Brewster, hardly known to us otherwise, is also proceeding thither; with whom the Lord Protector thinks good to salute his Son-in-law Fleetwood, the Lord Deputy, Ireton's successor in Ireland. Henry Cromwell was there once before, on a somewhat similar mission, and acquitted himself well.[1] His title, this second time, is Major-General of the Army in Ireland. He is to command the forces in Ireland; one easily believes farther, he is to observe well and report faithfully how affairs are; and do his best to assist in rectifying them. Lord Deputy Fleetwood is by some thought to be of too lax temper for his place: he, with his Ludlows, Axtels and discontented Republicans, not to speak of other businesses, would need energy, if he have it not. Rumor has even risen that Henry Cromwell is now sent to supersede him; which, however, the Protector expressly contradicts.

The rumor nevertheless proved, if not true, yet prophetic of the truth. Henry Cromwell acquitted himself well this second time also; being, as we judge, a man of real insight, veracity and resolution; very fit for such a service. Many of his Letters, all creditable to him, are in *Thurloe:* "Petitions" from certain Irish parties come likewise to view there, That *he* might be appointed Deputy; which Petitions are, for the present, carefully "suppressed," yet have in the end to be complied with; — they and the nature of the case, we suppose, require compliance. Some fifteen months hence, Henry is appointed Lord Deputy;[2] Fleetwood, in some handsome way, recalled. In which situation Henry continues till the end of the Protectorate, making really an honorable figure; and then, the scene having altogether changed, retires from it into total obscurity, still in a very manful, simple and noble way.[3]

[1] March, 1653–4 (Thurloe, ii. 149).

[2] 21st November, 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 632).

[3] His *Letter to Clarendon, in Thurloe*, i. 763; see also Tanner MSS. li. 71, *a prior Letter to Speaker Lenthall.*

. "My dear Biddy," in this Letter, is Bridget Fleetwood, whom we once saw as Bridget Ireton;[1] who, for her religious and other worth, is "a joy to my heart." Of "Mr. Brewster," and the other reverend persons, Spiritual Fathers, held in such regard by the Lord Protector as is due to Spiritual Fatherhood, and pious nobleness of Intellect under whatever guise, I can say nothing; they are Spiritual Great-*grand*-fathers of ours, and we have had to forget them! Some slight notices of Brewster, who I think was a Norfolk man, and more of Cradock, who was Welsh, — zealous Preachers both, — are in the *Milton State-Papers:*[2] they prove the fervent zeal, faith and fearlessness of these worthies; — not necessary to extract in this place. Cradock writes to Cromwell in 1652 that his heart overflows with prayers and praise to God for sending such a man; that he has often stept aside to pray for him, in some thicket or ditch by the wayside, while travelling along, and thinking of him; — which Dryasdust Nicols, the Editor of these *Milton State Papers*, considers a very ludicrous proceeding. Godly "Mr. Tillinghurst," so noble a phenomenon to Oliver and Fleetwood, is to us fallen altogether silent: — seemingly some godly Preacher, of very modest nature; who, in his old days, being brought once before the Lord Protector, cried it was a "shame" to trouble any Lord Protector, or Sovereign Person, with the like of him! The venerable hoary man. And godly Mr. Troughton, or "Throughton," too, was there. O Tillinghurst, O Troughton, how much lies buried![3]

[1] Vol. xvii. p. 247. [2] pp. 85, 158, &c.

[3] Buried but indisputable traces of this Tillinghurst, certain authentic, still legible entries concerning him, in one of which Brewster too is named, have been detected by a friendly eye in the Record-Book of the Independent Church at Great Yarmouth; where Tillinghurst, it clearly enough appears, was Minister from 1651 to 1654, and much followed and valued as a Preacher and Spiritual Guide in those parts. Brewster, likewise an Independent, was of Alby in the same neighborhood. — MS. Excerpts penes me (*Note to Third Edition*).

[*To the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland.*]

"[WHITEHALL,] 22d June, 1655.

"DEAR CHARLES, — I write not often: at once I desire thee to know I most dearly love thee; and indeed my heart is plain to thee as thy heart can well desire: let nothing shake thee in this. The wretched jealousies that are amongst us, and the spirit of calumny turn all into gall and wormwood. My heart is for the People of God: that the Lord knows, and will in due time manifest; yet thence are my wounds; — which though it grieves me, yet through the grace of God doth not discourage me totally. Many good men are repining at everything; though indeed very many good [are] well satisfied, and satisfying daily. The will of the Lord will bring forth good in due time.

"It 's reported that you are to be sent for, and Harry to be Deputy; which truly never entered into my heart. The Lord knows, my desire was for him and his Brother to have lived private lives in the country: and Harry knows this very well, and how difficultly I was persuaded to give him his commission for his present place. This I say as from a simple and sincere heart. The noise of my being crowned &c. are similar[1] malicious figments.

"Use this Bearer, Mr. Brewster, kindly. Let him be near you: indeed he is a very able holy man; trust me you will find him so. He was a bosom-friend of Mr. Tillinghurst; ask him of him; you will thereby know Mr. Tillinghurst's spirit. This Gentleman brought him to me a little before he died, and Mr. Cradock; — Mr. Throughton, a godly minister being by, with [Mr. Tillinghurst] himself, who cried 'Shame!'

"Dear Charles, my dear love to thee; [and] to my dear Biddy, who is a joy to my heart, for what I hear of the Lord in her. Bid her be cheerful, and rejoice in the Lord once and again: if she knows the Covenant,[2] she cannot but do [so].

[1] "like" in orig.

[2] Covenant of Grace; much expounded, and insisted on, by Dr. Owen, among others; *and ever a most fundamental point of God's Arrangement, according to the theory of Oliver.*

For that Transaction is without *her;* sure and steadfast, between the Father and the Mediator in His blood: therefore, leaning upon the Son, or looking to Him, thirsting after Him, and embracing Him, we are His Seed; — and the Covenant is sure to all the Seed. The Compact is for the Seed: God is bound in faithfulness to Christ, and in Him to us: the Covenant is without *us;* a Transaction between God and Christ.[1] Look up to *it.* God engageth in it to pardon us; to write His Law in our heart; to plant His fear [so] that we shall never depart from Him. We, under all our sins and infirmities, can daily offer a perfect Christ; and thus we have peace and safety, and apprehension of love, from a Father in Covenant, — who cannot deny Himself. And truly in this is all my salvation; and this helps me to bear my great burdens.

"If you have a mind to come over with your dear Wife &c., take the best opportunity for the good of the Public and your own convenience. The Lord bless you all. Pray for me, that the Lord would direct, and keep me His servant. I bless the Lord I am not my own; — but my condition to flesh and blood is very hard. Pray for me; I do for you all. Commend me to all friends. I rest,

"Your loving father,

"OLIVER P."[2]

Courage, my brave Oliver! Thou hast but some three years more of it, and then the coils and puddles of this Earth, and of its poor unthankful doggery of a population, are all behind thee; and Carrion Heath, and Chancellor Hyde, and Charles Stuart the Christian King, can work their will; for thou hast done with it, thou art above it in the serene azure forevermore!

Fleetwood, I observe, did come over: in January next we find the "Lord Deputy" busy here in London with Bulstrode, and others of the Treasury, on high matters of State.[3] He did

[1] The reader who discerns no spiritual meaning in all this, shall try it *again, if I may* advise him.

[2] *Thurloe*, iii. 572.

[3] Whitlocke, p. 618 (7th Jan. 1655-6).

ot return to Ireland; got into Major-Generalings, into matters f State, on this side the Channel; and so ended his Deputy-hip;—dropping without violence, like fruit fully ripe; the anagement of Ireland having gradually all shifted into Henry Cromwell's hand in the interim.

LETTER CC.

HERE, fluttering loose on the dim confines of Limbo and the Night-realm, is a small Note of Oliver's, issuing one knows not whence, but recognizable as his, which we must snatch and save. A private and thrice-private Note, for Secretary Thurloe; curiously disclosing to us, as one or two other traits elsewhere do, that, with all his natural courtesies, noble simplicities and affabilities, this Lord Protector knew on occasion the word-of-command too, and what the meaning of a Lord Protector, King, or Chief Magistrate in the Commonwealth of England was.

"Margery Beacham," Wife of William Beacham, Mariner, lives, the somnolent Editors do not apprise us where,—probably in London or some of the Out Ports; certainly in considerable indigence at present. Her poor Husband, in the course of "many services to the Commonwealth by sea and land," has quite lost the use of his right arm; has a poor "Pension of Forty shillings allowed him from Chatham;" has Margery, and one poor Boy Randolph, "tractable to learn," but who can get no schooling out of such an income. Wherefore, as seems but reasonable, Margery petitions his Highness that the said Randolph might be admitted "a Scholar of Sutton's Hospital, commonly called the Charterhouse," in London.[1]

His Highness, who knows the services of William Beacham, and even "a secret service" of his not mentioned in the Petition or Certificates, straightway decides that the Boy Beacham is clearly a case for Sutton's Bounty, and that the Commis-

[1] *Her Petition printed*, without date, in Scatcherd, &c. ubi infra.

sioners of the same shall give it him. But now it seems the Chief Commissioner, whose name in this Note stands —— —— *Blank Blank*, is not so prompt in the thing; will consider it, will &c. Consider it? His Highness dockets the Petition, "We *refer* this to the Commissioners for Sutton's Hospital: 28th July, 1655;" and instructs Thurloe to inform Blank Blank that he had much better not consider it, but do it! Which there is no doubt Blank Blank now saw at once to be the real method of the business.

[*To Mr. Secretary Thurloe.*]

"[WHITEHALL,] 28th July, 1655.

"You receive from me, this 28th instant, a Petition from Margery Beacham, desiring the admission of her Son into the Charterhouse; whose Husband[1] was employed one day in an important secret service, which he did effectually, to our great benefit and the Commonwealth's.

"I have wrote under it a common Reference to the Commissioners; but I mean a great deal more: That it shall be done, without their debate or consideration of the matter. And so do you privately hint to —— ——. I have not the particular shining bauble for crowds to gaze at or kneel to, but — To be short, I know how to deny Petitions; and, whatever I think proper, for outward form, to 'refer' to any Officer or Office, I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be looked upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing *done*.

"Thy true friend,

"OLIVER P."[2]

[1] "who" in the hasty original, as if Margery's self or Son were meant.

[2] Scatcherd's *History of Morley* (Leeds, 1830), p. 332. Printed there, and in *Annual Register* (for 1758, p. 268), and elsewhere; without commentary, or indication Whence or How, — with several impertinent interpolations which are excluded here. In the *Annual Register* vague reference is made to a Book called *Collection of Letters, &c.* "compiled by Leonard Howard, D.D.," who seems to be the first publisher of this Note; author, I suppose, of the impertinent interpolations, which vary in different copies, but being exactly *indicated* in all, are easily thrown out again as here. In Howard's Book (a *disorganic* Quarto, London, 1753; one volume published, a second promised

LETTER CCI.

We fear there is little chance of the Plate Fleet this year; bad rumors come from the West Indies too, of our grand Armament and Expedition thither. The Puritan Sea-king meanwhile keeps the waters; watches the coasts of Spain;—which, however, are growing formidable at present.

The "Person bound for Lisbon" is Mr. Meadows, one of Secretary Thurloe's Under-secretaries; concerning whom and whose business there will be farther speech by and by. Of the "Commissioners of the Admiralty" we name only Colonel Montague of Hinchinbrook, who is getting very deep in these matters, and may himself be Admiral one day.

"*To the General of the Fleet* [*General Blake, at Sea*].

"[WHITEHALL,] 30th July, 1655.

"SIR,—We have received yours of the 4th, as also that of the 6th instant, both at once; the latter signifying the great preparations which are making against you.

"Some intelligence of that nature is also come to us from another hand. Which hath occasioned us to send away this Despatch unto you, immediately upon the receipt of yours, to let you know That we do not judge it safe for you, whilst things are in this condition, to send away any part of the Fleet, as you were directed by our Instructions of the 13th of June;[1] and therefore, notwithstanding those Orders, you are to keep the whole Fleet with you, until you have executed the Secret Instructions,[2] or find the opportunity is over for the doing thereof.

"We think it likewise requisite that you keep with you

but nowhere discoverable), which is credibly described to me as "one of the most confused farragoes ever printed," search for this Note has been made, twice, to no purpose; and with little hope of elucidation there, had the Note been found. By internal evidence a genuine Note; and legible as we have it.

[1] Antea, Letter CXCVIII.

[2] In Blake's *Letter, antea*;—they concern the "Silver Fleet" most likely.

the two Frigates which conveyed the victuals to you; as also the *Nantwich*, which was sent to you with a Person bound for Lisbon with our instructions to that King. And for the defects of the Fleet, the Commissioners of the Admiralty will take care thereof; and be you confident that nothing shall be omitted which can be done here for your supply and encouragement.

"I beseech the Lord to be present with you. I rest,

"Your very loving friend,

"OLIVER P."[1]

Copied "in Secretary Thurloe's hand;" who has added the following Note: "With this Letter was sent the intelligence of the twenty ships coming across the Straits, and of the thirty-one ships and eight fire-ships — [*word lost*] — in Cadiz; "— dangerous ships and fire-ships, which belong all now to the vanished generations: and have sailed, one knows not whence, one knows not whither!

COMPLIMENT.

PRECISELY in those same summer days there has come a brilliant Swedish gentleman, as Extraordinary Ambassador to this Country from the King of Swedeland. A hot, high-tempered, clear-shining man; something fierce, metallic in the lustre of him. Whose negotiations, festivities, impatiences, and sudden heats of temper, occupy our friend Bulstrode almost exclusively for a twelvemonth. We will say only, He has come hither to negotiate a still stricter league of amity between the two Countries; in which welcome enterprise the Lord Protector seems rather to complicate him by endeavoring to include the Dutch in it, the Prussians and Danes in it, — to make it, in fact, a general League, or basis for a League, of Protestants against the Power of Rome, and Antichristian *Babylon* at large; which in these days, under certain Austrian

[1] Thurloe, iii. 688.

Kaisers, Spanish Kings, Italian Popes, whose names it may be interesting not to remember, is waxing very formidable. It was an object the Protector never ceased endeavoring after; though in this, as in other instances, with only partial, never with entire success.

Observe however, as all old London observes, on the night of Saturday, July 28th, 1655, the far-shining Procession by torch-light. Procession "from Tower-wharf to the late Sir Abraham Williams's in Westminster;" this brilliant Swedish Gentleman with numerous gilt coaches and innumerable outriders and on-lookers, making his advent then and thus; Whitlocke, Montague, Strickland (for we love to be particular) officially escorting him. Observe next how he was nobly entertained three days in that Williams House, at the Protector's charges; and on the third day had his audience of the Protector; in a style of dignity worth noting by Bulstrode. Sir Oliver Fleming; "galleries full of ladies," "Life-guards in their gray frock-coats with velvet welts;" lanes of gentlemen, seas of general public: conceive it all; truly dignified, decorous; scene "the Banqueting House of Whitehall, hung with arras:" and how at the upper end of the room the Lord Protector was seen standing "on a footpace and carpet, with a chair of state behind him;" and how the Ambassador saluted thrice as he advanced, thrice lifting his noble hat and feathers, as the Protector thrice lifted his; and then — Bulstrode shall give the rest: —

"After a little pause, the Ambassador put off his hat, and began to speak, and then put it on again: and whensoever, in his speech, he named the King his master, or Sweden, or the Protector, or England, he moved his hat: especially if he mentioned anything of God, or the good of Christendom, he put off his hat very low; and the Protector still answered him in the like postures of civility. The Ambassador spake in the Swedish language; and after he had done, being but short, his Secretary Berkman did interpret it in Latin to this effect" — Conceivable, without repetition, to ingenious readers. A stately, far-shining speech, done into Latin; "being but *short.*"

And now "after his Interpreter had done, the Protector stood still a pretty while; and, putting off his hat to the Ambassador, with a carriage full of gravity and state, he answered him in English to this effect:" —

"My Lord Ambassador, I have great reason to acknowledge, with thankfulness, the respects and good affection of the King your master towards this Commonwealth, and towards myself in particular. Whereof I shall always retain a very grateful memory; and shall be ready upon all occasions to manifest the high sense and value I have of his Majesty's friendship and alliance.

"My Lord, you are welcome into England; and during your abode here, you shall find all due regard and respect to be given to your person, and to the business about which you come. I am very willing to enter into a 'nearer and more strict alliance and friendship with the King of Swedeland,' as that which, in my judgment, will tend much to the honor and commodity of both Nations, and to the general advantage of the Protestant Interest. I shall nominate some Persons to meet and treat with your Lordship upon such particulars as you shall communicate to them."

After which, Letters were presented, *etceteras* were transacted, and then with a carriage full of gravity and state, they all withdrew to their ulterior employments, and the scene vanishes.[1]

LETTER CCII.

It is too sad a truth, the Expedition to the West Indies has failed! Sea-General Penn, Land-General Venables have themselves come home, one after the other, with the disgraceful news; and are lodged in the Tower, a fortnight ago, for quitting their post without orders. Of all which we shall have some word to say anon. But take first these glimpses into *other matters*, foreign and domestic, on sea and land, — as the

[1] Whitlocke, pp. 609, 610.

oblivions have chanced to leave them visible for us. "Cascais Bay" is at the mouth of the Tagus: General Blake seems still ruling of the waters in those parts.

[*To General Blake, at Sea.*]

"WHITEHALL, 13th September, 1655.

"SIR, — We have received yours from Cascais Bay, of the 30th of August; and were very sensible of the wants of the Fleet as they were represented by your last before; and had given directions for three months' provisions, — which were all prepared, and sent from Portsmouth, some time since, under the convoy of the *Bristol* Frigate. But the Commissioners of the Admiralty have had Letters yesterday that they were forced back, by contrary winds, into Plymouth, and are there now attending for the first slack of wind, to go to sea again. And the Commissioners of the Admiralty are instructed [1] to quicken them by an express; although it is become very doubtful whether those provisions can [now] come in time for supplying of your wants.

"And for what concerns the fighting of the Fleet of Spain, whereof your said Letter makes mention, we judge it of great consequence, and much for the service of the Commonwealth, that this Fleet were fought; as well in order to the executing your former Instructions, as for the preservation of our ships and interest in the West Indies: and our meaning was, by our former Order, and still is, That the Fleet which shall come for the guarding of the Plate Fleet, as we conceive this doth, should be attempted. But in respect we have not certain knowledge of the strength of the Spanish Fleet, nor of the condition of your Fleet, which may alter every day, — we think it reasonable, at this distance, not to oblige you by any positive order to engage; but must, as we do hereby, leave it to you, who are upon the place, and know the state of things, to handle the rein as you shall find your opportunity and the ability of the Fleet to be: — as we also do for your coming home, either for want of provisions or in respect of the season of the year, at such time as you shall judge it to be for the

[1] "*commands of the Admiralty* are required" in orig.

safety of the Fleet. And we trust the Lord will guide and b with you in the management of this thing.

"Your very loving friend,

"OLIVER P.

"[P.S.] In case your return should be so soon as that you should not make use of the Provisions now sent you, or but little thereof, we desire you to cause them to be preserved; they may be applied to other uses."[1]

LETTER CCIII.

[*To the Commissioners of Maryland.*]

"WHITEHALL, 26th September, 1655.

"SIRS, — It seems to us by yours of the 29th of June, and by the relation we received by Colonel Bennet, that some mistake or scruple hath arisen concerning the sense of our Letters of the 12th of January last,[2] — as if, by our Letters, we had intimated that we would have a stop put to the proceedings of those Commissioners who were authorized to settle the Civil Government of Maryland. Which was not at all intended by us; nor so much as proposed to us by those who made addresses to us to obtain our said Letter: but our intention (as our said Letter doth plainly import) was only, To prevent and forbid any force or violence to be offered by either of the Plantations of Virginia or Maryland, from one to the other, upon the differences concerning their bounds: the said differences being then under the consideration of Ourself and Council here. Which, for your more full satisfaction, we have thought fit to signify to you; and rest,

"Your loving friend,

[OLIVER P.]"[3]

A very obscure American Transaction; — sufficiently lucid for our Cisatlantic purposes; nay shedding a kind of light or twilight into extensive dim regions of Oblivion on the other side of the Ocean. Bancroft, and the other American authori-

[1] *Thurloe*, i. 724, — in cipher; and seemingly of Thurloe's composition.

[2] *Antea*, vol. xviii. p. 451.

[3] Thurloe, iv. 55.

ss, who have or have not noticed this Letter, will with great piousness explain the business to the curious.

The Major-Generals are now all on foot, openly since the iddle of August last;[1] and an Official Declaration published on ie subject. Ten military Major-Generals, ten or finally twelve, ith militia-forces, horse and foot, at their beck; coercing oyalist Revolt, and other Anarchy; "decimating" it, that , levying ten per cent upon the Income of it, summoning it, oss-questioning it, — peremptorily signifying to it that it will ot be allowed here, that it had better cease in this Country. hey have to deal with Quakers also, with Anabaptists, Scan-dlous Ministers, and other forms of Anarchy. The powers of ese men are great: much need that they be just men and wise, en fearing God and hating covetousness; — all turns on that! hey will be supportable, nay welcome and beneficial, if so. supportable enough, if not so: — as indeed what official per-n, or man under any form, except the form of a slave well llared and driven by whips, is or ought to be supportable if *not* so"? We subjoin a list of their names, as historically orthy, known or unknown to the reader, here.[2]

[1] Order-Book of the Council of State; cited in Godwin (iv. 228).

[2] *General Desborow* has the Counties: Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall.
Colonel Kelsey: Kent and Surrey.
Colonel Goffe: Sussex, Hants, Berks.
Major-General Skippon: London.
Colonel Barkstead (Governor of the Tower): Middlesex and Westminster.
Lord Deputy Fleetwood (who never returns to Ireland): Oxford, Bucks, Herts; Cambridge, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, — for these last four he can appoint a substitute (*Colonel Haynes*).
General Whalley: Lincoln, Notts, Derby, Warwick, Leicester.
Major Butler: Northampton, Bedford, Rutland, Huntingdon.
Colonel Berry (Richard Baxter's friend, once a Clerk in the Ironworks): Hereford, Salop, North Wales.
General (Sea-General) *Dawkins:* Monmouth and South Wales.
Colonel Worseley: Cheshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire.
The Lord Lambert: York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, — can appoint substitutes (Colonel Robert Lilburn, Colonel *Charles Howard*).

Soon after this Letter, "in the month of October, 1655," there was seen a strange sight at Bristol in the West. A Procession of Eight Persons; one, a man on horseback, riding single; the others, men and women, partly riding double, partly on foot, in the muddiest highway, in the wettest weather; singing, all but the single-rider, at whose bridle splash and walk two women: "Hosanna! Holy, holy! Lord God of Sabaoth!" and other things, "in a buzzing tone," which the impartial hearer could not make out. The single-rider is a raw-boned male figure, "with lank hair reaching below his cheeks;" hat drawn close over his brows; "nose rising slightly in the middle;" of abstruse "down look," and large dangerous jaws strictly closed; he sings not; sits there covered, and is sung to by the others bare. Amid pouring deluges, and mud knee-deep: "so that the rain ran in at their necks, and they vented it at their hose and breeches:" a spectacle to the West of England and Posterity! Singing as above; answering no question except in song. From Bedminster to Ratcliff Gate, along the streets, to the High Cross of Bristol: at the High Cross they are laid hold of by the Authorities;—turn out to be James Nayler and Company. James Nayler, "from Andersloe" or Ardsley "in Yorkshire," heretofore a Trooper under Lambert; now a Quaker and something more—Infatuated Nayler and Company; given up to Enthusiasm,—to Animal-Magnetism, to Chaos and Bedlam in one shape or other! Who will need to be coerced by the Major-Generals, I think;—to be forwarded to London, and there sifted and cross-questioned.[1] Is not the Spiritualism of England developing itself in strange forms? The Hydra, royalist and sansculottic, has many heads.

George Fox, some time before this, had made his way to the Protector himself; to represent to him the undeserved sufferings of Friends,—and what a faithful people they were, though sansculottic, or wearing suits sometimes merely of perennial leather. George's huge *Journal*, to our regret, has no dates; but his Interview with the Protector, once in these late months, *is* authentic, still visible to the mind. George, being seized in

[1] Examination of them (in Harleian Miscellany, vi. 438–439).

Leicestershire, "carried up to the Mews," and otherwise tribulated by subaltern authorities, contrived to make the Protector hear some direct voice of him, appoint some hour to see him. "It was on a morning:" George went; was admitted to the Protector's bedchamber, "where one Harvey, who had been a little among Friends," but had not proved entirely obedient, — the Harvey who will write us a very valuable little Pamphlet one day,[1] — was dressing him. "Peace be in this house!" George Fox "was moved to say." Peace, O George. "I exhorted him," writes George, "to keep in the fear of God," whereby he might "receive Wisdom from God," which would be a useful guidance for any Sovereign Person. In fact, I had "much discourse" with him; explaining what I and Friends had been led to think "concerning Christ and His Apostles" of old time, and His Priests and Ministers of new; concerning Life and concerning Death; — concerning this unfathomable Universe in general, and the Light in it that is from Above, and the Darkness in it that is from Below: to all which the Protector "carried himself with much moderation." Yes, George; this Protector has a sympathy with the Perennial; and feels it across the Temporary: no hulls, leathern or other, can entirely hide it from the sense of him. "As I spake, he several times said, 'That is very good,' and, 'That is true.'" — Other persons coming in, persons of quality so called, I drew back; lingered; and then was for retiring: "he caught me by the hand," and with moist-beaming eyes, "said: 'Come again to my house! If thou and I were but an hour of the day together, we should be nearer one to the other. I wish no more harm to thee than I do to my own soul.'" — "Hearken to God's voice!" said George in conclusion: "Whosoever hearkens to *it*, his heart is not hardened;" *his* heart remains true, open to the Wisdoms, to the Noblenesses; with him it shall be well! — "Captain Drury" wished me to stay among the Life-guard gentlemen, and dine with them; but I declined, not being free thereunto.[2]

[1] *Passages in his Highness's Last Sickness.*

[2] *Fox's Journal* (Leeds, 1836), i. 265.

LETTERS CCIV.–CCVI.

JAMAICA.

WE said already the grand Sea-Armament, which sailed from Portsmouth at Christmas, 1654, had proved unsuccessful. It went westward; opened its Sealed Instructions at a certain latitude; found that they were instructions to attack Hispaniola, to attack the Spanish Power in the West Indies: it did attack Hispaniola, and lamentably failed; attacked the Spanish Power in the West Indies, and has hitherto realized almost nothing, — a mere waste Island of Jamaica, to all appearance little worth the keeping at such cost. It is hitherto the unsuccessfulest enterprise Oliver Cromwell ever had concern with. Desborow fitted it out at Portsmouth, while the Lord Protector was busy with his First refractory Pedant Parliament; there are faults imputed to Desborow: but the grand fault the Lord Protector imputes to himself, That he chose, or sanctioned the choice of, Generals improper to command it. Sea-General Penn, Land-General Venables, they were unfortunate, they were incompetent; fell into disagreements, into distempers of the bowels; had critical Civil Commissioners with them, too, who did not mend the matter. Venables lay "six weeks in bed," very ill of sad West India maladies; for the rest, a covetous lazy dog, who cared nothing for the business, but wanted to be home at his Irish Government again. Penn is Father of Penn the Pennsylvanian Quaker; a man somewhat quick of temper, "like to break his heart" when affairs went wrong; unfit to right them again. As we said, the two Generals came voluntarily home in the end of last August, leaving the wreck of their forces in Jamaica; and were straightway lodged in the Tower for quitting their post.

A great Armament of Thirty, nay of Sixty Ships; of four thousand soldiers, two regiments of whom were veterans, the rest a somewhat sad miscellany of broken Royalists, unruly Levellers, and the like, who would volunteer, — whom Venables augmented at Barbadoes, with a still more unruly set, to nine thousand: this great Armament the Lord Protector has strenuously hurled, as a sudden fiery bolt, into the dark Domdaniel of Spanish Iniquity in the far West; and it has exploded there, almost without effect. The Armament saw Hispaniola, and Hispaniola with fear and wonder saw it, on the 14th of April, 1655: but the Armament, a sad miscellany of distempered unruly persons, durst not land "where Drake had landed," and at once take the Town and Island: the Armament hovered hither and thither; and at last agreed to land some sixty miles off; marched therefrom through thick-tangled woods, under tropical heats, till it was nearly dead with mere marching; was then set upon by ambuscadoes; fought miserably ill, the unruly persons of it, or would not fight at all; fled back to its ships a mass of miserable disorganic ruin; and "dying there at the rate of two hundred a day," made for Jamaica.[1]

Jamaica, a poor unpopulous Island, was quickly taken, as rich Hispaniola might have been, and the Spaniards were driven away: but to men in biliary humor it seemed hardly worth the taking or the keeping. "Immense droves of wild cattle, cows and horses, run about Jamaica;" dusky Spaniards dwell in *hatos*, in unswept shealings; "80,000 hogs are killed every year for the sake of their lard, which is sold under the name of *hog's-butter* at Carthagena:" but what can we do with all that! The poor Armament continuing to die as if by murrain, and all things looking worse and worse to poor biliary Generals, Sea-General Penn set sail for home, whom Land-General Venables swiftly followed; leaving "Vice-Admiral Goodson," "Major-General Fortescue," or almost whosoever liked, to manage in their absence, and their ruined moribund forces to die as they could; — and are now lodged in the

[1] *Journal of the English Army in the West Indies*, by an Eye-witness (in *Harl. Miscell. vi. 372–390*). A lucid and reasonable Narrative.

Tower, as they deserved to be. The Lord Protector, and virtually England with him, had hoped to see the dark empire of bloody Antichristian Spain a little shaken in the West; some reparation got for its inhuman massacrings and long-continued tyrannies, — massacrings, extermination of us, "at St. Kitts in 1629, at Tortuga in 1637, at Santa Cruz in 1650;" so, in the name of England, had this Lord Protector hoped; and he has now to take his disappointment.

The ulterior history of these Western Affairs, of this new Jamaica under Cromwell, lies far dislocated, drowned deep in the Slumber-Lakes of *Thurloe* and Company; in a most dark, stupefied, and altogether dismal condition. A history indeed, which, as you painfully fish it up and by degrees reawaken it to life, is in itself sufficiently dismal. Not much to be intermeddled with here. The English left in Jamaica, the English successively sent thither, prosper as ill as need be; still die, soldiers and settlers of them, at a frightful rate per day; languish, for most part, astonished in their strange new sultry element; and cannot be brought to front with right manhood the deadly inextricable jungle of tropical confusions, outer and inner, in which they find themselves. Brave Governors, Fortescue, Sedgwick, Brayne, one after the other, die rapidly, of the climate and of broken heart; their life-fire all spent there, in that dark chaos, and as yet no result visible. It is painful to read what misbehavior there is, what difficulties there are.[1]

Almost the one steady light-point in the business is the Protector's own spirit of determination. If England have now a "West-India Interest," and Jamaica be an Island worth something, it is to this Protector mainly that we owe it. Here too, as in former darknesses, "Hope shines in him, like a pillar of fire, when it has gone out in all the others." Having put his hand to this work, he will not for any discourage-

[1] Thurloe, iii. iv., — in very many places, all in a most unedited, confused condition. Luminous Notices too in Carte's *Ormond Papers*, ii. Long's *History of Jamaica* (London, 1774), i. 221 et seqq., gives in a vague but tolerably correct way some of the results of Thurloe; which Bryan Edwards has abridged. Godwin (iv. 192–200) is exact, so far as he goes.

ment turn back. Jamaica shall yet be a colony; Spain and its dark Domdaniel shall yet be smitten to the heart, — the enemies of God and His Gospel, by the soldiers and servants of God. It must, and it shall. We have failed in the West, but not wholly; in the West and in the East, by sea and by land, as occasion shall be ministered, we will try it again and again.

"On the 28th of November, 1655, the Treaty with France is proclaimed by heralds and trumpets," say the Old Newspapers.[1] Alliance with France, and *Declaration* against Spain, — within the tropics where there is never Peace, and without the tropics where Peace yet is, there shall now be War with Spain. Penn and Venables, cross-questioned till no light farther could be had from them, are dismissed; in Penn's stead, Montague is made Admiral.[2] We will maintain Jamaica, send reinforcement after reinforcement to it; we will try yet for the Spanish Plate Fleets; we will hurl yet bolt after bolt into the dark Domdaniel, and have no Peace with Spain. In all which, as I understand, the spirit of England, mindful of Armadas, and wedded once for all to blessed Gospel Light and Progress, and not to accursed Papal Jesuitry and Stagnancy, co-operates well with this Protector of the Commonwealth of England. Land-fighting too we shall by and by come upon; in all ways, a resolute prosecution of hostilities against Spain. Concerning the "policy" of which, and real wisdom and unwisdom of which, no reader need consult the current Sceptical Red-tape Histories of that Period, for they are much misinformed on the matter. —

Here are Three Official Letters, or Draughts of Letters, concerning the business of Jamaica; which have come to us in a very obscure, unedited condition, Thomas Birch having been a little idle. Very obscure; and now likely to remain so, they and the others, — unless indeed Jamaica should produce a Poet of its own, pious towards the Hero-Founder of Jamaica, and courageous to venture into the Stygian Quagmires of

[1] In *Cromwelliana*, p. 134.

[2] *Jan. 1655–6* (Thurloe, iv. 338).

Thurloe and the others, and vanquish them on his and its behalf!

Apparently these Official Letters are First-draughts, in the hand of Thurloe or some underling of his; dictated to him, as is like, by the Protector: they would afterwards be copied-fair, dated, and duly despatched; and only the rough originals, unhappily without date, are now left us. Birch has put them down without much criticism; the arrangement of some is palpably wrong. By the spelling and punctuation we judge them to be of Thurloe's handwriting; but the sense is clearly Oliver's, and probably, with some superficial polishings, the composition. They cannot, after much inquiry, be dated except approximately; the originals are gone with Birch, who has not even told us in whose handwriting they were, much less has tried to make any sense of them for himself, the idle ineffectual Editor! In fact, *Thurloe* in regard to these Jamaica businesses has had to go without editing; lies wide-spread, dislocated, dark; and, in this passage, read by Birch's light, is mere darkness visible. One of the Letters, we at length find, is even misaddressed, — seemingly by idle Birch, at random. Happily it is with the sense alone that we are much concerned; and that is in good part legible. Fancy Penn and Venables dismissed, after some light got out of them by cross-questioning; fancy "Vice-Admiral Goodson, Major-General Fortescue, Daniel Serle Governor of Barbadoes, and Major-General Sedgwick" new from England, made Commissioners, with Instructions,[1] with full power over Jamaica, — and then read.

LETTER CCIV.

Vice-Admiral Goodson, as his title indicates, went out as second under Penn; whose place he now fills as chief. Letters of his in *Thurloe* indicate a thick blunt stout-hearted sailor character, not nearly so stupid as he looks; whose rough piety, sense, stoicism, and general manfulness grow luminous to us at last. The Protector hopes "the Lord may have

[1] Given in Thurloe, iv. 63A.

blessed Goodson to have lighted upon some of the Enemy's vessels, and burnt them;"—which is a hope fulfilled: for Goodson has already been at St. Martha on the Spanish Main, and burnt it; but got few "ships," nor any right load of plunder either; the people having had him in sight for six hours before landing, and run away with everything to the woods. He got "thirty brass guns and two *bases*," whatever these are. The rest of the plunder, being "accurately sold at the mast of each ship" by public auction, yielded just £471 sterling, which was a very poor return. At the Rio de Hacha ("Rio de hatch" as we here write it) "the bay was so shoal" no great ships could get near; and our "hoys" and small craft, on trying it, saw nothing feasible; wherefore we had drawn back again. Santa Martha, and plunder sold by auction to the amount above stated, was all we could get.[1]

"*To Vice-Admiral Goodson, at Jamaica.*

"WHITEHALL [October, 1655].

"SIR,—I have written to Major-General Fortescue divers advertisements of our purpose and resolution, the Lord willing, to prosecute this Business; and you shall not want bodies of men nor yet anything in our power for the carrying on of the work. I have also given divers hints unto him of things which may probably be attempted, and should[2] be very diligently looked after by you both; but are left to your better judgments upon the place. Wherein I desire you would consult together how to prosecute your affairs with that brotherly kindness that upon no color whatsoever any divisions or distractions should be amongst you, but that you may have one shoulder to the work; which will be very pleasing to the Lord; and not unnecessary, considering what an enemy you are like to have to deal withal.

"We hope that you have with [you] some of those ships which came last, near twenty men-of-war; which I desire you to keep equipt, and make yourselves as strong as you can to

[1] Goodson's Letter, in *Thurloe*, iv. 159 et seqq.

[2] "*would*" in orig.

beat the Spaniard, who will doubtless send a good force into the Indies. I hope, by this time the Lord may have blessed you to have light upon some of their vessels, — whether by burning them in their harbors or otherwise. And it will be worthy of you to improve your strength, what you can, both to weaken them by parcels, and to engage them as you have opportunity, — which, at such a distance I may probably guess, would be best [managed] by not suffering, if you can help it, the new Fleet, which comes from Spain, to go unfought, before they join with the ships that are to the Leeward of you.

"We are sending to you, with all possible speed, seven more stout men-of-war, some of them forty guns, and the rest not under thirty, for your assistance. This Ship goes before, with instructions, to encourage you to go on in the work; and also with instructions to Mevis, and the other Windward Islands, to bring so many of the Plantations as are free to come [that they may settle with you at Jamaica]. And I desire you, with your lesser merchant-ships or such others as you can spare, to give all possible assistance for their removal and transplantation, from time to time, as also all due encouragement to remove them.

"You will see by the Enclosed what I have writ to Major-General Fortescue. And I hope your counsels will enter into that which may be for the glory of God and good of this Nation. It is not to be denied but the Lord hath greatly humbled us in that sad loss sustained at Hispaniola; and we doubt we have provoked the Lord; and it is good for us to know and to be abased for the same. But yet certainly His name is concerned in the work; and therefore though we should, and I hope do, lay our mouths in the dust, yet He would not have us despond, but I trust give us leave to make mention of His name and of His righteousness, when we cannot make mention of our own. You are left there; and I pray you set up your banners in the name of Christ; for undoubtedly it is His Cause. And let the reproach and shame that hath been for our sins, and through (also we may say) the misguidance of some, work up your hearts to confidence in the Lord, and for the redemp-

tion of His honor from the hands of men who attribute their success to their Idols, the work of their own hands. And though He hath torn us, yet He will heal us; though He hath smitten us, yet He will bind us up; after two days He will revive us, in the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight.[1] The Lord Himself hath a controversy with your Enemies; even with that Roman Babylon, of which the Spaniard is the great underpropper. In that respect we fight the Lord's battles; — and in this the Scriptures are most plain. The Lord therefore strengthen you with faith, and cleanse you from all evil: and doubt not but He is able, and I trust as willing, to give you as signal success as He gave your enemies against you. Only the Covenant-fear of the Lord be upon you.[2]

"If we send you not by this, I trust we shall by the next, our Declaration setting forth the justness of this War. I remain,

"Your loving friend,

"OLIVER P."[3]

The *Declaration* here alluded to, of War with Spain, came out on Tuesday, 23d October, 1655;[4] which with sufficient approximation dates this Letter for us. By obscure intimations, allusions to events, and even by recurrence of phrases, the following Letter seems to have the same or a closely subsequent date; but no sense could be made of it till the Address, "Major-General Fortescue, at Jamaica" (which, being nonsense, we have to impute to Birch), was erased, — was altered, by dim lights[5] and guessings still a little uncertain, as below.

[1] Hosea, vi. 1, 2.

[2] No other fear; nor is there need of any other hope or strength!

[3] Thurloe, iv. 130.

[4] Thurloe, iv. 117; Godwin, iv. 217; Antea, p. 25.

[5] Thurloe, iv. 633, &c. &c.

LETTER CCV.

[To Daniel Serle, Esquire, Governor of Barbadoes.]

[WHITEHALL, October, 1655.]

"SIR, — These are first to let you know that myself and the Government reckon ourselves beholden[1] to you for the ready expressions of your love in giving assistance to our late Design.[2] Which indeed, though it hath miscarried in what we hoped for, through the disposing hand of God, for reasons best known to Himself, and as we may justly conceive for our sins, — yet is not this Cause the less His, but will be owned by Him, as I verily believe: and therefore we dare not relinquish it;[3] but shall, the Lord assisting, prosecute it with what strength we can, hoping for [a] blessing for His name's sake.

"You will receive some Instructions,[4] with encouragements to remove your people thither. Whereto I refer you. only let me tell you, that if you shall think to desire some other things which are not mentioned in those Instructions, [you may] rest upon my word that we shall be most ready to supply what they may be defective in, or you may reasonably demand when once you are upon the place, — where certainly you may be better able to judge what may tend most to your accommodation than at a distance. Surely the sooner you remove thither,[5] you will have the more time to strengthen yourself, in such place and upon such part as you shall like of. And for your own part, I have named you one of the Commissioners there for managing of the whole affair; whereby you will have your vote and interest in that Government.

[1] "beholding" in orig.; as the old phrase usually is.

[2] Hispaniola: to which Serle, at Barbadoes, had given due furtherance, as the Expedition passed.

[3] No!

[4] Thurloe, iv. 633–637; worth reading, though in great want of editing.

[5] Will mean, if our Addressing of this Letter is correct, that it had at one time been intended and decided to send Serle of Barbadoes, an experienced man, the ablest and principal English Governor in the West Indies, to take *charge of* Jamaica himself. Which however, in the quick succession of new *lights* and occurrences, never came to pass.

"Having said this, I think fit to let you know that we have twenty men-of-war already there, and are sending eight more, many whereof have forty guns and upwards, and the rest above thirty.[1] We hope the Plantation is not wanting in anything; having at the least seven thousand fighting-men upon the place: and we are providing to supply them constantly with fresh men: and we trust they are furnished with a twelvemonth's victuals; — and I think, if we have it in England, they shall not want.

"We have also sent to the Colonies of New England like offers with yours,[2] To remove thither; our resolution being to people and plant that Island. And indeed we have very good reason to expect considerable numbers from thence, forasmuch as the last winter was very destructive, and the summer hath proved so very sickly.

"I pray God direct you; and rest,

"Your loving friend,

[OLIVER P.]"[3]

Undoubtedly to "Daniel Serle," or else to "Major-General Sedgwick," the other of the Four new Commissioners, this Letter must have been addressed. With either of which Addresses it remains historically somewhat obscure; but is legible enough for our purposes with it here. The next seems to be of slightly later date.

LETTER CCVI.

"*To Major-General Fortescue, at Jamaica.*

[WHITEHALL, November, 1655.]

"SIR, — You will herewith receive Instructions for the better carrying on of your business; which is not of small account here, though our discouragements have been many;

[1] Same phrase in the preceding Letter.

[2] Encouragements to them, as to "your" Colony, to emigrate thither.

[3] *Thurloe, iv. 130.*

for which we desire to humble ourselves before the Lord, who hath very sorely chastened us. I do commend, in the midst of others' miscarriages, your constancy and faithfulness to your trust in every [situation][1] where you are, and [your] taking care of a 'company of poor sheep left by their shepherd:'[2] and be assured that, as that which you have done hath been good in itself, and becoming an honest man, so it hath a very good savor here with all good Christians and all true Englishmen, and will not be forgotten by me as opportunity shall serve.

"I hope you have long before this time received that good supply which went from hence in July last,[3] whereby you will perceive that you have not been forgotten here. I hope also the ships sent for New England are, before this time, with you:[4] — and let me tell you, as an encouragement to you and those with you to improve the utmost diligence, and to excite your courage in this business, though not to occasion any negligence in prosecuting that affair, nor to give occasion to slacken any improvement of what the place may afford, That you will be followed with what necessary supplies, as well for comfortable subsistence as for your security against the Spaniard, this place may afford, or you want.

"And therefore study first your security by fortifying: and although you have not moneys, for the present, to do it in such quantities as were to be wished; yet, your case being as that of a marching army, wherein every soldier, out of principles of nature, and according to the practice of all discipline, ought to be at pains to secure the common quarter, — we hope no man amongst you will be so wanting to himself, considering food is provided for you, as not to be willing to help to the uttermost therein. And therefore I require you and all with you, for the safety of the whole, that this be made your most

[1] Word torn.

[2] Fortescue's own expression: in a Letter of 21st July, 1655 (Thurloe, iii. 675).

[3] Vaughan, i. 303; Thurloe, iv. 4.

[4] Thurloe, iv. 157; one, the first of them, did arrive, Nov. 1st: "sent from *Jamaica* to New England for provisions."

incipal intention. The doing of this will require that you very careful not to scatter, till you have begun a security some one place. — Next I desire you that you would con-ider how to form such a Body of good Horse as may, if the paniard should attempt upon you at his next coming into the dies with his Galleons, be in a readiness to march to hinder s landing; who will hardly land upon a body of horse; and he shall land, [you will] be in a posture to keep the pro-sions of the country from him, or him from the provisions, he shall endeavor to march towards you.

"We have sent Commissioners and Instructions into New ngland, to try what people may be drawn thence.[1] We have ne the like to the Windward English Islands; and both in ngland and Scotland and Ireland, you will have what men d women we can well transport.

"We think, and it is much designed amongst us, to strive ith the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas: and there-re we could heartily wish that the Island of Providence were our hands again; believing that it lies so advantageously reference to the Main, and especially for the hindrance of e Peru trade and Carthagena, that you would not only have eat advantage thereby of intelligence and surprisal, but night] even block up Carthagena.[2] It is discoursed here at, if the Spaniard do attempt upon you, it is most likely will be upon the East end of the Island, towards Cuba; as so [that] Cuba, in its chief Town, is a place[3] easily at-mpted, and hath in it a very rich copper-mine. It would be od, for the first, as you have opportunity, to inform your-lf; and if there be need, to make a good work upon the ast end of your Island, to prevent them. And for the other, d all things of that kind, we must leave them to your dgment upon the place, to do therein as you shall see use.

[1] Long Correspondences about it, and details, from assiduous Mr. Gookin, ief of those Commissioners, in *Thurloe*, iv.

[2] "the same" in orig.

[3] The first "Cuba" here is the old capital of the Eastern Department, now lled *Santiago de Cuba*, where there are still copper-mines.

"To conclude: As we have cause to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo, upon the account of our own sins as well as others', so, truly, upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreme avarice, pride and confidence, disorders and debauchedness, profaneness and wickedness, commonly practised amongst the Army, we can not only bewail the same, but desire that all with you may do so; and that a very special regard may be had so to govern, for time to come, as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced, and severely punished; and that such a frame of government may be exercised that virtue and godliness may receive due encouragement. [I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.]"[1]

The brave Fortescue never received this Letter; he already lay in his grave when it was written; had died in October last,[2] a speedy victim of the bad climate and desperate situation. Brave Sedgwick, his Partner and Successor, soon died also:[3] a very brave, zealous and pious man, whose Letters in *Thurloe* are of all others the best worth reading on this subject. Other brave men followed, and soon died; spending heroically their remnant of life-fire there, — as heroes do, "making paths through the impassable." But we must leave the heroisms of Oliver Protector and his Puritans, in this Jamaica Business, to the reader's fancy henceforth, — till perhaps some Jamaica *Poet* rise to resuscitate and extricate them. Reinforcement went on the back of reinforcement, during this Protector's lifetime: "a Thousand Irish Girls" went; not to speak of the rogue-and-vagabond species from Scotland, — "we can help you" at any time "to two or three hundred of these."[4] And so at length a West-India Interest did take root; and bears spices and poisons, and other produce, to this day.

[1] Thurloe, iv. 633. [2] Ibid. iv. 153.

[3] 24th June, 1656 (Long's *History of Jamaica*, i. 257).

[4] Long, i. 244; Thurloe, iv. 692–695: — new Admonitions and Instructions *from* the Protector, of Thurloe's writing, 17th June, 1656 (Thurloe, v. 129–131); &c.

LETTERS CCVII.–CCXIV.

'AKE the following Letters in mass; and make some dim tory of Eleven Months from them, as best may be.

LETTER CCVII.

[ENRY CROMWELL has no Major-Generals in Ireland, but his anarchies there also to deal with. Let him listen to good advice on the subject.

" For my Son Henry Cromwell, at Dublin, Ireland.

" [WHITEHALL,] 21st November, 1655.

SON, — I have seen your Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary rloe; and do find thereby that you are very apprehensive he carriage of some persons with you, towards yourself the public affairs.

I do believe there may be some particular persons who are very well pleased with the present condition of things, and be apt to show their discontent as they have opportunity: this should not make too great impressions in you. Time patience may work them to a better frame of spirit, and g them to see that which, for the present, seems to be hid a them; especially if they shall see your moderation and towards them, if they are found in other ways towards Which I earnestly desire you to study and endeavor, all lies in you. Whereof both you and I too shall have the fort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be.

For what you write of more help, I have long endeavored and shall not be wanting to send you some farther addition ne Council, so soon as men can be found out who are fit the trust. I am also thinking of sending over to you a fit on who may command the North of Ireland; which I be- *stands in great need* of one; and [I] am of your opinion

that Trevor and Colonel Mervin are very dangerous persons, and may be made the heads of a new rebellion. And therefore I would have you move the Council that they be secured in some very safe place, and the farther out of their own countries the better.

"I commend you to the Lord; and rest,

"Your affectionate father,

"OLIVER P."[1]

"The Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe," which is responded to in this wise and magnanimous manner, does not appear in *Thurloe* or elsewhere. November 14th, a week before the date of this, Henry writing to Thurloe excuses his present brevity, his last Letter having been so very copious: that copious Letter, now lost, is probably the one in question here.

"*November 22d*," the day after this Letter, "came several accounts from the Major-Generals out of divers Counties. Out of Norfolk it was certified that Cleveland the Poet and one Sherland a wild Parson were apprehended" at Norwich "by Colonel Haynes,"[2] the Lord Fleetwood's Substitute in those regions. This is John Cleveland the famed Cantab Scholar, Royalist Judge-Advocate, and thrice illustrious Satirist and son of the Muses; who "had gone through eleven editions" in those times, far transcending all Miltons and all mortals,—and does not now need any twelfth edition, that we hear of. Still recognizable for a man of lively parts, and brilliant petulant character; directed, alas, almost wholly to the *worship of clothes*,—which is by nature a transient one! His good fortune quitted him, I think, nine years ago, when David Lesley took him prisoner in Newark. A stinging satire against the Scots had led Cleveland to expect at least martyrdom on this occasion; but Lesley merely said, "Let the poor knave go and sell his ballads;"[3] and dismissed him,—towards thin diet,

[1] Thurloe, i. 726.

[2] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 154); Thurloe, iv. 185.

[3] *Biog. Britan.* (2d edit.), iii. 531:—very ignorantly told there.

and a darkness which has been deepening ever since. Very low now at Norwich, where he is picked up by Colonel Haynes: "thirty pounds a year;" "lives with a gentleman to whom he is giving some instruction;" — unfortunate son of the Muses. He indites a high-flown magnanimous epistle to Cromwell, on this new misfortune; who likewise magnanimously dismisses him,[1] to "sell his ballads" at what little they will bring.

Wednesday, December 12th, 1655. This day, "in a withdrawing-room at Whitehall," presided over by his Highness, who is much interested in the matter, was held "a Conference concerning the Jews;"[2] — of which the modern reader too may have heard something. Conference, one of Four Conferences, publicly held, which filled all England with rumor in those old December days; but must now contract themselves into a point for us. Highest official Persons, with Lord Chief Barons, Lord Chief Justices, and chosen Clergy have met here to advise, by reason, Law-learning, Scripture-prophecy, and every source of light for the human mind, concerning the proposal of admitting Jews, with certain privileges as of alien-citizens, to reside in England. They were banished near four hundred years ago: shall they now be allowed to reside and trade again? The Proposer is "Manasseh Ben Israel," a learned Portuguese Jew of Amsterdam; who, being stirred up of late years by the great things doing in England, has petitioned one and the other, Long Parliament and Little Parliament, for this object; but could never, till his Highness came into power, get the matter brought to a hearing. And so they debate and solemnly consider; and his Highness spake; — and says one witness, "I never heard a man speak so well."[3] His Highness was eager for the scheme, if so might be. But the Scripture-prophecies, Law-learnings, and lights of the human mind seemed to point another way; zealous Manasseh went home again; the Jews could not settle here except by private suf-

[1] Life of Cleveland, prefixed to his *Poems*.

[2] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 154).

[3] Sir Paul Rycaut (in Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 77; — as cited by Godwin, iv. 399).

ferance of his Highness; — and the matter contracts itself into a point for us.[1]

This same Jew-Wednesday, Wednesday the 12th, as a laborious unimportant computation shows, was the "evening" when Republican Ludlow had the first interview with his Highness and certain of his Council "in the Protector's bedchamber."[2] Solid Ludlow has been in Ireland; dreadfully sulky ever since this Protectorate began. Solid Ludlow never would acknowledge any Single Person, never he; not though the Single Person "were his own father." He has nevertheless, by certain written "engagements," contrived to get across from Ireland, with much trouble by the road; but will not now give any promise satisfactory to his Highness. "He will be peaceable; yes, so long as he sees no chance otherwise: but if he see a chance — ! Should like, notwithstanding, to breathe a little air in his own country; that is all he is wanting for the present!" In fact, our solid friend is firm as brass, or oak-timber; altogether obstinate indeed, not to say dogged and mulish. The Protector, who has a respect for the solid man, and whose course is conciliation in such cases, permits him to reside in Essex; keeping his eye upon him.

We might speak also of the famed "Committee of Trade," which has now begun its sessions "in the Old House of Lords." An Assemblage of Dignitaries, Chief Merchants, Political Economists, convened by summons of his Highness;[3] consulting zealously how the Trade of this country may be improved. A great concernment of the Commonwealth, "which his Highness is eagerly set upon." They consulted of "Swedish Copperas," and such like; doing faithfully what they could.

Of these things we might speak; but prefer to end the year by this small interesting fraction of Domestic Gossip, coming to us in a small flute-voice across the loud Disturbances, which are fallen silent now, more silent now than even it! Sorry

[1] Godwin, iv. 243–249. — To "Manasseth Ben Israel, a Pension of £100 per annum, payable quarterly, and commencing 20th February, 1656" (1657): Privy-Seals of Oliver; in Fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public *Records* (London, 1844), Appendix ii. p. 263.

[2] *Ludlow*, ii. 551 et seqq. [3] Whitlocke, p. 618 (30 Nov. 1655).

only that nobody can inform us who this blameworthy "person" in the Lord Henry Cromwell's house is, or what her misdoings are: but the reader, skilled in perennial human nature, can sufficiently supply these, and listen to the ancient small flute-voice with intelligence: —

"*The Lady Mary Cromwell to Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Army in Ireland.*

"[HAMPTON-COURT,] 7th December, 1655.

"DEAR BROTHER, — I cannot be any longer without begging an excuse for my so long silence. You cannot but hear of my Sister's illness; which indeed has been the only cause of it. You might justly take it ill otherwise, and think there were want of that affection I owe unto you.

"Indeed, dear Brother, it was a great deal of trouble to me to think I should give you any occasion to think amiss of me: for I can truly say it, you are very dear to me; and it is a great trouble to me to think of the distance we are from one another; and would be more, if I did not think you are doing the Lord's service; — and truly that ought to satisfy us; for while we are here, we cannot expect but that we must be separated. Dear Brother, the Lord direct you in His ways, and keep your heart close unto Himself. And I am sure, therein you will have true comfort; and that will last when all this world shall pass away.

"I cannot but give you some item of One that is with you, who, [it] is so much feared by your friends that love you, is some dishonor to you and my dear Sister, if you have not a great care. For it is reported here, that she rules much in your Family; and truly it is feared that she is a discountenancer of the Godly People. Therefore, dear Brother, take it not ill, that I give you an item of her: for, truly, if I did not love both you and your honor, I would not give you notice of her. Therefore I hope you will not take it ill, that I have dealt thus plainly with you. I suppose you know who it is I mean, therefore I desire to be excused for not naming her. I desire not to be seen in it; and therefore desire you that you would not take *the least notice of* my writing to you about it: because

I was desired not to speak of it; — nor should I, but that I know you will not take it amiss from your poor Sister who loves you.

"Dear Brother, I take leave to rest,

"Your sister and servant,

"MARY CROMWELL.

"Her Highness[1] desires to have her love to you and my Sister; and my Sister Franke her respects to you both."[2]

"My Sister Franke" and the Lady Mary, these are my "two little wenches," grown now to be women; with dress-caps, fresh blossoming hearts, musical glib tongues, — not uninteresting to men! Anthony Ashley Cooper, I am told, is looking towards this Lady Mary; now turned of Eighteen,[3] and a desirable match for any youth of ambition, — but not attainable, I doubt, by Ashley.

LETTER CCVIII.

HE that builds by the wayside has many masters! Henry Cromwell, we perceive by all symptoms,[4] has no holiday task of it; needs energy, vigilance, intelligence, — needs almost unlimited patience first of all. With a hot proud temper of his own to strive against, too; and is not nine-and-twenty yet: a young man whose carriage hitherto merits high praise. Anabaptist Colonels "preach" against him; Fleetwood, at head-quarters, has perhaps a tendency to favor Anabaptist Colonels, and send them over hither to us? Colonel Hewson, here in Ireland, he, with a leaning that way, has had correspondences, has even had an "Answer" from the Lord Protector (now lost), whereupon have risen petitionings, colloquies, caballings, — much loud unreason to absorb into oneself, and

[1] "our Mother." [2] Thurloe, iv. 593. [3] Vol. xvii. p. 69.

[4] *See his Letters to Thurloe: Thurloe, iv. 254–608 (Letters from Nov., 1655, to April, 1656).*

convert at least into silence! "Be not troubled with that Business; we understand the men:" no; — and on the whole, read, and be encouraged, and go on your way.

"For my Son Harry Cromwell.

"[WHITEHALL,] 21st April, 1656.

"HARRY, — I have received your Letters, and have also seen some from you to others; and am sufficiently satisfied of your burden, and that if the Lord be not with you, to enable you to bear it, you are in a very sad condition.

"I am glad to hear what I have heard of your carriage: study still to be innocent; and to answer every occasion, roll yourself upon God, — which to do needs much grace. Cry to the Lord to give you a plain single heart. Take heed of being over-jealous, lest your apprehensions of others cause you to offend. Know that uprightness will preserve you; in this be confident against men.

"I think the Anabaptists are to blame in not being pleased with you. That's their fault! It will not reach *you*, whilst you with singleness of heart make the glory of the Lord your aim. Take heed of professing religion without the power: that will teach you to love all who are after the similitude of Christ. Take care of making it a business to be too hard for the men who contest with you. Being over-concerned may train you into a snare. — I have to do with those poor men; and am not without my exercise. I know they are weak; because they are so peremptory in judging others. I quarrel not with them but in their seeking to supplant others; which is done by some, first by branding them with antichristianism, and then taking away their maintenance.

"Be not troubled with the late Business: we understand the men. Do not fear the sending of any over to you but such as will be considering men, loving all godly interests, and men [that] will be friends to justice. — Lastly, take heed of studying to lay for yourself the foundation of a great estate. It will be a snare to you: they will watch you; bad men will be confirmed in covetousness. The thing is an evil which *God abhors*. I pray you think of me in this.

"If the Lord did not sustain me, I were undone: but I live, and I shall live, to the good pleasure of His grace; I find mercy at need. The God of all grace keep you. I rest,

"Your loving father,

"OLIVER P.

"My love to my dear Daughter (whom I frequently pray for) and to all friends."[1]

Such a Letter, like a staff dipped in honeycomb and brought to one's lips, is enough to enlighten the eyes of a wearied Sub-Deputy; and cheer him, a little, on his way! To prove that you can conquer every opponent, to found a great estate: not these, or the like of these, be your aims, Son Harry. "I pray you think of me in this." And, on the whole, heed not the foolish noises, the fatuous lights; heed the eternal Loadstars and celestial Silences, — and vigilantly march: so shall you too perhaps "find mercy at need."

LETTER CCIX.

NEW Sea-Armaments, and ever new, are fitted out against the Spaniards and their Papist Domdaniel. Penn being dismissed, Councillor Colonel Montague, already in the Admiralty, was made Sea-General last January in his stead; and now Blake and he have their flags flying somewhere off Cadiz Bay it would appear.

"*To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.*

"WHITEHALL, 28th April, 1656.

"MY LOVING FRIENDS, — You have, as I verily believe and am persuaded, a plentiful stock of prayers going [on] for you daily, sent up by the soberest and most approved Ministers and Christians in this Nation; and, notwithstanding some discouragements, very much wrestling of faith for you: which

[1] *Autograph in the possession of Sir W. Betham (Ulster King of Arms), Dublin.*

is to us, and I trust will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithstanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourselves and all our affairs to the disposition of our All-wise Father; who, not only out of prerogative, but because of His wisdom, goodness and truth, ought to be resigned unto by His creatures, and most especially by those who are children of His begetting through the Spirit. We have been lately taught [1] that it is not in man to direct his way. Indeed all the dispensations of God, whether adverse or prosperous, do fully read that lesson. We can no more turn away the Evil, as we call it, than attain the Good: And therefore Solomon's counsel, of doing what we have to do with all our might, [and] getting our hearts wholly submitted, if not to rejoicing, at least to contentation with whatsoever shall be dispensed by Him to whom alone the issues of all things do belong, is worthy to be received by us.[2]

"Wherefore we have thought fit to send this honest man, Captain Lloyd, who is know to us to be a person of integrity, to convey to you some thoughts, — wherein we do only offer to you such things as do arise to us, partly upon intelligence, and partly upon such a measure as we at such a distance take of that great affair wherein you are engaged; desiring to give no rule to you; but building, under God, much more upon your judgments on the place than [upon] our own; forasmuch as our intelligences, coming much upon the examination of Merchants' ships and such ways, may not be true oftentimes in matter of fact. And therefore we do offer what we have to say rather as queries than [as] resolutions.

"We are informed that not many of the Plate Fleet are come home; viz. two Galleons and two Pataches; [3] and we hear they are not so rich as they gave out. We are informed also that the Spaniards' Fleet in Cadiz is in no preparation to

[1] In the affair of Hispaniola, &c.

[2] Yes, I should say so; — as indeed the whole Universe, since it first had any glimmerings of intelligence in it, has said!

[3] *Galeone*, in the Spanish Dictionary, is defined as an "Armed ship of burden used for trade in time of war;" *Patache*, as "a Tender, or smaller ship *to wait upon the Galeone*."

come out; and some think they will not come forth, but delay you upon the coast, until your victuals are spent, and you forced to come home. We apprehend that, when General Blake was there last year, they could not have told how to have manned out a Fleet, if the Merchants there and gentlemen interested had not (principally for their own interest in the return of the [Plate] Fleet) done it.

"We are informed that they sent what men they could well spare, by those six or seven ships which they sent to the West Indies in March last. We know also that it hath ever been accounted that the Spaniards' great want is men, — as well as money at this time. What numbers are in and about Cadiz you best know. We only discourse probabilities: Whether now it might not be worthy to be weighed by you and your council of war, whether this Fleet of theirs now in Cadiz might not be burnt or otherwise destroyed? Whether Puntal and the Forts are so considerably stronger as to discourage from such an attempt? Whether Cadiz itself be unattemptable; or the Island on which it stands be noways to be separated from relieving the Town by the Bridge,[1] the Island being so narrow in some parts of it? Whether any other place be attemptable; especially that of the Town and Castle of Gibraltar, — which if possessed and made tenable by us,[2] would it not be both an advantage to our trade and an annoyance to the Spaniard; and enable us, without keeping so great a fleet on that coast, with six nimble frigates lodged there to do the Spaniard more harm than by a fleet, and ease our own charge?

"You may discourse freely with the Bearer concerning anything contained in this Letter, to whom the whole was communicated, that so he might be able to bring back to us a more particular account of things. The Lord guide you to do that which may be pleasing in His sight. I remain,

"Your very loving friend,

"OLIVER P."[3]

[1] Means "noways to be separated from the Mainland, by ruining its Bridge:" Cadiz were thus in reality isolated.

[2] *Hear, hear!*

[3] Thurloe, iv. 144.

LETTER CCX.

CADIZ could not be attempted. Here, eight days later, is another message to the same parties, concerning another business. "The Portugal," it appears, has been behaving in a very paltry fashion; and now "Mr. Meadows," one of Thurloe's Under-Secretaries, is gone out to him; whose remonstrances, the Fleet lending them its emphasis, will probably be effectual.

"To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.

"WHITEHALL, 6th May, 1656.

"GENTLEMEN, — You will perceive, by the Instructions[1] herewith sent you, what is expected by the Council and myself at your hands. And although we are satisfied that you will believe we have sufficient grounds to give you these Directions, yet we have thought fit, for the farther strengthening you unto this Action, to give you a short knowledge of the true state of the Difference between us and the King of Portugal.

"You very well know that it is very near two years since we and the Ambassador of Portugal did agree a Treaty; they having wronged us and our Merchants, and taken part with the late King against us. When the Articles were fully agreed by the Ambassador, who had full power and authority to conclude with us, we on our part ratified and confirmed the same, and sent it to the King of Portugal to be ratified and executed by him also. He, delaying to do it according to the first Agreement, in which there were some preliminaries to be performed by him before we could enter upon the whole body of a Treaty, — not only refused to give us satisfaction therein, but instead thereof sent us a pretended Ratification of a Treaty, so different from what was agreed by his Ambassador that it was quite another thing. In [regard to] some essential Articles, it was proposed that if we would condescend to some amendments, the King of Portugal would [then] agree to confirm the whole.

[1] Thurloe, iv. 769: brief "instructions," To seize the Portugal's ships, *fleets, almost the Portugal's self*, if he will not do justice.

"Whereupon we sent Mr. Maynard to have the Treaty consummated: but finding by the answer he gave us,[1] that there was little reality, and nothing but delays intended, we could not satisfy ourselves without sending another Person, fully instructed, and authorized by us to take away all scruples by yielding to their own amendments; thereby to discern whether they were sincere[2] or not. But, contrary to all expectation, we find, by the account the said Person hath given us, that we are put upon it to recede from all those things that were provisional, either for the good of the State or of our Merchants, or else we must have no Peace with them.[3]

"In one of the Articles agreed with the Ambassador, it was expressed, That the Merchants should enjoy liberty of conscience, in the worship of God in their own houses and aboard their ships; enjoying also the use of English Bibles, and other good books; taking care that they did not exceed this liberty. Now, upon the sending of Mr. Meadows, — unless we will agree to submit this Article to the determination of the Pope, we cannot have it: whereby he would bring us to an owning of the Pope; which, we hope, whatever befall us, we shall not, by the grace of God, be brought unto.[4] And upon the same issue is that Article put whereby it is provided and agreed by his Ambassador, That any ships coming to that harbor, any of their company that shall run away from the said ships shall be brought back again by the Magistrate; and the Commanders of the said ships [shall] not [be] required to pay the said runaways their wages, upon pretence [that] they are turned Catholics, — which may be a color for any knave to leave his duty, or for the Roman Catholics to seduce our men. This we thought necessary to be provided against. Yet to this also, as I said before, they would not consent without the approbation of the Pope, although it was agreed by their Ambassador too.

"Upon the whole matter, we find them very false to us, who intended nothing but what was simply honest. And — truly we cannot believe that Article that was for our good,—

[1] "by his return" in orig.
[2] "real" in orig.
[3] Let them have a care!
[4] So!

was [ever] really intended by them. And we may now plainly see what the effect is like to be of any Treaty had or made with people or states guided by such principles, who, when they have agreed, have such an evasion as these people have manifestly held forth in their dealing with us. Wherefore we pray you to be very exact in your prosecution of your Instructions; which truly I hope do not arise from the hope of gain, but from a sense of duty. For, seeing we cannot secure our People in their lives, liberties and estates by a Pretence of a Treaty; nor yet answer the just demands this Nation hath for wrongs done them; but must in some sort be guilty of bringing our People as it were into a net, by such specious shows which have nothing but falseness and rottenness in them; — we are necessitated, having amongst ourselves found out no possible expedient, though we have industriously sought it, to salve these things; we, out of necessity [I say], and not out of choice, have concluded to go in this way.

"You will receive herewith the Copy of an Instruction given and sent to Mr. Meadows, wherein is a time limited for the King's answer: and we desire that this may not be made use of by the King to delay or deceive us: nor that you, upon the first sight hereof, delay to take the best course you can to effect your Instructions, — or that the Portugal should get his Fleet home before you get between him and home, and so the birds be flown.

"We know not what your affairs are at the present; but are confident that nothing will be wanting on your part for the effectual accomplishment of this Service. But knowing that all ways, and works, and ourselves, are ever at the perfect disposition of the Lord and His providence, and that our times are in His hands, — we therefore recommend you to the grace and guidance of our good God, who, we hope, hath thoughts of mercy towards us: and that He would guide and bless you is the prayer of,

"Your very loving friend,

[OLIVER P.][1]

[1] Thurloe, iv. 768.

In Thurloe's handwriting; but very evidently Oliver's composition every sentence of it. There will clearly be no living for the Portugal, unless he decide to throw away his jockeyings and jesuitries, and do what is fair and square!

LETTER CCXI.

A SMALL vestige, it is presumable, of this Protector's solicitude for the encouragement of Learning and Learned Men. Which is a feature of his character very conceivable to us, and well demonstrated otherwise by testimony of facts and persons. Such we shall presume the purport of this small Civic Message to be.

"*For Our worthy Friends the Committee of the City of London for Gresham College: These.*

"WHITEHALL, 9th May, 1656.

"GENTLEMEN, — We understanding that you have appointed an election this afternoon of a Geometry Professor in Gresham College, — We desire you to suspend the same for some time, till We shall have an opportunity to speak with some of you in order to that business. I rest,

"Your loving friend,

"OLIVER P."[1]

Historical Neal says zealously, "If there was a man in England who excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector would find him out, and reward him according to his merit." The renowned Dr. Cudworth in Cambridge, I have likewise expressly read, had commission to mark among the ingenuous youth of that University such as he deemed apt for Public Employment, and to make the Protector aware of them. Which high and indeed sacred function we find the Doctor, as occasion offers, intent to discharge.[2] The choice this Protector made of men, — "in nothing was his good understanding better discovered;" "which gave a general satisfaction to the

[1] Original, with Oliver's Signature, now (1846) in the Guildhall Library, London.

[2] Thurloe, iii. 614; v. 522; &c.

Public," say the Histories.[1] As we can very well believe! He who is himself a true man, has a chance to know the truth of men when he sees them; he who is not, has none: and as for the poor Public and its satisfactions, — alas, is not the kind of "man" you set upon it the liveliest symbol of its, and your, veracity and victory and blessedness, or unveracity and misery and cursedness; the general summation, and practical outcome, of all else whatsoever in the Public, and in you?

LETTER CCXII.

ANOTHER small Note still extant; relating to very small, altogether domestic matters.

"[*For my loving Son Richard Cromwell, Esquire, at Hursley: These.*]

"[WHITEHALL,] 29th May, 1656.

"SON, — YOU know there hath often been a desire to sell Newhall, because in these four years last past it hath yielded very little or no profit at all, nor did I ever hear you ever liked it for a Seat.

"It seems there may be a chapman had, who will give £18,000. It shall either be laid out where you shall desire; at Mr. Wallop's, or elsewhere, and the money put into feoffees' hands in trust to be so disposed: or I shall settle Burleigh; which yields near £1,300[2] *per annum*, besides the woods. Waterhouse will give you farther information. I rest,

"Your loving father,

"OLIVER P.

"My love to your Father and Mother,[3] and your dear Wife."[4]

Newhall is the House and Estate in Essex which had once belonged to the great Duke of Buckingham. Burleigh I guess

[1] Burnet, in Neal, ii. 514; ib. ii. 461, 494. [2] Written above is "£1,260."

[3] Mr. and Mrs. Mayor of Hursley.

[4] Original in the possession of Henry William Field, Esq., of the Royal Mint.

to be Burleigh on the Hill, near Oakham, another House of the great Duke's, which Oliver in the beginning of his military services had known well: he took it by assault in 1643. Of Oliver's Lands, or even of his Public Lands granted by the Parliament, much more of the successive phases his Estate assumed by new purchase and exchange, there is, as we once observed already, no exact knowledge now anywhere to be had. Obscure incidental notices flit through the Commons Journals and other Records; but the sum of the matter alike with the details of it are sunk in antique Law-Parchments, in obliterated Committee-Papers, far beyond human sounding. Of the Lands he *died* possessed of, there is a List extant, more or less accurate; which is worth looking at here. On quitting the Protectorship in 1659, Richard Cromwell, with the hope of having his debts paid and some fixed revenue allowed him, gave in a Schedule of his Liabilities and of his Properties, the latter all in Land; which Schedule poor Noble has found *somewhere*;[1] and copied, probably with blunders. Subjoined is his List of the Properties, some of them misspelt, most likely; the exact localities of which, no indication being given or sought by Noble, may be a problem for persons learned in such matters.[2] To us, only Burleigh and Newhall are of importance here.

[1] *Not* where he says he did, "in *Commons Journals*, 14th May, 1659" (Noble, i. 333, 334).

[2] REAL ESTATE IN 1659.

Dalby, *Broughton*, Gower	settled on my Brother Henry Cromwell upon marriage: worth a year	£989	9 1
		533	8 8
		479	0 0
Newhall with woods, settled for security of £15,000 for a Portion for my Sister Frances		1,200	0 0
Chepstall		549	7 3
Magore		448	0 0
Tydenham		3,121	9 6
Woolaston		664	16 6
Chaulton with woods		500	0 0
Burleigh		1,236	12 8
Okham		326	14 11
Egleton		79	11 6

These are all the Lands at this date in the possession of the Oliver Family. The five names printed here in italics are still recognizable: Villiers (Duke

Newhall, we can observe, was not sold on the occasion of this Letter, nor at all sold; for it still stands in the List of 1659; and with some indication, too, as to what the cause of now trying to sell it may have been. "For a Portion to my Sister Frances," namely. Noble's citations from Morant's *History of Essex;* his and Morant's blunderings and somnambulances, in regard to this matter of Newhall, seem almost to approach the sublime.[1]

Leaving these, let us attend a little to the "Portion for my Sister Frances;" concerning which and whom a few lines of musical domestic gossip, interesting to the mind, are once more audible, from the same flute-voice above listened to. "Mr. Rich," we should premise, is the Lord Rich's Son, the Earl of Warwick's Grandson; heir-apparent, though he did not live to be heir: — pious old Earl of Warwick, whom we have seen heretofore as Admiral in the Long-Parliament time; the poor Earl of Holland's Brother. Here are affairs of the heart, romances of reality, such as have to go on in all times, under all dialects and fashions of dress-caps, Puritan-Protectoral and other.

of Buckingham) Properties all of these; the first two in Leicestershire, the last three contiguous to one another in Rutlandshire: of the others I at present (A.D. 1845) know nothing. As to poor Richard's finance-budget, encumbered "with £2,000, yearly to my Mother," "with £3,000 of debt contracted in my Father's lifetime," and plentifully otherwise, — it shall not concern us farther.

(*Note of* 1857.) The other Properties have now also been discovered: Lands, these, of the confiscated Marquis of Worcester; all of them in the South Wales or Ragland quarter. "Gower" is in Glamorgan, not far from Swansea; "Chepstall" is *Chepstow;* "Tydenham," *Tidenham,* in the same neighborhood; "Woolaston" is in Gloucestershire, four miles from Chepstow; "Chaulton," one of the *Charltons* in the same county; "Magore," *Magor* (St. Mary's) in Monmouthshire. For *Gower, Tidenham, Magor,* and their connection with Cromwell, there is still direct proof; for the others, which are all Ragland manors too, there is thus presumption to the verge of proof. So that all these Properties, in Richard's Schedule, are either Buckingham or else Worcester ones, — grants by the Nation; — and of "my ould land" (now settled otherwise, or indeed not concerned in this question) there is no mention here. (Newspaper called *Notes and Queries,* Nos. 21–28; London, 23d March–11th May, 1850.)

[1] *Noble, i. 334, 335.*

"*The Lady Mary Cromwell to Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Forces in Ireland.*

"[HAMPTON COURT,] 23d June, 1656.

"DEAR BROTHER, — Your kind Letters do so much engage my heart towards you, that I can never tell how to express in writing the true affection and value I have for you, — who, truly I think, none that knows you but you may justly claim it from.[1]

"I must confess myself in a great fault in omitting to write to you and your dear Wife so long a time. But I suppose you cannot be ignorant of the reason, which truly has been the only cause; which is this business of my Sister Frances and Mr. Rich. Truly I can truly say it, for these three months I think our Family, and myself in particular, have been in the greatest confusion and trouble as ever poor Family can be in. The Lord tell us His [mind][2] in it; and settle us, and make us what He would have us to be! I suppose you heard of the breaking off of the business; and, according to your desire in your last Letter, as well as I can, I shall give you a full account of it. Which is this: —

"After a quarter of a year's admittance, my Father and my Lord Warwick began to treat about the Estate; and it seems my Lord did not offer that which my Father expected. I need not name particulars: for I suppose you have had them from better hands: but if I may say the truth, I think it was not so much estate, as from private reasons which my Father discovered to none but to my Sister Frances and his own Family; — which was a dislike to the young person. Which he had from some reports of his being a vicious man, given to play and such like things; which office was done by some who had a mind to break off the match. My Sister, hearing these things, was resolved to know the truth of it;[3] and truly did find all the reports to be false that were recited of him. And to tell you the truth, they were so much engaged in affection before

[1] Young Lady's grammar!

[2] Word torn out.

[3] Poor little Frances!

this, that she could not think of breaking it off. So that my Sister engaged me and all the friends she had, who truly were very few, to speak in her behalf to my Father. Which we did; but could not be heard to any purpose: only this my Father promised, That if he were satisfied as to the report, the estate should not break it off. With which she was satisfied.

"And so after this, there was a second Treaty; and my Lord Warwick desired my Father, To name what it was he demanded more; and to his utmost he would satisfy him. So my Father upon this made new propositions; which my Lord Warwick has answered as much as he can. But it seems there are five hundred pounds a year in my Lord Rich's hands; which he has power to sell: and there are some people, who persuade his Highness, that it would be dishonorable for him to conclude it unless these £500 a year be settled upon Mr. Rich, after his father's death. And my Lord Rich having no esteem at all of his son, because he is not so bad as himself, will not agree to it; and these people upon this persuade my Father, That it would be a dishonor to him to yield upon these terms; it would show, that he was made a fool of by my Lord Rich. So the truth is, how it shall be, I cannot understand, nor very few else;[1] and truly I must tell you privately, they are so far engaged, that the match cannot be broke off! She acquainted none of her friends with her resolution, when she did it.

"Dear Brother, this is, as far as I can tell, the state of the Business. The Lord direct them what to do. And all, I think, ought to beg of God to pardon her in her doing of this thing;— which I must say truly she was put upon by the [course][2] of things. Dear, let me beg my excuses to my Sister for not writing. My best respects to her. Pardon this trouble; and believe me that I shall ever strive to approve myself, dear Brother,

"Your affectionate sister and servant,

"MARY CROMWELL."[3]

[1] Good little Mary!

[2] Torn out.

[3] *Thurloe, v.* 146.

Poor little Fanny Cromwell was not yet much turned of Seventeen, when she had these complex things to do, with her friends, "who truly were very few." What "people" they were that put, or strove to put, such notions into his Highness's head, with intent to frustrate the decidedly eligible Mr. Rich, none knows. I could suspect Ashley Cooper, or some such hand, if his date of favor still lasted. But it is gone, long months ago. Ashley is himself frustrated; cannot obtain this musical glib-tongued Lady Mary, says Ludlow;[1] goes over to opposition in consequence; is dismissed from his Highness's Council of State; and has to climb in this world by another ladder. — Poor Fanny's marriage did nevertheless take effect. Both Mary and she were duly wedded, Fanny to Rich, Mary to Lord Fauconberg, in November next year, within about a week of each other:[2] our friends, "who truly were very few," and our destinies, and our own lively wits, brought all right in the end.

[1] Here is the passage, not hitherto printed; one of several "suppressed passages from *Ludlow's Memoirs*," which still exist in the handwriting of John Locke (now in the possession of Lord Lovelace), having been duly copied out by Locke for his own poor *Life* of the Earl of Shaftesbury, to whom they all relate: —

"Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was first for the King, then for the Parliament; then, in Cromwell's first Assembly," the Little Parliament, was "for the reformation; and afterwards for Cromwell against the reformation. Now [again], being denied Cromwell's Daughter Mary in marriage, he appears against Cromwell's design in the last Assembly," the constitutioning Parliament, where his behavior was none of the best; "and is therefore dismissed the Council, Cromwell being resolved to act there as the chief juggler himself; and one Colonel Mackworth, a Lawyer about Shrewsbury, a person fit for his purpose, is chosen in his room," — Mackworth was a Soldier as well as Lawyer; the same who, as Governor of Shrewsbury, gave negative response to Charles Second, when he summoned him on the road to Worcester, once upon a time. Mackworth was in the Council, and had even died, and entirely left the Council, before Anthony Ashley left it (*Thurloe*, iii. 581; and *Godwin*, iv. 288). My solid friend, absent in Ireland, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, falls into some errors! Court-rumor, this of his; truth in the heart of it, details rather vague; — not much worth verifying or rectifying here.

[2] Vol. xvii. p. 69.

LETTER CCXIII.

It was last Spring Assizes, as we saw, that the "great appearances of country gentlemen and persons of the highest quality" took place; leading to the inference generally that this Protectorate Government is found worth acknowledging by England. Certainly a somewhat successful Government hitherto; in spite of difficulties great and many. It carries eternal Gospel in the one hand, temporal drawn Sword in the other. Actually it has compressed the turbulent humors of this Country, and encouraged the better tendencies thereof, hitherto; it has set its foot resolutely on the neck of English Anarchy, and points with its armed hand to noble onward and upward paths. All which, England, thankful at lowest for peace and order, by degrees recognizes; with acquiescence, not without some slow satisfactory feeling. England is in peace at home; stands as the Queen of Protestantism abroad; defies Spain and Antichrist, protects poor Piedmont Protestants and servants of Christ; — has taken, all men admit, a nobler attitude than it ever had before.

Nor has the task been easy hitherto; nor is it like to be. No holiday work, governing such an England as this of Oliver Protector's; with strong Papistry abroad, and a Hydra of Anarchies at home! The domestic Hydra is not slain; cannot, by the nature of it, be *slain;* can only be scotched and mowed down, head after head, as it successively protrudes itself; — till, by the aid of Time, it slowly *die.* As yet, on any hint of foreign encouragement it revives again, requires to be scotched and mowed down again. His exiled Majesty Charles Stuart has got a new lever in hand, by means of this War with Spain.

Seven years ago his exiled Majesty's "Embassy to Spain," embassy managed by Chancellor Hyde and another, proved rather a hungry affair; and ended, I think, in little, — except the murder of poor Ascham, the then Parliament's Envoy at Madrid; whom, like Dutch Dorislaus, as "an accursed regicide or abettor of regicides," certain cut-throat servants of the said hungry Embassy broke in upon, one afternoon, and slew. For

which violent deed no full satisfaction could be got from Spain, — the murderers having taken "sanctuary," as was pleaded.[1] With that rather sorry result, and no other noticeable, Chancellor Hyde's Embassy took itself away again; Spain ordering it to go. But now, this fierce Protestant Protector breathing nothing but war, Spain finds that the English domestic Hydra, if well operated upon by Charles Stuart, might be a useful thing; and grants Charles Stuart some encouragements for that. His poor Majesty is coming to the seashore again; is to have "seven thousand Spaniards" to invade England, — if the domestic Hydra will stir with effect. The domestic Hydra, I think, had better lie quiet for a while! This Letter to Henry Cromwell is to bid him too, for his part, be awake in Ireland to these things.

For the Hydra is not dead; and its heads are legion. Major Wildman, for example, sits safe in Chepstow: but Sexby, the Anabaptist Colonel, whom we could not take on that occasion, is still busy; has been "trying to seduce the Fleet," trying to do this and that; is now fairly gone to Spain, to treat with Antichrist himself for the purpose of bringing in a Reign of Christ, — the truly desperate Anabaptist Colonel![2] It is a Hydra like few. Spiritual and Practical: Muggletonians, mad Quakers riding into Bristol, Fifth-Monarchists, Hungry Flunkies: ever scheming, plotting with or without hope, to "seduce the Protector's Guard," "to blow up the Protector in his bedroom," and do "other little fiddling things," as the Protector calls them, — which one cannot waste time in specifying! Only the slow course of nature can kill that Hydra: till a Colonel Sexby *die*, how can you keep him quiet? —

But what doubtless gives new vitality to plotting, in these weeks, is the fact that a General Election to Parliament is going on. There is to be a new Parliament; — in which may lie who knows what contentions. The Protector lost it last time, by the arithmetical account of heads; will he gain it this time? Account of heads is not exactly the Protector's

[1] Clarendon, iii. 498–509; Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain *upon the* Death of Anthony Ascham (in *Harl. Miscell.* vi. 236–247).

[2] *Clarendon*, iii. 852; Thurloe, iv. 698, &c.

basis; but he hopes he may now gain it even so. At all events, this wide foreign and domestic Spanish War cannot be carried on without supplies; he will first try it so, — then otherwise if not so.

[*To Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Army in Ireland.*]

"[WHITEHALL,] 26th August, 1656.

"SON HARRY, — We are informed, from several hands, that the old Enemy are forming designs to invade Ireland, as well as other parts of the Commonwealth; and that he and Spain have very great correspondence with some chief men in that Nation, for raising a sudden rebellion there.

"Therefore we judge it very necessary that you take all possible care to put the Forces into such a condition as may answer anything that may fall out in this kind. And to that end, that you contract the Garrisons in Ireland, as many as may be; and get a considerable marching Army into the field, in two or three bodies, to be left in the most proper and advantageous places for service, as occasion shall require. Taking also, in all other things, your best care you can to break and prevent the designs and combinations of the Enemy; — and a very particular regard is to be had to the North, where, without question, busy and discontented persons are working towards new disturbances. I do not doubt but you will communicate this thing to Colonel Cowper, to the end he may be more watchful and diligent in looking to this danger. I rest,

"Your loving father,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." [1]

"Colonel Cowper" commands the Forces in Ulster. Plenty of details about him in Thurloe's Fourth Volume: — our readers can sufficiently conceive him without details. We are more interested to state, from a Letter of Thurloe's which goes along with this, that there are "Fourteen Spanish ships plying about the Isle of Islay," doubtless with an eye to

[1] Sloane MSS. 4157, f. 209; and (with insignificant variations) Thurloe, v. 348.

Carrickfergus; that we hope, and indeed believe, my Lord Henry will be on the alert. For the rest, the Elections are going well; all "for peace and settlement," as we hear, "and great friends to the Government." Ashley Cooper, indeed, has been chosen for Wilts: but, on the other hand, Bradshaw has missed in Cheshire; Sir Henry Vane has tried in three places and missed in all.[1] This is of date 26th August, 1656; poor England universally sifting itself; trying what the arithmetical account of heads will do for it, once more.

LETTER CCXIV.

THE Portugal has done justice; reluctantly aware at last that jesuitries would not serve him.[2] The Spaniards, again, cower close within their harbors; patient of every insult; no ship will venture out, and no Plate Fleet will come in: and as for "attempting Cadiz or Gibraltar," the Sea-Generals, after mature survey, decide that without other force it cannot prudently be done. This is what Montague, with his clear eyes, has had to report to Secretary Thurloe on the latter enterprise: "I perceive much desire that Gibraltar should be taken. My thoughts as to that are, in short, these: That the likeliest way to get it is, By landing on the sand, and quickly cutting it off between sea and sea, or so securing our men there as that they may hinder the intercourse of the Town with the Main; frigates lying near, too, to assist them: — and it is well known that Spain never victualleth any place for one month. This will want four or five thousand men, well formed and officered. — This is my own only thought which I submit, at present."[3]

[1] Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, date 26th Aug. (v. 349).

[2] Meadows to Blake and Montague, 13th May, 1656: Thurloe, v. 14; — see ib. 69, 116, and 118 (the Portugal's Letter to Oliver, 24th June, 1656).

[3] Montague to Thurloe, in cipher, 20th April to 29th May, 1656 (*Thurloe*, v. 67-70), "received by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here 11th July," — and has brought other Letters, joint Letters from the Generals, of somewhat *later* date, as we shall perceive.

Whereupon the Lord Protector sends the following Orders; one other Sea Letter of his which we happen to have left. Mainly of Thurloe's composition, I perceive; but worth preserving on various accounts.

"*To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.*

"WHITEHALL, 28th August, 1656.

"GENTLEMEN, — We have received your Letters of the 19th of June brought to us by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here the 11th of July.

"By those Letters, and by what Captain Lloyd related by word of mouth, — which is not contradicted by yours of the 1st and 3d of July, [since] received by the Squadron of Ten Ships (which are all safely arrived in the Channel), nor by any other intelligence received by other hands, — we find That the Spaniard keeps [within] his Ports, and doth not yet prepare any considerable Fleet to come to Sea; and that, in the condition you and they were then in, they were not to be attempted in their Harbors. And as for any design upon Gibraltar, we see by General Montague's Letter to the Secretary, that nothing therein was feasible without a good Body of Landsmen. — So that, upon the whole, there remains nothing to be done, in those seas for the present, which should require the whole Fleet now with you to remain there. Besides that the Great Ships cannot, without great danger, be kept out, the wintertime, upon that coast.

"Upon these grounds we are of opinion, with you, That a good Squadron of Frigates will, in this season, be sufficient to answer any opportunity of service which may present itself. And therefore we have resolved That about the number of Twenty Ships, such as you shall judge proper and fit for that purpose, be kept in those seas; and the rest be sent home, with the first opportunity of wind and weather: — and desire that you will give order therein accordingly. And in respect it will be necessary that we advise with one of you at least, upon *this whole* affair; and it being also very inconvenient

that you should be *both* from the head of the Fleet which remains behind, the management thereof being of so great concernment to the Commonwealth, — we would have General Blake to stay with the Fleet, and General Montague to come with the Squadron which comes home.

"For the service which these Ships [that stay] should be applied to, — we need say nothing therein; but refer you to the former Instructions. That which we believe the Enemy will most intend will be the carrying on his Trade to the West Indies; which if he can effectually do, he will not much care for what else is done upon him. And our intelligence is, That at this time he is fitting out some Ships of war, and others, to send from Cadiz into those parts; — the certainty whereof we suppose you may know. And therefore that which is most to be endeavored is, The spoiling him in that Trade, by intercepting his Fleets either going to or coming from those parts,[1] — and as much as may be To destroy his correspondencies thither. It will be of great use also to prevent the coming of any Materials for Shipping, or other contraband goods into Cadiz or any of his Ports: which you can have an eye to; and, as much as may be, prejudice his correspondency with Flanders.

"Besides these things, and what other damage you may have an opportunity to do the Enemy, we, in our keeping the said Fleet in those Seas, had an eye to the Preservation of the Trade of this Commonwealth in the Straits and to Portugal:[2] which we suppose could not be driven on without a very good countenance and strength, — in respect the Enemy would otherwise be able with a few ships to obstruct this Trade wholly, and to take all that passed either to or from the one place or the other. But our intention is not To reckon up every particular wherein this Fleet may be useful, but only To let you know our general scope; and to leave the management and improvement thereof to the prudence and direction of him who is to abide upon the place. Whom we beseech the Lord

[1] "thence" in orig.

[2] *Here, I think,* at the beginning of this Paragraph, the Protector himself *has more* decidedly struck in.

to be present with; and to guide him to that which may be for the good of this Commonwealth, and according to His own will.

"These have been our thoughts, and the considerations we have had upon this Affair. If anything else doth occur to you different from what is here expressed, either as to the number of Ships to remain in those seas, or the way and manner of weakening the Enemy and managing the War against him, — we desire to understand your sense and advice hereupon, with all possible speed; sooner, if it may be, than the return of the aforesaid Squadron. And in the mean time we are not willing to tie you up positively to the number of Twenty Ships to remain on that Coast; but give you a latitude to keep a lesser or greater number there, for answering the ends aforesaid, and [so] as you shall find the occasion to require, which possibly may be very much varied since the last we had from you. — For what concerns the Provisions of victuals and other things which the Fleet will stand in need of, the Commissioners of the Admiralty have direction to write at large to you. Unto whose Letters we refer you; — and desire you and the whole Fleet to rest assured that nothing shall be omitted to be done, here, for your supply and encouragement upon all occasions.

"Your loving friend,

[OLIVER P.]"[1]

About a fortnight ago, August 13th, learned Bulstrode went with the Swedish Ambassador to dine with a famed Sea-General, Sir George Ayscough, of whom we have occasionally heard; who lives for the present, retired from service, "at his House in Surrey:" House not known to me; which by the aid of "ponds, moats," and hydraulic contrivances, he has made to "stand environed in water like a ship at sea," — very charming indeed; and says he has "cast anchor" here. Our entertainment was superb. The brilliant Swedish Ambassador and Sir George spake much about frigates, their rates of sail-

[1] Thurloe, v. 363. "Sent to Plymouth, To be sent to the Generals by Captain *Hatsell*."

ing, their capabilities of fighting, and other technical topics, which a learned mind might, without much tedium, listen to. "After dinner, the Ambassador came round by Hampton Court, to take his leave of the Lady Claypole and her Sisters;"[1] — which latter small fact, in the ancient Autumn afternoon, one rather loves to remember! As for this Swedish Ambassador, he is just about quitting England, the high-tempered, clear-glancing man; having settled "copperas," "contrabanda," and many other things, to mutual satisfaction; — nay it is surmised he has thoughts of inviting Ayscough into Sweden to teach them seamanship there; which, however, shall not concern us on this occasion.[2]

SPEECH V.

But the new Parliament is now about assembling; wherein we shall see what conclusions will be tried! A momentous question for his Highness and the Council of State; who have been, with interest enough, perusing and pondering the List of Names returned. On the whole, a hopeful Parliament, as Thurloe had expected: Official persons, these and others known as friends to this Government, are copiously elected: the great body of the Parliament seems to consist of men well affected to his Highness, and even loyal to him; who, witnessing the course he follows, wish him heartily God-speed thereon. Certain others there are, and in considerable number, of stiff Republican ways, or given to turbulence in general, — a Haselrig, a Thomas Scott, an Ashley Cooper: these, as a mass of leaven which might leaven the whole lump, and produce one knows not what in the way of fermentation, are clearly very dangerous. But for these also his Highness and the Council of State, in the present anomalous condition of the Nation, have silently provided an expedient. Which we hope may be of service. On the whole, we trust *this* Parliament may prove a better than the last.

[1] Whitlocke, pp. 638, 639. [2] Biog. Britan. [illegible] Ayscough.

At all events, on Wednesday, 17th September, 1656, Parliament, Protector, all in due state, do assemble at the Abbey Church; and, with reverence and credence, hear Doctor Owen, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, very pertinently preach to them from these old words of Isaiah, — old and yet always new and true: *What shall one then answer to the Messengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the Poor of His People shall trust in it.*[1] After which, all having removed, still in due state, to the Painted Chamber, and there adjusted themselves, the Protector, rising in his elevated place and taking off his hat, now speaks. The Speech, reported by one knows not whom, lies in old Manuscript in the British Museum; and printed in late years in the Book called *Burton's Diary;* here and there in a very dreary, besmeared, unintelligible condition; from which, as heretofore, a pious Editor strives to rescue it. Sufficiently studied, it becomes intelligible, nay luminous. Let the reader too read with piety, with a real endeavor to understand.

"GENTLEMEN, — When I came hither, I did think that a duty was incumbent upon me a little to pity myself; because, this being a very extraordinary occasion, I thought I had very many things to say unto you [and was somewhat burdened and straitened thereby]. But truly now, seeing *you* in such a condition as you are,[2] I think I must turn off [my pity] in this, as I hope I shall in everything else; — and consider *you* as certainly not being able long to bear that condition and heat that you are now in. — [So far as possible, on this large subject, let us be brief; not studying the Art of Rhetoricians.] Rhetoricians, whom I do not pretend to [much concern with]; neither with them, nor with what they use to deal in: Words!

"Truly *our* business is to speak Things! The Dispensations of God that are upon us do require it; and that subject upon which we shall make our discourse is somewhat of very great interest and concernment, both for the glory of God, and with reference to His Interest in the world. I mean His

[1] *Isaiah xiv. 32.* [2] Place crowded, weather hot.

peculiar, His most peculiar Interest [His Church, the Communion of the faithful Followers of Christ]; — and that will not leave any of us to exclude His general Interest, which is the concernment of the Living People [not as Christians but as human creatures] within these three Nations, and all the Dependencies thereupon. I have told you I should speak to *things;* things that concern these Interests: The Glory of God, and His Peculiar Interest in the world, — which [latter] is more extensive, I say more extensive, than the People of all these three Nations with the appurtenances, or the countries and places, belonging unto them.[1]

"The first thing, therefore, that I shall speak to is *That* that is the first lesson of Nature: Being and Preservation. [*Begin at the basis: How are we to get continued at all as a Nation, not trampled under foot by Invaders, Anarchies, and reduced to wreck?*] As to that of Being, I do think I do not ill style it the *first* consideration which Nature teacheth the Sons of Adam: — and then I think we shall enter into a field large enough when we come to consider that of Well-being. But if Being itself be not first well laid, I think the other will hardly follow!

"Now in order to this, to the Being and Subsistence of these Nations with all their Dependencies: The conservation of that [namely of our National Being] is first to be viewed with respect to those who seek to undo it, and so make it *not to be;* and then very naturally we shall come to the consideration of what will make it *be,* of what will *keep* its being and subsistence. [*His Highness's heads of method.*]

"[Now] that which plainly seeks the destruction of the Being of these Nations is, out of doubt: The endeavor and design of all the common Enemies of them. I think, truly,

[1] "more extensive:" *more important* would have better suited what went before; yet "extensive" is in all likelihood the word, for his Highness is here branching out into a second idea, which he goes on to blend with the *primary* one, of "the concernment of the general mass of the People."

it will not be hard to find out who those Enemies are; nor what hath made them so! I think, They are all the wicked men in the world, whether abroad or at home, that are the Enemies to the very Being of these Nations; — and this upon a common account, from the very enmity that is in them [to all such things]. Whatsoever could serve the glory of God and the interest of His People, — which they see to be more eminently, yea more eminently patronized and professed in this Nation (we will not speak it with vanity) than in all the Nations in the world: *this* is the common ground of the common enmity entertained against the prosperity of our Nation, against the very Being of it. — But we will not, I think, take up our time, contemplating who these Enemies are, and what they are, in the general notion: we will labor to *specificate* our Enemies; to know what persons and bodies of persons they practically are that seek the very destruction and [1] Being of these Three Nations.

"And truly I would not have laid such a foundation but to the end I might very particularly communicate with you [about that same matter]. For which [above others], I think, you are called hither at this time: — That I might particularly communicate with you about the many dangers these Nations stand in, from Enemies abroad and at home; and advise with you about the remedies, and means to obviate these dangers. [Dangers] which — say I, and I shall leave it to you whether you will join with me or no — strike at the very Being and [vital] interest of these Nations. And therefore, coming to particulars, I will shortly represent to you the estate of your affairs in that respect: in respect [namely] of the Enemies you are engaged with; and how you come to be engaged with those Enemies, and how they come to be, *as* heartily, I believe, engaged against you. [*His Highness's utterance is terribly rusty hitherto; creaky, uncertain, difficult! He will gather strength by going. Wait till the axles get warm a little!*]

"Why, truly, your great Enemy is the Spaniard. He is a natural enemy. He is naturally so; he is naturally so through-

[1] "*of the*" *would be more* grammatical; but much less Oliverian.

out, — by reason of that enmity that is in him against whatsoever is of God. [Whatsoever is of God] which is in *you*, or which may be in you; contrary to that which *his* blindness and darkness, led on by superstition, and the implicitness of his faith in submitting to the See of Rome, actuate[1] him unto! — With this King and State, I say, you are at present in hostility. We put you into this hostility. You will give us leave to tell you how. [*By sending out your Hispaniola Fleet, Christmas gone a year, — which has issued rather sorrily, your Highness!*] For we are ready to excuse [this and] most of our actions, — and to justify them too, as well as to excuse them, — upon the ground of Necessity. [And] the ground of Necessity, for justifying of men's actions, is above all considerations of instituted Law; and if this or any other State should go about — as I know they never will — to make Laws against Events, against what *may* happen, [then] I think it is obvious to any man, they will be making Laws against Providence; events, and issues of things, being from God alone, to whom all issues belong.

"The Spaniard is your enemy; and your enemy, as I tell you, naturally, by that antipathy which is in him, — [and also] providentially,[2] and this in divers respects. You could not get an honest or honorable Peace from him: it was sought by the Long Parliament; it was not attained. It could not be attained with honor and honesty. I say, it could not be attained with honor and honesty. And truly when I say that, [I do but say] He is naturally throughout *an enemy;* an enmity is put into him by God. 'I will put an enmity between thy seed and her seed;'[3] — which goes but for little among statesmen, but is more considerable than all things! [*Yea, your Highness; it is! — Listen to what his Highness himself says of his reasons for going to war with Spain. "Statesmen" too, if they can separate therein what is transitory from what is perennial and eternal, may find it still very worthy of attention. He who*

[1] "acts" in orig., now as always.

[2] Means, not "luckily" as now, but simply "by special ordering of Providence."

[3] Genesis iii. 15.

has in him, who manifests in the ways of him, an "enmity to God," and goes about patronizing unveracities, rotten delusions, brazen falsities, pestilent injustices, — with him, whatever his seeming extent of money-capital and worldly prosperity may be, I would advise no nation nor statesman nor man to be prompt in clapping up an alliance. He will not come to good, I think; not he, for one. Bad security in his firm; have no trade with him. With him your only fit trade is, Duel to the death, when the time comes for that!] And he that considers not such natural enmity, the *providential* enmity, as well as the *accidental*, I think he is not well acquainted with Scripture and the things of God. And the Spaniard is not only our enemy accidentally, but he is providentially so; God having in His wisdom disposed it so to be, when we made a breach with the Spanish Nation [long ago].

"No sooner did this Nation form what is called (unworthily) the Reformed Religion [*It was not half reformed!*] after the death of Queen Mary, by the Queen Elizabeth of famous memory, — we need not be ashamed to call her so! [*No, your Highness; the royal court-phrase expresses in this case an exact truth. She was, and is, "of famous memory"*] — but the Spaniard's design became, By all unworthy, unnatural means, to destroy that Person, and to seek the ruin and destruction of these Kingdoms. For me to instance in particulars upon that account, were to trouble you at a very unseasonable time: there is a Declaration extant [*The Council's "Declaration," in October last*], which very fully hath in it the origin of the Spaniard venting himself upon this Nation; and a series of it[1] from those very beginnings to this present day. But his enmity was partly upon that general account which all are agreed [about]. The French, all the Protestants in Germany, all have agreed, That his design was the empire of the whole Christian World, if not more; — and upon *that* ground he looks [and hath looked] at this Nation as his greatest obstacle. And as to what his attempts have been for that end, — I refer you to that Declaration, and to the observations of men who read History. It would not be difficult to call to

[1] *Of "his* ventings," namely.

mind the several Assassinations designed upon that Lady, that great Queen: the attempts upon Ireland, the Spaniards' invading of it; their designs of the same nature upon *this* Nation, — public designs, private designs, all manner of designs, to accomplish this great and general end. Truly King James made a Peace; but whether this Nation, and the interest of all Protestant Christians, suffered not more by that Peace, than ever by Spain's hostility, I refer to your consideration!

"Thus a State which you can neither have peace with nor reason from, — that is the State with which you have enmity at this time, and against which you are engaged. And give me leave to say this unto you, because it is truth, and most men know it, That the Long Parliament did endeavor, but could not obtain satisfaction [from the Spaniard] all the time they sat: for the Messenger [*Poor Ascham!*] was murdered: and when they asked satisfaction for the blood of your poor people unjustly shed in the West Indies [*Yes, at Tortuga, at St. Kitt's; in many a place and time!*], and for the wrongs done elsewhere; when they asked liberty of conscience for your people who traded thither, — satisfaction in none of these things would be given, but was denied. I say, they denied satisfaction either for your Messenger that was murdered, or for the blood that was shed, or the damages that were done in the West Indies. No satisfaction at all; nor any reason offered *why* there should not be liberty [of conscience] given to your people that traded thither. Whose trade was very considerable there, and drew many of your people thither; and begot an apprehension in *us* [as to their treatment there], — whether in *you* or no, let God judge between you and Himself. I judge not: but all of us know that the people who went thither to manage the trade there, were imprisoned. We desired [but] such a liberty as [that] they might keep their Bibles in their pockets, to exercise their liberty of religion for themselves, and not be under restraint. But there is not liberty of conscience to be had [from the Spaniard]; neither is there satisfaction for injuries, nor for blood. When these *two things* were desired, the Ambassador told us, 'It was to

ask his Master's two eyes;'[1] to ask both his eyes, asking these things of him!—

"Now if this be so, why truly then here is some little foundation laid to justify the War that has been entered upon[2] with the Spaniard! And not only so: but the plain truth of it is, Make any peace with any State that is Popish and subjected to the determination of Rome and [of] the Pope himself,—you are bound, and they are loose. It is the pleasure of the Pope at any time to tell you, That though the man is murdered [*Poor Ascham, for example!*], yet his murderer has got into the sanctuary! And equally true is it, and hath been found by common and constant experience, That Peace is but to be kept so long as the Pope saith Amen to it. [*What is to be done with such a set of people?*]—We have not [now] to do with any Popish State except France: and it is certain that *they* do not think themselves under such a tie to the Pope; but think themselves at liberty to perform honesties with nations in agreement with them, and protest against the obligation of such a thing as that [of breaking your word at the Pope's bidding]. *They* are able to give us an explicit answer to anything reasonably demanded of them: and there is no other Popish State we can speak of, save this only, but will break their promise or keep it as they please upon these grounds,—being under the lash of the Pope, to be by him determined [and made to decide].

"In the time when Philip Second was married to Queen Mary, and since that time, through Spanish power and instigation, twenty thousand Protestants were murdered in Ireland. We thought, being denied just things,—we thought it our duty to get that by the sword which was not to be had otherwise! And this hath been the spirit of Englishmen; and if so, certainly it is, and ought to be, the spirit of men that have *higher* spirits! [*Yes, your Highness: "Men that are Englishmen and more,—believers in God's Gospel, namely!"—Very*

[1] "these two things:" Exemption to our traders from injury in the West Indies, and Liberty to have Bibles and worship:—See Thurloe (i. 760, 761); Bryan Edwards (i. 141–143); &c.

[2] "that was had" in orig.

clumsily said; but not at all clumsily meant, and the very helplessness of the expression adding something of English and Oliverian character to it.] — With that State you are engaged. And it is a great and powerful State: — though I may say also, that with all other Christian States you are at peace. All these [your other] engagements were upon you before this Government was undertaken: War with France, Denmark, — nay, upon the matter, War [or as good as War] with Spain [itself]. I could instance how it was said [in the Long Parliament time], 'We will have a war in the Indies, though we fight them not at home.' I say, we are at peace with all other Nations, and have only a war with Spain. I shall say somewhat [farther] to you, which will let you see our clearness [as] to that, by and by.

"Having thus [said, we are] engaged with Spain [that is the root of the matter]; that is the party that brings *all* your enemies before you. [*Coming now to the Home Malignants.*] It doth: for so it is now, that Spain hath espoused that Interest which you have all along hitherto been conflicting with, — Charles Stuart's Interest. And I would but meet the gentleman upon a fair discourse who is willing that that Person should come back again! — but I dare not believe any in this room is. [*Heavens, no; not one of us!*] And I say, it doth not detract at all from your Cause, nor from your ability to make defence of it, That God by His providence hath so disposed that the King of Spain should espouse that Person. And I say [farther — *His Highness's spirit gets somewhat tumultuous here, and blazes up with several ideas at once, — producing results of "some inextricableness," as he himself might phrase it*], No man but might be very well satisfied that it is not for aversion to that Person [*Not for his sake that we have gone to war with Spain: — the Cavaliers talk loudly so, and it is not so*] — ! And the 'choosing out' (as was said to-day [1]) 'a Captain to lead us *back into Egypt*' [what honest man has *not* an aversion to that?], — if there *be* such a place? I mean metaphorically and allegorically such a place; [if there be], that is to say, A *returning* [on the part of some] to all those things we

[1] In Owen's Sermon.

have been fighting against, and a destroying of all that good (as we had some hints to-day) which we have attained unto — ? I am sure my Speech [and defence of the Spanish War] will signify very little, if such grounds [*Grounds indicated, in this composite "blaze of ideas," which is luminous enough, your Highness; but too simultaneous for being very distinct to strangers!*] go not for good! Nay, I will say this to you, Not a man in England, that is disposed to comply with Papists and Cavaliers, but to him my Speech here is the greatest parable, the absurdest discourse! And in a word, we could wish they were all where Charles Stuart is, all who declare ["*By their cavilling at Spanish Wars and so on:*" *his Highness looks animated!*] that they are of that spirit. I do, with all my heart; — and I would help them with a boat to carry them over, who are of that mind! Yea, and if you shall think it a duty to drive them over by arms, I will help in that also! —

"You are engaged with such an Enemy; a foreign enemy, who hath such allies among ourselves: — this last said hath a little vehemency in it [*His Highness repents him of blazing up into unseemly heat*]: but it is well worth your consideration.

"Though I seem to be, all this while, upon the justice of the business, yet my desire is to let you see the dangers [and grand crisis] this Nation stands in [thereby]. All the honest interests; yea, all interests of the Protestants, in Germany, Denmark, Helvetia and the Cantons, and all the interests in Christendom, are the same as yours. If you succeed, if you succeed well and act well, and be convinced what is God's Interest, and prosecute it, you will find that you act for a very great many who are God's own. Therefore I say that your danger is from the Common Enemy abroad; who is the head of the Papal Interest, the head of the Antichristian Interest, — who is so described in Scripture, so forespoken of, and so fully, under that characteral name [of Antichrist] given him by the Apostle in the *Epistle to the Thessalonians*, and likewise so expressed in the *Revelations;* which are sure and plain things! Except you will deny the truth of the Scriptures, you must needs see that that State is so described in Scripture to be *Papal and Antichristian.* [*Who would not go to war with it?*]

I say, with this Enemy, and upon this account, you have the quarrel, — with the Spaniard.

"And truly he hath an interest in your bowels;[1] he hath so. The Papists in England, — they have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolized. There is not a man among us can hold up his face against that. [*The justifying of the Spanish War is a great point with his Highness!*] They never regarded France; they never regarded any other Papist State where a [hostile] Interest was [but Spain only]. Spain was their patron. Their patron all along, in England, in Ireland and Scotland: no man can doubt of it. Therefore I must needs say, this [Spanish] Interest is also, in regard to your home-affairs, a great source of your danger. It is, and it evidently is; and will be more so, — upon that account that I told you of: He hath espoused Charles Stuart! With whom he is fully in agreement; for whom he hath raised Seven or Eight Thousand men, and has them now quartered at Bruges; to which number Don John of Austria has promised that, as soon as the campaign is ended, which it is conceived will be in about five or six weeks, he shall have Four or Five Thousand added. And the Duke of Neuburg, who is a Popish prince, hath promised good assistance according to his power; and other Popish States the like. In this condition you are with that State [of Spain]; and in this condition through unavoidable necessity; because your enemy was *naturally* an enemy, and is providentially too become so. [*Always, by the law of his being, as Antichristian to Christian, a* VIRTUAL *enemy; and now Providence, with beneficent wisdom, has developed him into an* ACTUAL *one.* — "*That was his Highness's fundamental reason for rushing at him in the West Indies? Because he was Antichrist?*" *ask some Moderns.* — *Why yes, it might help, my red-tape Friends! I know well, if I could fall in with Antichrist anywhere, with Supreme Quack and Damnability anywhere, I should be right happy to have a stroke at him if there seemed any chance!*]

"And now farther, — as there is a complication of these *Interests* abroad, so there is a complication of them here.

[1] Old phrase for "the interior of your own country."

Can we think that Papists and Cavaliers shake not hands in England? It is unworthy, unchristian, un-Englishlike[1] [say you]. Yes; but it doth serve to let you see, and for that end I tell it you that you may see, your danger, and the source thereof. Nay it is not only thus, in this condition of hostility, that we stand towards Spain; and towards all the Interest which would make void and frustrate everything that has been doing for you; namely, towards the Popish Interest, Papists and Cavaliers; — but it is also — [*His Highness finds this sentence will not do, and so tries it another way*] — That is to say, your danger is *so great*, if you will be sensible of it, by reason of Persons who pretend *other* things! [*Coming now to the great Miscellany of Anabaptists, Republicans, Levellers; your Allens, Sexbys, Overtons.* Pretend, I say;] yea who, though perhaps they *do* not all suit in their hearts with the said [Popish] Interest — [*Sentence left ruinous; sense gradually becomes visible*] — Yet every man knows, and must know, that discontented parties are among us somewhere! They must expect backing and support somewhere. They must end in the Interest of the Cavalier at the long-run. That must be their support! — I could have reckoned this in another [head. *Half soliloquising, his Highness; giving us a glimpse into the strange seething, simmering inner-man of him*] — But I give you an account of things as they arise to me. Because I desire to clear them to you! Not discoursively, in the oratoric way; but to let you see the matter of fact, — to let you see how the state of your affairs stands. [*Well, your Highness; that certainly is the grand object of speaking to us. To show* ME *what* THOU *seest, what is in* THEE: *why else should one human being dare to wag his tongue to another? It is frightful otherwise. One almost loves this incondite half-articulation of his Highness, in comparison.*]

"Certain it is, there was, not long since, an endeavor to make an Insurrection in England. [*Penruddock at Salisbury; — we heard of Wagstaff and him!*] It was going on for some time before it broke out. It was so before the last Parliament sat. [Nay,] it was so not only from the time of the undertaking

[1] *To combine* with Papists, even for Royalists to do so.

of this Government; but the spirit and principle of it did work in the Long Parliament [time]. From that time to this, hath there been nothing but enterprising and designing against you. And this is no strange or new thing to tell you: Because it is true and certain that the Papists, the Priests and Jesuits have a great influence upon the Cavalier Party; they and the Cavaliers prevail upon the discontented spirits of the Nation, — who are not all so apt to see where the dangers lie, nor to what the management of affairs tends. Those [Papists and Cavaliers] do foment all things that tend to *dis*service; to propagate discontentments upon the minds of men. And if we would instance, in particulars, those that have manifested this, — we could tell you how Priests and Jesuits have insinuated themselves into men's society; pretending the same things that *they* pretended; — whose ends [these Jesuits' ends] have, out of doubt, been what I have told you. [*Dark spectres of Jesuits; knitting up Charles Stuart, the Spaniard, and all manner of Levellers and discontented persons, into one Anti-christian mass, to overwhelm us therewith!*]

"We had that Insurrection. It was intended first to the assassination of my person; — which I would not remember as anything at all considerable to myself or to you [*Very well, your Highness!*]: for they would have had to cut throats beyond human calculation before they could have been able to effect their design. But you know it very well [this of the assassination]; — it is no fable. Persons were arraigned for it before the Parliament sat; and tried, and upon proof condemned [*Gerard and Vowel; we remember them!*] — for their designs to cut the throat of myself, and three or four more; whom they had singled out as being, a little beyond ordinary, industrious to preserve the peace of the Nation. And did think to make a very good issue [in that way], to the accomplishment of their designs! I say, this was made good upon the Trial. Before the Parliament sat, all the time the Parliament sat, they were about it. We did hint these things to the Parliament people by several persons, who acquainted them therewith. But what fame we lay under I know not! [*Suspicious of us in that Parliament!*] It was conceived, it seems,

we had things[1] which rather intended to persuade agreement and consent, and bring money out of the people's purses, or I know not what: — in short, nothing was believed [*Very beautifully rebutted, your Highness; without even anger at it; as the Lion walks quietly on through cobwebs. We had "things" which rather intended to &c. &c. What most articulate rhetoric could match this half-articulate, — articulate enough for the occasion!*]; though there was a series of things distinctly and plainly communicated to many Members.

"The Parliament rose about the middle of January. By the 12th of March after, the people were in arms. But 'they were a company of mean fellows,' — alas! — 'not a lord, nor a gentleman, nor a man of fortune, nor a this nor that, among them: but it was a poor headstrong people, a company of rash fellows who were at the undertaking of this,' — and that was all! And by such things [*His Highness's face indicates that he means "no-things," "babblements"*] have men [once well-affected] lost their consciences and honors, complying [coming to agreement with Malignants] upon such notions as these! — Give me leave to tell you, We know it; we are able to prove it. And I refer you to that Declaration[2] which was for guarding against Cavaliers (as I did before to that other [Declaration] which set down the grounds of our War with Spain), Whether these things were true or no? If men will not believe, — we are satisfied, we do our duty. [*A suspicious people, your Highness: nay not suspicious, so much as incredulous, obstinate, dreadfully thick of skin and sense, — and unused to such phenomena as your Highness!*] — If we let you know things and the ground of them, it is satisfaction enough to *us*: But to see how men can reason themselves out of their honors and consciences in their compliance with those sort of people — ! Which truly I must needs say, some men had compliance with, who I thought never *would* for all the world: I must tell you so. —

"These men rise in March. And that it was a general Design, I think all the world must know and acknowledge. For

[1] Means "we make statements;" very Oliverian expression.

[2] *Can be read in Parliamentary History*, xx. 434 et seqq.

it is as evident as the day, that the King [*We may call him "King"*] sent Sir Joseph Wagstaff and another, the Earl of Rochester, to the North. And that it was general, we had not by suspicion or imagination; but we know individuals! We are able to make appear, That persons who carried themselves the most demurely and fairly of any men in England were engaged in this business. And he that gave us our intelligence lost his life for it in Neuburg Country [*Yes, Manning was shot there; he had told us Hyde was cock-sure*]; — I think I may now speak of that, because he is dead: — but he did discover, from time to time, a full intelligence of these things. Therefore, How men of wicked spirits may traduce us in that matter; or, notwithstanding all that hath been done, may still continue their compliances [with the Malignants]; — I leave it. [*Yes, let* THEM *look to that.*] I think England cannot be safe unless Malignants be carried far away!

"There was never any design on foot but we could hear it out of the Tower. He who commanded there[1] would give us account, That within a fortnight or such a thing[2] there would be some stirrings; for a great concourse of people were coming to them, and they had very great elevations of spirit. [*Vigilant Barkstead!*] And not only there; but in all the Counties of England. We have had informations that they were upon designs all over England (besides some particular places which came to our particular assurance), by knowledge we had from persons in the several Counties of England.

"And if this *be* so, then, as long as commotions can be held on foot, you are in danger by your War with Spain; with whom all the Papal Interest is joined. This Pope[3] is a person all the world knows to be a person of zeal for his Religion, — wherein perhaps he may shame *us*, — and a man of contrivance, and wisdom, and policy; and his Designs are known to be, all over, nothing but an Endeavor to unite all the Popish Interests

[1] Barkstead, a Goldsmith once, a severe vigilant Colonel now; who has seen much service.

[2] "time" might be the word; but I am getting to love this "thing."

[3] *One Chigi* by natural name, called Alexander VII. as Pope; an "Anti-*jansenist* Pope," say the Books. With whom, beyond the indispensable, let us crave not to be acquainted.

in all the Christian world, against this Nation above any, and against all the Protestant Interest in the world. — If this be so, and if you will take a measure of these things; if we must still hold the esteem that we have had [for Spaniards], and be ready to shake hands with them and the Cavaliers, — what doth this differ from the Bishop of Canterbury [*Poor old Laud, and his Surplices!* — striving] to reconcile matters of religion; if this temper be upon us to unite with these [Popish] men in Civil Things? Give me leave to say, and speak what I know! If this be men's mind, I tell you plainly, — I hope I need not; but I wish all the Cavaliers in England, and all the Papists, heard me declare it, and many besides yourselves have [heard me]: There are a company of poor men that are ready to spend their blood against such compliance! [*Right so, your Highness; that is the grand cardinal certainty! An irrevocable Act of Legislature passed in one's own heart. In spite of all clamors and jargons, and constitutional debatings in Parliament and out of it, there is a man or two will have himself cut in pieces before that "shaking of hands" take place. In fact, I think Christ and Antichrist had better not try shaking of hands; no good will come of it! — Does not his Highness look uncommonly animated?*] — and I am persuaded of the same thing in you!

"If this be our condition, — with respect had to this, truly let us go a little farther. For I would lay open the danger wherein I think in my conscience we stand; and if God give not your hearts to see and discern what is obvious, we shall sink, and the house will fall about our ears, — upon even [what are called] 'such sordid attempts,' as these same! Truly there are a great many people in this Nation who 'would not reckon up every pitiful thing,' — perhaps like the nibbling of a mouse at one's heel; but only 'considerable dangers'! I will tell you plainly [what to me seems dangerous]; it is not a time for compliments nor rhetorical speeches, — I have none, truly; — but to tell you how we *find* things.[1]

[1] Paragraph irretrievably misreported; or undecipherable for want of the tones and looks accompanying it; — in a dim uncertain manner displays the above as a kind of meaning.

"There is a generation of men in this Nation who cry up nothing but righteousness and justice and liberty [*Coming now to the Levellers and "Commonwealth's-men"*]; and these are diversified into several sects, and sorts of men; and though they may be contemptible in respect they are many, and so not like to make a solid vow to do you mischief, — yet they are apt to agree *in aliquo tertio*. They are known (yea, well enough) to shake hands with, — I should be loath to say with Cavaliers, — but with all the scum and dirt of this Nation [*Not loath to say that, your Highness?*], to put you to trouble. And, when I come to speak of the *Remedies*, I shall tell you what are the most apt and proper remedies in these respects. I speak now of the very time when there was an Insurrection at Salisbury, [your Wagstaffs and Penruddocks openly in arms — *Sudden prick of anger stings his Highness at the thought of that great Peril, and how it was treated and scouted by the incredulous Thick-skinned; and he plunges in this manner*] — I doubt whether it be believed there ever was any rising in North Wales [at the same time]; at Shrewsbury; at Rufford Abbey, where were about five hundred horse; or at Marston Moor; or in Northumberland, and the other places, — where all these Insurrections were at that very time! [*Truly it is difficult to keep one's temper: sluggish mortals saved from destruction; and won't so much as admit it!*] — There was a Party which was very proper to come between the Papists and Cavaliers; and that *Levelling* Party hath some accession lately, which goes under a *finer* name or notion! I think they would now be called 'Commonwealth's-men;' who perhaps have right to it little enough. And it is strange that men of fortune and great estates [*Lord Grey of Groby; he is in the Tower; he and others*] should join with such a people. But if the *fact* be so, there will need no stretch of wit to make it evident, it being so by demonstration. [*His Highness still harps on the incredulity of a thick-skinned public, naturally very provoking to him in these perilous, abstruse and necessarily* SECRET *operations of his.*]

"I say, this people at that very time, they were pretty numerous, — and do not despise them! — at the time when

the Cavaliers were risen, this very Party had prepared a Declaration against all the things that had been transacted [by us]; and called them by I know not what [names], 'tyranny,' 'oppression,' things 'against the liberty of the subject;' and cried out for 'justice,' and 'righteousness,' and 'liberty:' — and what was all this business for, but to join the Cavaliers to carry on that Design? And these are things, — not words! That Declaration we got; and the Penner of it we got [*Locked him fast in Chepstow; the unruly Wildman!*]: and we have got intelligence also how the business was laid and contrived; — which was hatched in the time of the Sitting of that Parliament. I do not accuse anybody: but that was the *time* of it; — an unhappy time! And a plausible Petition had been penned, which must come to me, forsooth [*Through that obtuse Constitutioning Parliament, I fancy!*], 'To consider of these things, and to give redress and remedies.' And this was so. —

"Now indeed I must tell you plainly, we suspected a great deal of violence then; and we did hunt it out. I will not tell you these are high things [*call them "low" if you like; mice nibbling at one's heel!*]: but at that time when the Cavaliers were to rise, a Party was to seize upon General Monk in Scotland, and to commit him to Edinburgh Castle, upon this pretence of 'liberty:' and when they had seized him, and clapped him by the heels, [him] and some other true and faithful Officers, they had resolved a number at the same time should march away for London; leaving a party behind them, — to have their throats cut by the Scots! Though I will not say they would have [purposely] brought it to this pass; yet it cannot be thought but that a considerable [part of the] Army would have followed them [hither] at the heels. — And not only thus: but this same spirit and principle designed some little fiddling things upon some of your Officers, to an assassination;[1] and an Officer was engaged, who was upon the Guard, to seize me in my bed. This was true. And other foolish designs there were, — as, To get into a room, to get gunpowder

[1] Means "they attempted to persuade some of your Officers to that 'little fiddling thing.'"

laid in it, and to blow up the room where I lay. And this, we can tell you, is *true*. These are Persons not worthy naming; but the things are *true*. And such is the state we have stood in, and had to conflict with, since the last Parliament. And upon this account, and in this combination,[1] it is that I say to you, That the ringleaders to all this are none but your old enemies the Papists and Cavaliers. We have some [of them] in prison for these things.

"Now we would be loath to tell you of notions more seraphical! [*His Highness elevating his brows; face assuming a look of irony, of rough banter.*] *These* are poor and low conceits. We have had very seraphical notions! We have had endeavors to deal between two Interests;—one some section of that Commonwealth Interest; and another which was a notion of a Fifth-Monarchy Interest! [*A "NOTION;" not even worth calling a "SECTION" or "PARTY,"—such moonshine was it!*] —which [strange operation] I do not recite, nor what condition it is in, as thinking it not worthy our trouble. But *de facto* it hath been so, That there have been endeavors; —as there were endeavors to make a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate that Christ might be put to death, so there have been endeavors of reconciliation between the Fifth-Monarchy men and the Commonwealth men that there might be union in order to an end,—no *end* can be so bad as *that of* Herod's was,—but in order to end in blood and confusion! And, that you may know, [to tell you candidly,] I profess I do not believe of these two last, of Commonwealth men and Fifth-Monarchy men, but that they have stood at a distance [aloof from Charles Stuart.—*The Overtons, the Harrisons, are far above such a thing.*] I think they did not participate. I would be so charitable, I would be, That they did not. But this I will tell you, That as for the others, *they* did not only set these things on work; but they sent a fellow [*Sexby, the miserable outcast!*], a wretched creature, an apostate from religion and all honesty,—they sent him to Madrid to advise with the King of Spain to land Forces to invade the Nation. *Promising* satisfaction that they would comply and concur

[1] Identity of time and attempt.

with him to have both men and moneys; undertaking both to engage the Fleet to mutiny, and also your Army to gain a garrison [on the coast]; to raise a party, [so] that if the Spaniard would say where he would land, they would be ready to assist him! — This person was sometimes [1] a Colonel in the Army. He went with Letters to the Archduke Leopoldus and Don John. That was an 'Ambassador;' — and gave promise of much moneys: and hath been soliciting, and did obtain moneys; which he sent hither by Bills of Exchange: — and God, by His Providence, we being exceeding poor, directed that we lighted on some of them and some of the moneys! [*Keep hold of them, your Highness!*] Now if they be payable, let them be called for! [*Won't call, I believe!*] — If the House shall think fit to order any inspection into these things, they may have it.

"We think it our duty to tell you of these things; and we can make them good. Here is your danger; that is it! Here is a poor Nation that hath wallowed in its blood; — though, thanks be to God, we have had Peace these four or five years: yet here is the condition we stand in. And I think I should be false to you, if I did not give you this true representation of it.

"I am to tell you, by the way, a word to justify a Thing [*Coming to the Major-Generals*] which, I hear, is much spoken of. When we knew all these Designs before mentioned; when we found that the Cavaliers would not be quiet — No quiet; 'there is no peace to the wicked,' saith the Scripture (*Isaiah*, Fifty-seventh): 'They are like the troubled sea, which cannot rest; whose waters throw up mire and dirt.' [2] They cannot rest, — they have no Peace with God in Jesus Christ to the remission of sins! They do not know what belongs to that [*My brave one!*]; therefore they know not how to be at rest; therefore they can no more cease from their actions than they can cease to live, — nor so easily neither! — Truly when that Insurrection was, and we saw it in all the roots and grounds of it, we did find out a little poor Invention, which I hear has

[1] *Means* "at one time;" as almost all know.

[2] *Isaiah lvii. 20, 21*

been much regretted. I say, there was a little thing invented; which was, the erecting of your Major-Generals [*Yes!*]: To have a little inspection upon the People thus divided, thus discontented, thus dissatisfied, [split] into divers interests, — and the workings of the Popish Party! [Workings] of the Lord Taaff and others;[1] the most consisting of Natural-Irish rebels, and all those men you have fought against in Ireland, and have expulsed from thence, as having had a hand in that bloody Massacre; — of him and of those that were under his power; who were now to have joined in this excellent business of Insurrection! —

"And upon such a Rising as that was, — truly I think if ever anything were justifiable as to Necessity, and honest in every respect, this was. And I could as soon venture my life with it as with anything I ever undertook! [*His Highness looks animated.*] We did find, — I mean myself and the Council did, — That, if there were need to have greater forces to carry on this work, it was a most righteous thing to put the charge upon that Party which was the cause of it. [*Yea!*] And if there be any man that hath a face averse to this, I dare pronounce him to be a man against the Interest of England! — Upon this account, upon this ground of necessity; when we saw what game they were upon; and knew individual persons, and of the greatest rank, not a few, engaged in this business (I knew one man that laid down his life for it) ["*Name?*" *He must go unnamed, this one!*]; and had it by intercepted Letters made as clear as the day; — we did think it our duty To make that class of persons who, as evidently as anything in the world, were in the combination [of the insurrectionists], bear their share of the charge. [Bear their share,] one with another, for the raising of the Forces which were so necessary to defend us against those Designs! And truly if any man be

[1] His Highness suddenly breaks off after new quarry on mention of this Party. The Lord Taaff is even now very busy, at Antwerp (*Thurloe*, v.), with Chancellor Hyde, "throwing up mire and dirt" of the insurrection kind. He was in trouble long ago, at the beginning of the Long Parliament, on the score of the Irish Massacre; sat some time in the Tower (*Clarendon*, ii. 216), *with* Lord Dillon and others; a generation "who can no more cease from *their practices* than they can cease to live, nor so easily [illegible]."

angry at it, — I am plain, and shall use an homely expression: *Let him turn the buckle of his girdle behind him!*[1] If this were to be done again, I would do it.

"How the Major-Generals have behaved themselves in that work? I hope they are men, as to their persons, of known integrity and fidelity; and men who have freely adventured their blood and lives for that good Cause, — if it [still] be thought such, and it was well stated [this morning] against all the [new] humors and fancies of men! — And truly England doth yet receive one day more of Lengthening out its tranquillity, by that same service of theirs.[2] —

"Well; your danger is as you have seen. And truly I am sorry it is so great. But I wish it to cause no despondency; — as truly, I think, it will not: for we are Englishmen; that is one good fact. And if God give a Nation the property of valor and courage, it is honor and a mercy [from Him. — *Yes, it is a great thing, your Highness!*] And much more [than English]! Because you all, I hope, are Christian Men, who know Jesus Christ [*Yea!*], and know that Cause which hath been mentioned to you this day.

"Having declared to you my sense and knowledge — pardon me if I say so, my knowledge — of the condition of these poor Nations, for it hath an influence upon them all, it concerneth them all very palpably; I should be to blame if I did not a little offer to you the Remedies. [*Second head of method: the Remedies.*] I would comprehend them under two considerations. They are both somewhat general. The one is, The Considering all things that may be done, and ought to be done, in order to Security; that is one. And truly the other is a common head [a general, nay a universal consideration], — the other is, Doing all things that ought to be done in order to

[1] The Proverb is in *Ray*; but without commentary. Various friendly Correspondents, who have found it in Shakspeare (*Much Ado about Nothing*, Act v. Scene 1) and elsewhere, point out to me that the meaning is, "Let him bring his sword-hilt round, then;" ready for drawing; round to the front, where the "buckle" of his belt or "girdle" now is.

[2] "*that occasion*" in orig.

Reformation: and with that I will close my Discourse. All that hath hitherto been hinted at was but to give you a sense of the danger; which [truly] is most material and significant; for which principally you are called hither to advise of the remedies. — I do put them [the remedies] into this twofold method, not but that I think they are scarcely distinct. I do believe, truly, upon serious and deliberate consideration: That a true Reformation, as it may, and will through God's acceptance, and by the endeavors of His poor servants, be, — That that [I say] will be pleasing in His sight; and will prove not only what shall avert the present danger, but be a worthy return for all the blessings and mercies which you have received. So, in my conscience, if I were put to show it, this hour, Where the security of these Nations will lie? — forces, arms, watchings, posts, strength; your being and freedom; be as politic and diligent, and as vigilant as you can be, — I would say in my conscience, and as before Almighty God I speak it: I think your Reformation, if it be honest and thorough and just, *it* will be your best security! [*Hear him; Hear, hear!*]

"First, [however,] with regard to Security [outwardly considered]. We will speak a little distinctly to that. ["*Be ye wise as serpents withal!*"] You see where your War is. It is with the Spaniard. You have Peace with all [other] Nations, or the most of them; Swede, Dane, Dutch. At present, I say, it is well; it is at present so. And so likewise with the Portugal, with France, — the Mediterranean Sea. Both these States; both Christian and Profane; the Mahometan; — you have Peace with them all. Only with Spain you have a difference, you have a War. I pray consider it. Do I come to tell you that I would *tie* you to this War? No. [According] as you shall find your spirits and reasons grounded in what hath been said, so let you and me join in the prosecution of that War, — [according] as we are satisfied, and as the cause shall appear to our consciences in the sight of the Lord. But if you *can* come to prosecute it, prosecute it vigorously, or don't do it at all! —

"*Truly* I shall speak a very great word, — one may ask a *very great question*. '*Unde*; Whence shall the means of it

come?' Our Nation is overwhelmed in debts! Nevertheless I think it my duty to deal plainly; I shall speak what even Nature teacheth us. If we engage in a business, — a recoiling man may *haply* recover of his enemy: but the wisdom of a man surely will be in the keeping of his ground! Therefore that is what I advise you, That we join together to prosecute it *vigorously*. In the second place, I would advise you to deal effectually, — even *because* there is such a 'complication of interests' [as some keep objecting]. If you believe that there is such a complication of interests, — why, then, in the name of God, that excites you the more to do it! Give me leave to tell you, I do not believe that in any war that ever was in former times, nor in any engagements that you have had with other [enemies], this Nation had more obligation upon it to look to itself, — to forbear waste of time, precious time! Needlessly to mind things that are not essential; to be quibbling about words, and comparatively about things of no moment; and in the mean time, — being in such a case as I suppose you know we are, — to suffer ourselves to be wanting to a just defence against the common Enemies abroad, or not to be thoroughly sensible of the Distempers that are at home[1] — ! I know, perhaps there are many considerations which may teach you, which may incline you, to keep your own hands tender from men of one Religion [with ourselves],[2] and of an Interest that is so spread in the Nation. However, if they seek the eradication of the Nation; if they be active as you have seen, and [as] it hath been made manifest so as not to be denied, to the carrying on of their Designs; if England must be eradicated by persons complicated with the Spaniard; if this must be brought upon us through distempers and falseness of men among themselves, — then the question is no more than this: Whether any consideration whatsoever shall lead us, for fear of eradicating distempers, to suffer all the honest Interests of this Nation to be eradicated? Therefore, speaking generally of any of their distempers [which are] of all

[1] Original sentence incomplete; or tacked with radical incoherency to the foregoing: the sense, on either hypothesis, is very visible.

[2] *Royalists, and other* Discontented; Protestants, though Plotters.

sorts, — where a member cannot be cured, the rule is plain, *Ense rescindendum est immedicabile vulnus.* And I think it is of such an advantage that nothing ever could more properly be put in practice [1] since this or any Nation [first] was.

"As to those lesser Distempers of people that pretend Religion, yet which from the whole consideration of Religion, would fall under one of the heads of Reformation, — I had rather put these under this head; [2] and I shall the less speak to it, because you have been so well spoken to already to-day [elsewhere]. I will tell you the truth: Our practice since the last Parliament hath been, To let all this Nation see, that whatever pretensions to Religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves; — and *not* to make Religion a pretence for arms and blood. Truly we have suffered them, and that cheerfully, so to enjoy their own liberties. Whatsoever is contrary [and not peaceable], let the pretence be never so specious, — if it tend to combination, to interests and factions, we shall not care, by the grace of God, *whom* we meet withal, though never so specious [if they be not quiet]! And truly I am against all 'liberty of conscience' repugnant to *this.* If men will profess, — be they those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, or of the Presbyterian judgment, — in the name of God, encourage them, countenance them; so long as they do plainly continue to be thankful to God, and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences! For, as it was said to-day, undoubtedly '*this* is the peculiar Interest all this while contended for.' [*An excellent "Interest;" very indispensable in a state of genuine Protestantism, which latter has itself for some time been indispensable enough.*]

"Men who believe in Jesus Christ — that is the Form that gives being to true religion, [namely,] to Faith in Christ and

[1] "used" in orig.

[2] Of "doing all we can for Security;" they will stand better under *this*, *thinks his* Highness. His Highness half-soliloquizing, suddenly bethinking *himself*, again shows us a glimpse of his Speech in a state of genesis.

walking in a profession answerable to that Faith; — men who believe the remission of sins through the blood of Christ, and free justification by the blood of Christ; who live upon the grace of God: those men who are certain they are so [*Faith of assurance*, — they] are members of Jesus Christ, and are to Him the apple of His eye. Whoever hath this Faith, let his Form be what it will; he walking peaceably, without prejudice to others under other Forms: — it is a debt due to God and Christ; and He will require it, if that Christian may not enjoy his liberty. [*True Tolerance; a noble thing: Patience, indifference as to the Unessential; liveliest impatience, inexorable* INTOLERANCE *for the Want of the Essential!*]

"If a man of one form will be trampling upon the heels of another form; if an Independent, for example, will despise him [who is] under Baptism, and will revile him, and reproach and provoke him, — I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other side, those of the Anabaptist [judgment] shall be censuring the Godly Ministers of the Nation who profess under that of Independency; or if those that profess under Presbytery shall be reproaching or speaking evil of them, traducing and censuring of them, — as I would not be willing to see the day when England shall be in the power of the Presbytery to impose upon the consciences of others that profess faith in Christ, — so I will not endure any reproach to them. But God give us hearts and spirits to keep things *equal*. Which, truly I must profess to you, hath been my temper. I have had some boxes [on the ear], and rebukes, — on the one hand and on the other; some censuring me for Presbytery; others as an in-letter to all the Sects and Heresies of the Nation. I have borne my reproach: but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering any one Religion to impose upon another. And truly I must needs say (I speak it experimentally): I have found it, I have, that those of the Presbyterian judgment — [*"Do themselves partly approve my plan," he means to say; but starting off into broken sentences, as he is liable to do, never says it*] — I speak it knowingly, as having received from very many Counties — I have had Petitions, *and acknowledgments* and professions, from whole Counties,

as from Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and other Counties. Acknowledgments that they [the Presbyterians there] do but desire they may have liberty and protection in the worshipping of God according to their own judgments; for the purging of their congregations, and the laboring to attain more purity of faith and repentance; — and that, in their outward profession, they will not strain themselves beyond their own line. I have had those Petitions; I have them to show. And I confess I look at that as the blessedest thing which hath been since the adventuring upon this Government, [or] which these times produce. And I hope I gave them fair and honest answers. And if it shall be found to *be* the Civil Magistrate's real endeavor to keep all professing Christians in this relation to one another; not suffering any to say or do what will justly provoke the others; — I think he that would have more liberty than this, is not worthy of any.

"This therefore I think verily, if it may be under consideration for Reformation: — I say, if it please God to give you and me hearts to keep *this* straight, [it may be a great means] in giving countenance to just Ministers, — [*In such semi-articulate uneasy way does his Highness hustle himself over into the discussion of a new Topic*] — in countenancing a just *maintenance* to them, by Tithes or otherwise. For my part I should think I were very treacherous if I took away Tithes, till I see the Legislative Power settle Maintenance to Ministers another way. But whoever they be that shall contend to destroy Tithes, — it doth as surely cut their [the Ministers'] throats as it is a drift to take Tithes away before another mode of maintenance, or way of preparation towards such, be had. Truly I think all such practices and proceedings should be discountenanced. I have heard it from as gracious a Minister as any is in England; I have had it professed: That it would be a far greater satisfaction to them to have maintenance another way, — if the State will provide it. [*Sensation among the Voluntaries! — His Highness proceeds no farther in that direction at present. The next sentence suddenly drawing itself up into a heap; comprising both ideas,* "TITHES" *and* "EQUALITY," *and in free-flowing half-articulate manner uttering*

them both at once, must be given precisely as it stands, — Grammar yielding place to something still needfuler, to TRANSPARENCY *of Speech with or without grammar.*] — Therefore I think, for the keeping of the Church and people of God and professors in their several forms in this liberty, — I think as it [this of tithes, or some other maintenance] hath been a thing that is the root of visible Profession [*No public maintenance, no regular priest*], the upholding of this — I think you will find a blessing in it: — if God keep your hearts to keep things in this posture and balance, which is so honest and so necessary. [*Better keep up Tithes, till we see!*]

"Truly, there might be some other things offered to you, in point of Reformation: a Reformation of Manners, to wit — But I had forgot one thing which I must remember! It is the Church's work, you know, in some measure: yet give me leave to ask, and I appeal unto your consciences, Whether or no there hath not been an honest care taken for the ejecting of Scandalous Ministers, and for the bringing in of them that have passed an Approbation? [*Our two Commissions of Triers and Expurgators.*] I dare say, such an Approbation as never passed in England before! And give me leave to say, It hath been with this difference [from the old practice], that neither Mr. Parson nor Doctor in the University hath been reckoned stamp enough by those that made these Approbations; — though, I can say too, they have a great esteem for Learning; and look at Grace as most useful when it falls unto men *with* rather than without [that addition]; and wish, with all their hearts, the flourishing of all those Institutions of Learning, as much as any. I think there hath been a conscience exercised, both by myself and the Ministers, towards them that have been Approved. I may say, such an one, as I truly believe was never known in England [in regard to this matter]. And I do verily believe that God hath, for the Ministry, a very great seed in the youth [now] in the Universities; who instead of studying Books, study their own hearts. I do believe, as God hath made a very great and flourishing seed to that purpose; so *this Ministry of England* — I think in my very conscience

that God will bless and favor it; and hath blessed it, to t
gaining of very many souls. It was never so upon th
thriving hand since England was, as at this day. There
fore I say, in these things [in these arrangements made b
us], which tend to the profession of the Gospel and Publi
Ministry, [I think] you will be so far from hindering, tha
you will further them. And I shall be willing to join wit
you.

"I did hint to you my thoughts about the Reformation o
Manners. And those abuses that are in this Nation through
disorder, are a thing which should be much in your hearts.
It is that which, I am confident, is a description and character
of the Interest you have been engaged against [the Cavalier
Interest]: the badge and character of countenancing Pro-
faneness, Disorder and Wickedness in all places — [*A horrible "character," your Highness: not undeserved hitherto: and under* OUR *new Defender of the Faith (if you could see into futurity) what a height of evidence will it rise to!*] — and what-
ever is most of kin to these, and most agrees with what is
Popery, and [with] the profane Nobility and Gentry of this
Nation! In my conscience, it was a shame to be a Chris-
tian, within these fifteen, sixteen or seventeen years, in this
Nation! Whether 'in Cæsar's house,' or elsewhere! It
was a shame, it was a reproach to a man; and the badge of
'Puritan' was put upon it. — We would keep up [*He bethinks him of the above word "profane"*] Nobility and Gentry: — and
the way to keep them up is, Not to suffer them to be pat-
ronizers or countenancers of debauchery and disorders! And
you will hereby be as laborers in that work [of keeping
them up]. And a man may tell as plainly as can be what
becomes of us, if we grow indifferent and lukewarm [in
repressing evil], under I know not what weak pretensions.
[*Yes, your Highness; even so, — were you and I in a minority of Two upon it! "Merry Monarchs" of the Nell-Gwynn Defender kind, and the gallantest Sir Charles Sedleys in their tavern-balcony in Bow Street, are and remain a most mournful phenomenon to me; mournfuler than Death; — equal to Death with a Grimaldi-mask clapt on it!*] If it lives in us, there

fore; I say, if it be in the general [heart of the Nation], it is a thing I am confident our liberty and prosperity depend upon, — Reformation. Make it a shame to see men bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless you. You will be a blessing to the Nation; and by this, will be more repairers of breaches than by anything in the world. Truly these things do respect the souls of men, and the spirits, — which *are* the men. The mind is the man. If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not, I would very fain see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast. He hath only some activity to do some more mischief. [*A real "Head of the Church," this "King;" not an imaginary one!*]

"There are some things which respect the Estates of men; and there is one general Grievance in the Nation. It is the Law. [*"Hear, hear!" from all quarters of the Nation.*] Not that the Laws are a grievance; but there are Laws that are; and the great grievance lies in the execution and administration. I think I may say it, I have as eminent Judges in this land as have been had, as the Nation has had, for these many years. [*Hale and others; yea!*] — Truly I could be particular, as to the executive part [of it], as to the administration [of the Law]; but that would trouble you. The truth of it is, There are wicked and abominable Laws, which [it] will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for Six-and-eightpence, and I know not what; to hang for a trifle, and acquit murder, — is in the ministration of the Law, through the ill framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murders acquitted. And to see men lose their lives for petty matters: this is a thing God will reckon for. [*Your Highness actually says so, believes so?*] And I wish it may not lie upon this Nation a day longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy; and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath been a great grief to many honest hearts and conscientious people; and I hope it is in all your hearts to rectify it.

"I have little more to say to you, being very weary; and I know you are so [too]. Truly I did begin with what I thought was [the means] to carry on this War (if you will

carry it on), That we might join together in that vigorously. And I did promise an answer to an objection: 'But what will you prosecute it with?' The State is hugely in debt; I believe it comes to —— [*Reporter cannot hear; on his Paper is mere Blank;— nay I think his Highness stutters, does not clearly articulate any sum.*] — The Treasure of the State is run out. We shall not be an enemy to your inspection; but desire it, — that you should inspect the Treasury, and how moneys have been expended. And we are not afraid to look the Nation in the face upon this score. And therefore we will say negatively, *first*, No man can say we have misemployed the Treasures of this Nation, and embezzled it to particular and private uses.

"It may be we have not been — as the world terms it — so fortunate in all our successes [in the issues of all our attempts]? [*Hispaniola was a terrible affair, your Highness; and Jamaica is yet — a load to crush any but a Man of Hope!*] Truly if we are of mind that God may not decide for us in these things, I think we shall be quarrelling with what God [Himself] will answer [for]. And we hope we are able — it may be weakly, I doubt not — to give an answer to God, and to give an answer to every man's conscience in the sight of God, of the reason of things. But we shall tell you it — [*"It," the principal "reason" we could give, was the Plotting of the Cavaliers; whereat his Highness bursts into sudden spontaneous combustion again!*] — was part of that Areh-Fire, which hath been in this your time; wherein there were flames good store, fire enough; — and it will be your wisdom and skill, and God's blessing upon you, to *quench* them both here and elsewhere! I say it again, our endeavors — by those that have been appointed, by those that have been Major-Generals; I can repeat it with comfort, — they have been effectual for the Preservation of your Peace! [*What worlds of old terror, rage and endeavor, all dead now; what continents of extinct fire, of life-volcanoes once blazing, now sunk in eternal darkness, do we discern, with emotion, through this chance crevice in his Highness!*] It hath been more effectual towards the discountenancing of Vice and settling Religion, than anything done these fifty years: I will abide by it, notwithstanding the

envy and slander of foolish men! [*Poor Oliver, noble Oliver!*] But I say there was a Design — I confess I speak that to you with a little vehemency — But you had not peace two months together [nothing but plot after plot]; I profess I believe it as much as ever I did anything in the world: and how instrumental *they* [these Major-Generals] have been to your peace and for your preservation, by such means, — which, we say, was Necessity! More [instrumental] than all instituted things in the world! — If you would make laws against whatever things God may please to send, [laws] to meet everything that may *happen*, — you make a law in the face of God; you tell God you will meet all His dispensations, and will stay things whether He will or no![1] But if you make good laws of Government, that men may know how to obey and to act for Government, they may be laws that have frailty and weakness; ay, and [yet] good laws to be observed. But if nothing should [ever] be done but what is 'according to Law,' the throat of the Nation may be cut while we send for some to make a Law! [*The Tyrant's plea? — Yes, and the true Governor's, my friend; for extremes meet.*] Therefore certainly it is a pitiful beastly notion to think, though it be for ordinary Government to live by law and rule, yet[2] — [if a Government in extraordinary circumstances go beyond the law even for self-preservation, it is] to be clamored at, and blottered at. [*His Highness still extremely animated; wants as if more tongues than one to speak all he feels!*] When matters of Necessity come, then without guilt extraordinary remedies may not be applied? Who can be so pitiful a person! —

"I confess, if Necessity be *pretended*, there is so much the more sin. A laying the irregularity of men's actions upon

[1] "Laws against events," insisted on before, p. 66. The "event" there could be no law against beforehand, was the universal rising of the cut-throat Cavaliers; a thing not believed in by the thick-skinned, but too well known to his Highness as a terrible verity, — which the thickest skin would have got acquainted with, moreover, had it not been for him! Evidently a most provoking topic.

[2] A small hiatus in the MS. (Burton, p. clxxii), which imagination can easily fill.

God as if He had sent a Necessity; — who doth indeed send Necessities! But to *anticipate* these — For as to an appeal to God, I own it [own this Necessity] conscientiously to God; and the principles of Nature dictate the thing: — But if there be a *supposition*, I say, of a Necessity which is *not*, every *act* so done hath in it the more sin. This [whether in a given case, there *is* a Necessity or not] perhaps is rather to be disputed than otherwise: But I must say I do not know one action [of this Government], no not one, but it hath been in order to the peace and safety of the Nation. And the keeping of some in prison [*Lilburn, Wildman, Overton, Grey of Groby, Willoughby of Parham, occasionally Harrison and others: a fair stock of Prisoners up and down!*] hath been upon such clear and just grounds that no man can except against it. I know there are some imprisoned in the Isle of Wight, in Cornwall and elsewhere; and the cause of their imprisonment was, They were all found acting things which tended to the disturbance of the Peace of the Nation. Now these principles made us say to them: 'Pray live quietly in your own countries: you shall not be urged with bonds or engagements, or to subscribe to the Government.' But they would not so much as say, 'We will promise to live peaceably.' If others are imprisoned, it is because they have done such things. And if other particulars strike,[1] we know what to say, — as having endeavored to walk as those that would not only give an account to God of their actings in Authority, but had [withal] to give an account of them to men. [*Anticlimax; — better than some climaxes; full of simplicity and discretion.*]

"I confess I have digressed much. [*Yes, your Highness; it has been a very loose-flowing Discourse; — like a big tide on shallow shores, with few banks or barriers!*] — I would not have you be discouraged if you think the State is exceeding poor. Give me leave to tell you, we have managed the Treasury not unthriftily, nor to private uses; but for the use of the Nation and Government; — and shall give you this short account. When the Long Parliament sat,[2] this Nation owed £700,000.

[1] Means "give offence." [2] Polite for "ceased to sit."

We examined it; it was brought unto that, — in that short Meeting [of the Little Parliament], within half a year after the Government came into our hands. I believe there was *more* rather than less. They [the Long-Parliament people] had £120,000 a month; they had the King's, Queen's, Prince's, Bishops' Lands; all Delinquents' Estates, and the Dean-and-Chapter Lands; — which was a very rich Treasure. As soon as ever we came to the Government, we abated £30,000 the first half-year, and £60,000 after. We had no benefits of those Estates, at all considerable [*Only the merest fractions of them remaining now unsold*]; I do not think, the fiftieth part of what they had: — and give me leave to tell you, *You are not so much in debt as we found you.*[1] We know it hath been maliciously dispersed, as if we had set the Nation into £2,500,000 of debt: but I tell you, you are not so much in debt, by some thousands, — I think I may say, by some hundreds of thousands! This is true that I tell you. We have honestly, — it may be not so wisely as some others would have done, — but with honest and plain hearts, labored and endeavored the disposal of Treasure to Public Uses; and labored to pull off the common charge £60,000 a month, as you see. And if we had continued that charge that was left upon the Nation, perhaps we could have had as much money [in hand], as now we are in debt. — These things being thus, I did think it my duty to give you this account, — though it be wearisome even to yourselves and to me.

"Now if I had the tongue of an Angel; if I was so certainly Inspired as the holy Men of God have been, I could rejoice, for your sakes, and for these Nations' sakes, and for the sake of God, and of His Cause which we have all been engaged in, if I could move affections in you to that which, if you do it, will save this Nation! If *not*, — you plunge it, to all human appearance, [it] and all Interests, yea and all Protestants in the world, into irrecoverable ruin! —

"Therefore I pray and beseech you, in the name of Christ, Show yourselves to be men; 'quit yourselves like men!' It doth not infer any reproach if you do show yourselves men:

[1] Antea, p. 92.

Christian men, — *which* alone *will* make you 'quit yourselves.' I do not think that, to this work you have in hand, a neutral spirit will do. That is a Laodicean spirit; and we know what God said of that Church: it was 'lukewarm,' and therefore He would 'spew it out of His mouth!' It is not a neutral spirit that is incumbent upon you. And if not a neutral spirit, it is much less a stupefied spirit, inclining you, in the least disposition, the *wrong* way! Men are, in their private consciences, every day making shipwreck; and it's no wonder if these can shake hands with persons of reprobate Interests: — such, give me leave to think, are the Popish Interests. For the Apostle brands them so, 'having seared consciences.' Though I do not judge every man: — but the ringleaders[1] are such. The Scriptures foretold there should be such. It is not such a spirit that will carry this work on! It is men in a Christian state; who have *works* with *faith;* who know how to lay hold on Christ for remission [of sins], till a man be brought to 'glory in hope.' Such an hope kindled in men's spirits will actuate them to such ends as you are tending to: and so many as are partakers of that, and do own your standings,[2] wherein the Providence of God hath set and called you to this work, [so many] will carry it on.

"If men, through scruple, be opposite, you cannot take them by the hand to *carry* them [along with you], — it were absurd: if a man be scrupling the plain truth before him, it is in vain to meddle with him. He hath placed another business in *his* mind; he is saying, 'Oh, if we could but exercise wisdom to gain Civil Liberty, — Religion would follow!' [*His Highness thinks Religion will* PRECEDE, — *as I hope thou also, in a sense, emphatically thinkest. His Highness does not much affect Constitution-builders, Oceana Harringtons, and Members of the Rota Club. Here, however, he has his eye principally upon the late Parliament, with its Constitution-pedantries and parchments.*] Certainly there are such men, who are not *maliciously*

[1] Of the Insurrectionary persons, and the general Miscellany who favor the Popish Interests; it is on these more than on Papists proper that his Highness is now again coming to glance.

[2] Present official positions.

blind, whom God, for some cause, exercises. [*Yes, your Highness; we poor Moderns have had whole shoals of them, and still have,—in the later sections of that same "work" you are engaged in.*] It cannot be expected that they should do anything! [*Profound silence.*] These men,—they must demonstrate that they are in bonds.—Could we have carried it thus far, if we had sat disputing in that manner? I must profess I reckon that difficulty more than all the wrestling with flesh and blood. [*What could so try one as that Pedant Parliament did; disputing, doling out pennyweights of distilled constitution; and Penruddock, Charles Stuart and the Spaniards waiting momentarily to come in, with Ate and the Scarlet Woman in their rear?*] Doubting, hesitating men, they are not fit for your work. You must not expect that men of hesitating spirits, under the bondage of scruples, will be able to carry on this work, much less such as are merely carnal, natural; such as having an 'outward profession of Godliness,' whom the Apostle speaks of so often, 'are enemies to the cross of Christ; whose God is their belly; whose glory is in their shame; who mind earthly things.' [*A really frightful kind of character;—and not yet obsolete, though its dialect is changed!*] Do you think these men will rise to such a spiritual heat for the Nation as shall carry you a Cause like this; as will meet [and defy] all the oppositions that the Devil and wicked men can make? [*Not to* BE *expected, your Highness; not at all. And yet we, two hundred years later, how do we go on expecting it,—by the aid of Ballot-boxes, Reform-Club Attorneys, &c. &c.!*]

"Give me leave to tell you,—those that are called to this work, it will not depend [for them] upon formalities, nor notions, nor speeches! [*A certain truculency on his Highness's visage.*] I do not look the work should be done by these. [No;] but by men of honest hearts, engaged to God; strengthened by Providence; enlightened in His words, to know His Word,—to which He hath set His Seal, sealed with the blood of His Son, with the blood of His Servants: *that* is such a spirit as will carry on this work. [*Scant in the Pedant Parliament, scant in the Rota Club; not to be found in the Reform-Club Attorney, or his Ballot-box, at all.*]

"Therefore I beseech you, do not dispute of unnecessary and unprofitable things which may divert you from carrying on so glorious a work as this is. I think *every* objection that ariseth is not to be answered; nor have I time for it. I say, Look up to God; have peace among yourselves. Know assuredly that if I have interest,[1] I am by the voice of the People the Supreme Magistrate [*We will have no disputing about that, — you are aware!*]; and, it may be, do know somewhat that might satisfy my conscience, if I stood in doubt! But it is a union, really it is a union, [this] between you and me: and both of us united in faith and love to Jesus Christ, and to His peculiar Interest in the world, — *that* must ground this work. And in *that*, if I have any peculiar Interest which is personal to myself, which is not subservient to the Public end, — it were not an extravagant thing for me to *curse* myself: because I know God will curse me, if I have! [*Look in that countenance of his Highness!*] I have learned too much of God, to dally with Him, and to be bold with Him, in these things. And I hope I never shall be bold with Him; — though I can be bold with men, if Christ be pleased to assist! —

"I say, if there be love between us, so that the Nations[2] may say, 'These are knit together in one bond, to promote the glory of God against the Common Enemy; to suppress everything that is Evil, and encourage whatsoever is of Godliness,' — yea, the Nation will bless you! And really that and nothing else will work off these Disaffections from the minds of men; which are great, — perhaps greater than all the [other] oppositions you can meet with. I do know what I say. When I speak of these things, I speak my heart before God; — and, as I said before, I dare not be bold with Him. I have a little faith: I have a little lived by faith, and therein I may be 'bold.' If I spoke other than the affections and secrets of my heart, I know He would not bear it at my hands! [*Deep silence; his Highness's voice, in sonorous bass, alone audible in the Painted Chamber.*] Therefore in the fear and name of God: Go on, with love and integrity, against whatever arises of contrary to those ends which you know and have been told

[1] *Means* "if you see me in power." [2] The Three Nations.

of; and the blessing of God go with you, — and the blessing of God *will* go with you! [*Amen!*]

"I have but one thing more to say. I know it is troublesome: — But I did read a Psalm yesterday; which truly may not unbecome both me to tell you of, and you to observe. It is the Eighty-fifth Psalm;[1] it is very instructive and significant: and though I do but a little touch upon it, I desire your perusal at pleasure. [*We will many of us read it, this night; almost all of us, with one view or the other; — and some of us may sing a part of it at evening worship.*]

"It begins: 'Lord, Thou hast been very favorable to Thy Land; Thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob. Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of Thy People; Thou hast covered all their sin. Thou hast taken away all the fierceness of Thy wrath: Thou hast turned Thyself from the fierceness of Thine anger. Turn us, O God of our salvation, and cause Thine anger toward us to cease. Wilt thou be angry with us forever; wilt Thou draw out Thine anger to all generations? Wilt thou not revive us again, that Thy People may rejoice in Thee?' Then he calls upon God as 'the God of his salvation,'[2] and then saith he: 'I will hear what God the Lord will speak: for He will speak peace unto His People, and to His Saints; but let them not turn again to folly. Surely His salvation is nigh them that fear him;' Oh — 'that glory may dwell in our Land! Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the Earth, and Righteousness shall look down from Heaven. Yea the Lord shall give that which is good, and our Land shall yield her increase. Righteousness shall go before Him, and shall set us in the way of His steps.' [*What a vision of celestial hope is this: vista into Lands of Light, God's Will done on Earth; this poor English Earth an Emblem of Heaven; where God's Blessing reigns supreme; where ghastly Falsity and brutal*

[1] Historical: Tuesday, 16th Sept. 1656; Oliver Protector reading the Eighty-fifth Psalm in Whitehall. We too might read it; but as his Highness recites it all here except one short verse, it is not so necessary.

[2] *Verse 7*, "*Show* us Thy mercy, O Lord, and grant us Thy salvation."

Greed and Baseness, and Cruelty and Cowardice, and Sin and Fear, and all the Hell-dogs of Gehenna shall lie chained under our feet; and Man, august in divine manhood, shall step victorious over them, heavenward, like a god! O Oliver, I could weep, — and yet it steads not. Do not I too look into "Psalms," into a kind of Eternal Psalm, unalterable as adamant, — which the whole world yet will look into? Courage, my brave one!]

"Truly I wish that this Psalm, as it is written in the Book, might be better written in our hearts. That we might say as David, '*Thou* hast done this,' and 'Thou hast done that;' 'Thou hast pardoned our sins; Thou hast taken away our iniquities'! Whither can we go to a better God? For 'He hath done it.' It is to Him any Nation may come in their extremity, for the taking away of His wrath. How did He do it? 'By pardoning their sins, by taking away their iniquities!' If we can but cry unto Him, He will 'turn and take away *our* sins.' — Then let us listen to Him. Then let us consult, and meet in Parliament; and ask Him counsel, and hear what He saith, 'for He will speak peace unto His People.' If you be the People of God, He will speak *peace;* — and we will not turn again to folly.

"'Folly:' a great deal of grudging in the Nation that we cannot have our horse-races, cock-fightings, and the like! [*Abolished, suspended, for good reasons!*] I do not think these are lawful, except to make them recreations. That we will not endure [for necessary ends, — *for preventing Royalist Plots, and such like*] to be abridged of them: — Till God hath brought us to another spirit than this, He will not bear with us. Ay, 'but He bears with them in France;' 'they in France are so and so!' — Have they *the Gospel* as we have? They have seen the sun but a little; we have great lights. — If God give you a spirit of Reformation, you will preserve this Nation from 'turning again' to those fooleries: — and what will the end be? Comfort and blessing. Then 'Mercy and Truth shall meet together.' Here is a great deal of 'truth' among professors, but very little 'mercy'! They are ready to cut the throats of one another. But when we are brought into the right way, we shall be merciful as well as orthodox: and we

know who it is that saith, 'If a man could speak with the tongues of men and angels, and yet want *that*, he is but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal!' —

"Therefore I beseech you in the name of God, set your hearts to this [work]. And if you set your hearts to it, then you will sing Luther's Psalm.[1] That is a rare Psalm for a Christian! — and if he set his heart open, and can approve it to God, we *shall* hear him say, 'God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble.' If Pope and Spaniard, and Devil and all, set themselves against us, — though they should 'compass us like bees,' as it is in the Hundred-and-eighteenth Psalm, — yet in the name of the Lord we should destroy them! And, as it is in this Psalm of Luther's: 'We will not fear, though the Earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the middle of the sea; though the waters thereof roar and be troubled; though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.' [*A terrible scene indeed: — but there is something in the Heart of Man, then, greater than any "scene;" which, in the Name of the Highest, can defy any "scene" or terror whatsoever? "Yea," answers the Hebrew David; "Yea," answers the German Luther; "Yea," the English Cromwell. The Ages responsive to one another; soul hailing soul across the dead Abysses; deep calling unto deep.*]

[1] Psalm Forty-sixth; of which Luther's Paraphrase, *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*, is still very celebrated. Here is the original Psalm: —

"God is our refuge and strength; a very present help in trouble; therefore we will not fear, — though the Earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters roar and be troubled; though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof!

"There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God, the Holy Place of the Tabernacles of the Most High. God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved: God shall help her, and that right early. The Heathen raged, the Kingdoms were moved: He uttered His voice, the Earth melted. The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.

"Come behold the works of the Lord, what desolations He hath made in the Earth! He maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the Earth; He breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire: — Be still, and know that I am God; I will be exalted among the Heathen, I will be exalted in the Earth! The Lord of Hosts is with us: the *God of Jacob is* our refuge."

'There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God. God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved.' [*No!*] Then he repeats two or three times, 'The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.' [*What are the King of Spain, Charles Stuart, Joseph Wagstaff, Chancellor Hyde, and your triple-hatted Chimera at Rome? What is the Devil in General, for that matter, — the still very extensive Entity called "Devil," with all the force he can raise?*]

"I have done. All I have to say is, To pray God that He may bless you with His presence; that He who hath your hearts and mine would show His presence in the midst of us.

"I desire you will go together, and choose your Speaker."[1]

The latest of the Commentators expresses himself in reference to this Speech in the following singular way: —

"No Royal Speech like this was ever delivered elsewhere in the world! It is, — with all its prudence, and it is very prudent, sagacious, courteous, right royal in spirit, — perhaps the most artless transparent piece of Public Speaking this Editor has ever studied. Rude, massive, genuine; like a block of unbeaten gold. A Speech not so fit for Drury Lane, as for Valhalla, and the Sanhedrim of the Gods. The man himself, and the England he presided over, there and then, are to a singular degree visible in it; open to our eyes, to our sympathies. He who would see Oliver, will find more of him here than in most of the history-books yet written about him.

"On the whole, the cursory modern Englishman cannot be expected to read this Speech: — and yet it is pity; the Speech might do him good, if he understood it. We shall not again hear a Supreme Governor talk in this strain: the dialect of it is very obsolete; much more than the grammar and diction, forever obsolete, — not to my regret the dialect of it. But the spirit of it is a thing that should never have grown obsolete. The spirit of it will have to revive itself again; and shine out in *new* dialect and vesture, in infinitely wider compass, wide

[1] *Burton's Diary*, i. Introd. pp. clviii–clxxix (from Additional Ayscough *MSS.* no. 6125).

as God's known Universe *now* is, — if it please Heaven! Since that spirit went obsolete, and men took to 'dallying' with the Highest, to 'being bold' with the Highest, and not 'bold with men' (only Belial, and not 'Christ' in any shape, assisting them), we have had but sorry times, in Parliament and out of it. There has not been a Supreme Governor worth the meal upon his periwig, in comparison, — since this spirit fell obsolete. How could there? Belial is a desperately bad sleeping-partner in any concern whatever! Cant did not ever yet, that I know of, turn ultimately to a good account, for any man or thing. May the Devil swiftly be compelled to call in large masses of our current stock of Cant, and withdraw it from circulation! Let the people 'run for gold,' as the Chartists say; demand Veracity, Performance, instead of mealy-mouthed Speaking; and force him to recall his Cant. Thank Heaven, stern Destiny, merciful were it even to death, does now compel them verily to 'run for gold:' Cant in all directions is swiftly ebbing into the Bank *it* was issued by." —

Speech being ended, the Honorable Members "went to the House," says Bulstrode;[1] and in the Lobby, with considerable crowding I think, "received, from the Chancery Clerk, Certificates in this form," — for instance: —

"COUNTY OF BUCKS. *These are to certify that*" Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke "*is returned by Indenture one of the Knights to serve in this present Parliament for the said County, and approved by his Highness's Council.* NATH. TAYLER, *Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery.*"

Mr. Tayler has received four hundred "Indentures" from Honorable Gentlemen; but he does not give out four hundred "Certificates," he only gives three hundred and odd. Near one hundred Honorable Gentlemen can get no Certificate from Mr. Tayler, — none provided for *you*; — and without Certificate there is no admittance. Soldiers stand ranked at the door; no man enters without his Certificate! Astonishing to see. Haselrig, Scott and the stiff Republicans, Ashley Cooper and the turbulent persons, who might have leavened this Par-

[1] Whitlocke, p. 639.

liament into strange fermentation, cannot, it appears, get in! No admittance here: saw Honorable Gentlemen ever the like? —

The most flagrant violation of the Privileges of Parliament that was ever known! exclaim they. A sore blow to Privilege indeed. With which the Honorable House, shorn of certain limbs in this rude way, knows not well what to do. The Clerk of the Commonwealth, being summoned, answers what he can; Nathaniel Fiennes, for the Council of State, answers what he can: the Honorable House, actually intent on Settling the Nation, has to reflect that in real truth this will be a great furtherance thereto; that matters do stand in an anomalous posture at present; that the Nation should and must be settled. The Honorable House, with an effort, swallows this injury; directs the petitioning Excluded Members "to apply to the Council."[1] The Excluded Members, or some one Excluded Member, redacts an indignant Protest, with all the names appended;[2] prints it, privately circulates it, "in boxes sent by carriers, a thousand copies in a box:" — and there it rests; his Highness saying nothing to it; the Honorable House and the Nation saying nothing. In this Parliament, different from the last, we trace a real desire for Settlement.

As the power of the Major-Generals, "in about two months hence,"[3] or three months hence, was, on hint of his Highness himself, to the joy of Constitutional England, withdrawn, we may here close *Part Ninth*. Note first, however, as contemporary with this event, the glorious news we have from Blake and Montague at sea; who, in good hour, have at last got hold of a Spanish Fleet, and in a tragic manner burnt it, and taken endless silver therein.[4] News of the fact comes in the beginning of October: in the beginning of November comes,

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 424–426 (Sept. 18th–22d).

[2] Copy of it and them in *Whitlocke*, pp. 641–643; see also *Thurloe*, v. 456, 490.

[3] Kimber, p. 211. The real date and circumstances may be seen in *Burton's Diary*, i. 310 (7th Jan. 1656–7), *Commons Journals*, vii. 483 (29th Jan.); compared with Ludlow, ii. 581, 582. See Godwin, iv. 328.

[4] Captain Stayner's Letter (9th Sept. 1656, *Thurloe*, v. 399); General *Montague's* Letter (ib. p. 433); Whitlocke, p. 643; &c.

as it were, the fact itself, — some eight-and-thirty wagon-loads of real silver: triumphantly jingling up from Portsmouth, across London pavements to the Tower, to be coined into current English money there. The Antichrist King of Spain has lost Lima by an earthquake, and infinite silver there also. Heaven's vengeance seems awakening. "Never," say the old Newspapers,[1] "never was there a more terrible visible Hand of God in judgment upon any People, since the time of Sodom and Gomorrah! Great is the Lord; marvellous are His doings, and to be had in reverence of all the Nations." England holds universal Thanksgiving Day; sees eight-and-thirty wagon-loads of silver, sees hope of Settlement, sees Major-Generals abolished; and piously blesses Heaven.

[1] 6th October (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 160).

PART X.

SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT.

1657–1658.

LETTERS CCXV.–CCXVI.

Two Letters near each other in date, and now by accident brought contiguous in place; which offer a rather singular contrast; the one pointing as towards the Eternal Heights, the other as towards the Tartarean Deeps! Between which two Extremes the Life of men and Lord Protectors has to pass itself in this world, as wisely as it can. Let us read them, and hasten over to the new Year Fifty-Seven, and last Department of our subject.

LETTER CCXV.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, or the Municipal Authorities there, as we may perceive, are rather of the Independent judgment; and have a little dread of some encouragement his Highness has been giving to certain of the Presbyterian sect in those parts. This Letter ought to be sufficient reassurance.

"*To the Mayor of Newcastle: to be communicated to the Aldermen and others whom it doth concern.*

"WHITEHALL, 18th December, 1656.

"GENTLEMEN, AND MY VERY GOOD FRIENDS,—My Lord Strickland, who is one of our Council, did impart to us a Letter written from yourselves to him, according to your desire therein expressed; which occasions this return from us to you.

"As nothing that may reflect to the prejudice of your outward Good, either Personal or as you are a Civil Government, shall easily pass with us; so, much less what shall tend to your discouragement, as you are Saints, to your Congregations, gathered in that way of fellowship commonly known by the name of Independents, whether of one judgment or other:—[this] shall be far from being actually discountenanced, or passively [left to] suffer damage, by any applying themselves to me. I do, once for all, give you to understand, that I should thereby destroy and disappoint one of the main ends for which God hath planted me in the station I am in.

"Wherefore I desire you in that matter to rest secure. True it is that two Ministers, one Mr. Cole and one Mr. Pye, did present to me a Letter in the name of divers Ministers of Newcastle, the Bishopric of Durham and Northumberland; of an honest and Christian purpose: the sum whereof I extracted, and returned an Answer thereunto;—a true Copy whereof I send you here enclosed. By which I think it will easily appear, that the consideration of my kindness is well deserved by them; provided they observe the condition [there] expressed; which in charity I am bound to believe they will; and without which their own consciences and the world will know how to judge of them.

"Having said this, I, or rather the Lord, require of you, That you walk in all peaceableness and gentleness, inoffensiveness, truth and love towards them, as becomes the Servants and Churches of Christ. Knowing well that Jesus Christ, of whose diocese both they and you are, expects it. Who, when He comes to gather His People, and to make Himself 'a name and praise amongst all the people of the earth,'—He 'will save her that halteth, and gather her that was driven out, and will get them praise and fame in every land, where they have been put to shame.'[1] And such 'lame ones' and 'driven-out ones' were not the Independents only, and Presbyterians, a few years since, by the Popish and Prelatical Party in these Nations; but such are and have been the Protestants in all lands,—persecuted, and faring alike with you, in all the Reformed

[1] Zephaniah, iii. 19, 20.

Churches. And therefore, knowing your charity to be as large as all the Flock of Christ who are of the same Hope and Faith of the Gospel with you; I thought fit to commend these few words to you; — being well assured it is written in your heart, So to do with this that I shall stand by you in the maintaining of all your just privileges to the uttermost.

"And committing you to the blessing of the Lord, I rest,

"Your loving friend,

"OLIVER P." [1]

LETTER CCXVI.

CARDINAL MAZARIN, the governing Minister of France in those days, is full of compliance for the Lord Protector; whom, both for the sake of France and for the Cardinal's sake, it is very requisite to keep in good humor. On France's score, there is Treaty with France, and War with its enemy Spain; on the Cardinal's are obscure Court-intrigues, Queen-mothers, and one knows not what: in brief, the subtle Cardinal has found, after trial of the opposite course too, that friendship, or even at times obedient-servantship to Cromwell, will be essentially advantageous to him.

Some obscure quarrel has fallen out between Charles Stuart and the Duke of York his Brother. Quarrel complicated with open politics, with Spanish War and Royalist Revolt, on Oliver's side; with secret Queen-mothers, and backstairs diplomacies, on the Cardinal's: — of which there flit, in the dreariest manner, this and the other enigmatic vestige in the night-realm of *Thurloe;* [2] and which is partly the subject of this present Letter. A Letter unique in two respects. It is the only one we have of Oliver Cromwell, the English Puritan King, to Giulio Mazarini, the Sicilian-French Cardinal, and King of Shreds and Patches; [3] who are a very singular pair of

[1] Thurloe, v. 714: in Secretary Thurloe's hand.

[2] *iv.* 506; v. 753; &c. &c.

[3] Three insignificant official Notes to him, in Appendix, Nos. 27, 28.

Correspondents brought together by the Destinies! It is also the one glimpse we have from Oliver himself of the subterranean Spy-world, in which, by a hard necessity, so many of his thoughts had to dwell. Oliver, we find, cannot quite grant Toleration to the Catholics; but he is well satisfied with this "our weightiest affair," — not without weight to *me* at least, who sit expecting Royalist Insurrections backed by Spanish Invasions, and have Assassins plotting for my life at present "on the word of a Christian King!" —

Concerning the "affair" itself, and the personages engaged in it, let us be content that they should continue spectral for us, and dwell in the subterranean Night-realm which belongs to them. The "Person" employed from England, if anybody should be curious about him, is one Colonel Bamfield, once a flaming Presbyterian Royalist, who smuggled the Duke of York out of this Country in woman's clothes; and now lives as an Oliverian Spy, very busy making mischief for the Duke of York. "Berkley" is the Sir John Berkley who rode with Charles First to the Isle of Wight long since;[1] the Duke of York's Tutor at present. Of "Lockhart," Oliver's Ambassador in France, we shall perhaps hear again. The others, — let them continue spectral to us. Let us conceive, never so faintly, that their "affair" is to maintain in the Duke of York some Anti-Spanish notion; notion of his having a separate English interest, independent of his Brother's, perhaps superior to it; wild notion, of one or the other sort, which will keep the quarrel wide: — as accordingly we find it did for many months,[2] whatever notion it was. We can then read with intelligence sufficient for us.

[*To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.*]

"[WHITEHALL], 26th December, 1656.

"THE obligations, and many instances of affection, which I have received from your Eminency, do engage [me] to make returns suitable to your merits. But although I have this set home upon my spirit, I may not (shall I tell you, I cannot?)

[1] Antea, vol. xvii. p. 284.

[2] *Thurloe, iv. v. vi.*: see also *Biog. Brit.* (2d edition), ii. 154.

at this juncture of time, and as the face of my affairs now stands, answer to your call for Toleration.[1]

"I say, I cannot, as to a public Declaration of my sense in that point; although I believe that under my Government your Eminency, in the behalf of Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigor upon men's consciences than under the Parliament. For I have of some, and those very many, had compassion; making a difference. Truly I have (and I may speak it with cheerfulness in the presence of God, who is a witness within me to the truth of what I affirm) made a difference; and, as Jude speaks, 'plucked many out of the fire,'[2]— the raging fire of persecution, which did tyrannize over their consciences, and encroached by an arbitrariness of power upon their estates. And herein it is my purpose, as soon as I can remove impediments, and some weights that press me down, to make a farther progress, and discharge my promise to your Eminency in relation to that.

"And now I shall come to return your Eminency thanks for your judicious choice of that Person to whom you have intrusted our weightiest Affair: an Affair wherein your Eminency is concerned, though not in an equal degree and measure with myself. I must confess that I had some doubts of its success, till Providence cleared them to me by the effects. I was, truly, and to speak ingenuously, not without doubtings; and shall not be ashamed to give your Eminency the grounds I had for much doubting. I did fear that Berkley would not have been able to go through and carry on that work; and that either the Duke would have cooled in his suit,[3] or condescended to his Brother. I doubted also that those Instructions which I sent over with 290[4] were not clear enough as to expressions; some affairs here denying me leisure at that time to be so par-

[1] To the Catholics here.

[2] Verses 22, 23: a most remarkable *Epistle*, to which his Highness often enough solemnly refers, as we have seen.

[3] His suit, I understand, was for leave to continue in France; an Anti-Spanish notion.

[4] *Cipher* for some Man's Name, now undecipherable; to all appearance *Bamfield*.

ticular as, [in regard] to some circumstances, I would. — If I am not mistaken in his [the Duke's] character, as I received it from your Eminency, that fire which is kindled between them will not ask bellows to blow it, and keep it burning. But what I think farther necessary in this matter I will send [to] your Eminency by Lockhart.

"And now I shall boast to your Eminency my security upon a well-builded confidence in the Lord: for I distrust not but if this breach [be] widened a little more, and this difference fomented, with a little caution in respect of the persons to be added to it, — I distrust not but that Party, which is already forsaken of God as to an outward dispensation of mercies, and noisome to their countrymen, will grow lower in the opinion of all the world.

"If I have troubled your Eminency too long in this, you may impute it to the resentment of joy which I have for the issue of this Affair; and [I] will conclude with giving you assurance that I will never be backward in demonstrating, as becomes your brother and confederate, that I am,

"Your servant,

"OLIVER P."[1]

SPEECH VI.

SINDERCOMB.

THE Spanish Invasion and Royalist Insurrection once more came to no effect: on mature judgment of the case, it seemed necessary to have Oliver Protector assassinated first; and that, as usual, could not be got done. Colonel Sexby, the frantic Anabaptist, he and others have been very busy; "riding among his Highness's escort" in Hyde Park and elsewhere, with fleet horses, formidable weapons, with "gate-hinges ready filed through," if the deed could have been done; — but it never

[1] Thurloe, v. 735. In the possession of a "Mr. Theophilus Rowe of Hampstead in Middlesex," says Birch. Where did Rowe get it? Is it in the original hand, or only a copy? Birch is silent even as to the latter point. The style *sufficiently declares it to be a genuine Letter.*

could. Sexby went over to Flanders again, for fresh consultations; left the assassination-affair in other hands, with £1,600 of ready money, "on the faith of a Christian King." Quartermaster Sindercomb takes Sexby's place in this great enterprise; finds, he too, that there is nothing but failure in it.

Miles Sindercomb, now a cashiered Quartermaster living about Town, was once a zealous Deptford lad, who enlisted to fight for Liberty, at the beginning of these Wars. He fought strongly on the side of Liberty, being an earnest fierce young fellow; — then gradually got astray into Levelling courses, and wandered ever deeper there, till daylight forsook him, and it became quite dark. He was one of the desperate misguided Corporals, or Quartermasters, doomed to be shot at Burford, seven years ago: but he escaped overnight, and was not shot there; took service in Scotland; got again to be Quartermaster; was in the Overton Plot, for seizing Monk and marching into England, lately: whereupon Monk cashiered him: and he came to Town; lodged himself here, in a sulky threadbare manner, — in Alsatia or elsewhere. A gloomy man and Ex-Quartermaster; has become one of Sexby's people, "on the faith of a Christian King;" nothing now left of him but the fierceness, groping some path for itself in the utter *dark*. Henry Toope, one of his Highness's Life-guard, gives us, or will give us, an inkling of Sindercomb; and we know something of his courses and inventions, which are many. He rode in Hyde Park, among his Highness's escort, with Sexby; but the deed could not then be done. Leave me the £1,600, said he; and I will find a way to do it. Sexby left it him, and went abroad.

Inventive Sindercomb then took a House in Hammersmith; Garden-House, I think, "which had a banqueting-room looking into the road;" road very narrow at that part; — road from Whitehall to Hampton Court on Saturday afternoons. Inventive Sindercomb here set about providing blunderbusses of the due explosive force, — ancient "infernal-machines," in fact, — with these he will blow his Highness's Coach and Highness's self into small pieces, if it please Heaven. It did not *please* Heaven, — probably not Henry Toope of his Highness's *Life*-guard. This first scheme proved a failure.

Inventive Sindercomb, to justify his £1,600, had to try something. He decided to fire Whitehall by night, and have a stroke at his Highness in the tumult. He has "a hundred swift horses, two in a stable, up and down:" — set a hundred stout ruffians on the back of these, in the nocturnal fire; and try. Thursday, 8th January, 1656–7; that is to be the Night. On the dusk of Thursday, January 8th, he with old-trooper Cecil, his second in the business, attends Public Worship in Whitehall Chapel; is seen loitering there afterwards, "near the Lord Lambert's seat." Nothing more is seen of him: but about half-past eleven at night, the sentinel on guard catches a smell of fire; — finds holed wainscots, picked locks; a basket of the most virulent wildfire, "fit almost to burn through stones," — with lit match slowly creeping towards it, computed to reach it in some half-hour hence, about the stroke of midnight! — His Highness is summoned, the Council is summoned; — alas, Toope of the Life-guard is examined and Sindercomb's lodging is known. Just when the wildfire should have blazed, two Guardsmen wait upon Sindercomb; seize him, not without hard defence on his part, "wherein his nose was nearly cut off;" bring him to his Highness. Toope testifies; Cecil peaches: — inventive Sindercomb has failed for the *last* time. To the Tower with him, to a jury of his country with him! — The emotion in the Parliament and in the Public, next morning, was great. It had been proposed to ring an alarm at the moment of discovery, and summon the Trainbands; but his Highness would not hear of it.[1]

This Parliament, really intent on settling the Nation, could not want for emotions in regard to such a matter! Parliament adjourns for a week, till the roots of the Plot are investigated somewhat. Parliament, on reassembling, appoints a day of Thanksgiving for the Nation; Friday come four weeks, which is February 20th, that shall be the general Thanksgiving Day: and in the mean time we decide to go over in a body, and congratulate his Highness. A mark of great respect to him.[2]

[1] Burton, i. 322–323, 355; Official Narrative (in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 160, 161); *State-Trials*, v. § Sindercomb.

[2] *Commons Journals*, vii. 481, 484, 493: *Burton's Diary*, i. 369, 377.

Parliament accordingly goes over in a body, with mellifluous Widdrington, whom they have chosen for Speaker, at their head, to congratulate his Highness. It is Friday, 23d January, 1656–7; about Eleven in the morning; scene, Banqueting-house, Whitehall. Mellifluous Widdrington's congratulation, not very prolix, exists in abstract;[1] but we suppress it. Here is his Highness's Reply; — rather satisfactory to the reader. We have only to regret that in passing from the Court up to the Banqueting-house, "part of an ancient wooden staircase," or balustrade of a staircase, "long exposed to the weather, gave way in the crowding;"[2] and some honorable Gentlemen had falls, though happily nobody was seriously hurt. Mellifluous Widdrington having ended, his Highness answers: —

"MR. SPEAKER, — I confess with much respect, that you have put this trouble on yourselves upon this occasion: — but I perceive there be two things that fill me full of sense. One is, The mercy on a poor unworthy creature; the second is, This great and, as I said, unexpected kindness of Parliament, in manifesting such a sense thereof as this is which you have now expressed. I speak not this with compliment! That which detracts from the thing, in some sense, is the inconsiderableness and unworthiness of the person that hath been the object and subject of this deliverance, to wit, myself. I confess ingenuously to you, I do lie under the daily sense of my unworthiness and unprofitableness, as I have expressed to you: and if there be, as I most readily acknowledge there is, a mercy in it to me, I wish I may never reckon it on any other account than this, That the life that is lengthened may be spent and improved to His honor who hath vouchsafed the mercy, and to the service of you, and those you represent.

"I do not know, nor did I think it would be very seasonable for me, to say much to you upon this occasion; being a thing that ariseth from yourselves. Yet, methinks, the kind-

[1] Burton, ii. 488.

[2] *Cromwelliana*, p. 162. See *Thurloe* (vi. 49), and correct poor *Noble* (i. 161), who, with a double or even triple blunder, says my Lord Richard Cromwell had his leg broken on this occasion, and dates it August, 1657.

ness you bear should kindle a little desire in me; even at this present, to make a short return. And, as you have been disposed hither by the Providence of God, to congratulate my mercy; so give me leave, in a very word or two, to congratulate with you. [*Rusty, but sincere.*]

"Congratulations are ever conversant about good, bestowed upon men, or possessed by them. Truly, I shall in a word or two congratulate you with good *you* are in possession of, and in some respect I also with you. God hath bestowed upon you, and you are in possession of it, — Three Nations, and all that appertains to them. Which in either a geographical, or topical consideration, are Nations. [*Indisputably!*] In which also there are places of honor and consideration, not inferior to any in the known world, — without vanity it may be spoken. Truly God hath not made so much soil, furnished with so many blessings, in vain! [*Here is an idea of one's own.*] But it is a goodly sight, if a man behold it *uno intuitu*. And therefore this is a possession of yours, worthy of congratulation.

"This is furnished, — give me leave to say, for I believe it is true, — with the best People in the world, possessing so much soil. A People in civil rights, — in respect of their rights and privileges, — very ancient and honorable. And *in* this People, in the midst of this People, [you have, what is still more precious,] a *People* (I know every one will hear [and acknowledge] it) that are to God 'as the apple of His eye,' — and He says so of them, be they many, or be they few! But they are many. A People of the blessing of God; a People under His safety and protection. A People calling upon the Name of the Lord; which the Heathen do not. A People knowing God; and a People (according to the ordinary expressions) fearing God. [*We hope so!*] And you have of this no parallel; no, not in all the world! You have in the midst of you glorious things.

"Glorious things: for you have Laws and statutes, and ordinances, which, though not all of them so conformable as were to be wished to the Law of God, yet, on all hands, pretend not *to be long* rested in farther than as they are conform-

able to the just and righteous Laws of God. Therefore, I am persuaded, there is a heart and spirit in every good man to wish they did all of them answer the Pattern. [*Yea!*] I cannot doubt but that which is in the heart will in due time break forth. [*And we shall actually have just Laws, your Highness thinks?*] That endeavors will be [made] that way, is another of your good things, with which in my heart [I think] you are worthily to be congratulated. And you have a Magistracy; which, in outward profession, in pretence, in endeavor, doth desire to put life into these Laws. And I am confident that among *you* will rest the true desire to promote every desire in others, and every endeavor, that hath tended or shall tend to the putting of these Laws in execution.

"I do [also] for this congratulate you: You have a Gospel Ministry among you. That have you! Such an one as, — without vanity I shall speak it; or without caring at all for any favor or respect from *them*, save what I have upon an account above flattery, or good words, — such an one as hath excelled itself; and, I am persuaded, — to speak with confidence before the Lord, — is the most growing blessing (one of the most growing blessings) on the face of this Nation.

"You have a good Eye [to watch over you], — and in that I will share with your good favors. A good God; a God that hath watched over you and us. A God that hath visited these Nations with a stretched-out arm; and borne His witness against the unrighteousness and ungodliness of men, against those that [would] have abused such Nations, — such mercies throughout, as I have reckoned up unto you! A God that hath not only withstood such to the face; but a God that hath abundantly blessed you with the evidence of His goodness and presence. And He 'hath done things wonderful amongst us,' 'by terrible things in righteousness.'[1] He hath visited us by 'wonderful things'! [*A Time of Miracle; as indeed all "Times" are, your Highness, when there are* MEN *alive in them!*] In mercy and compassion hath He given us this day of freedom, and liberty to speak this, one to another; and to

[1] Isaiah xxv. 1; Psalm lxv. 5.

speak of His mercies, as He hath been pleased to put into our hearts. [*Where now are the Star-Chambers, High Commissions, Council-Chambers; pitiless oppressors of God's Gospel in this land? The Hangmen with their whips and red-hot branding-irons, with their Three blood-sprinkled Pillories in Old Palace-yard, and Four clean Surplices at Allhallowtide, — where are they? Vanished. Much has vanished; fled from us like the Phantasms of a Nightmare Dream!*]

"Truly, this word in conclusion. If these things be so, give me leave to remember you but one word; which I offered to you with great love and affection the first day of meeting with you, this Parliament. It pleased God to put into my heart then to mention a Scripture to you, which would be a good conclusion of my Speech now at this time to you. It was, That we being met to seek the good of so great an Interest, as I have mentioned, and the glory of that God who is both yours and mine, how could we better do it than by thinking of such words as these, 'His salvation is nigh them that fear Him,' 'that glory may dwell in our land'! I would not comment upon it. I hope I fear Him; — and let us more fear Him! If this [present] mercy at all doth concern you, as I see it doth, — let me, and I hope you will with me, labor more to fear Him! [*Amen!*] Then we have done [that includes all]; seeing such a blessing as His salvation 'is nigh them that fear Him,' — seeing we are all of us representatives of all the good of all these lands, [to endeavor with our whole strength] 'that glory may dwell in our land.'

"[Yes,] if it be so, 'Mercy and Truth shall meet together, Righteousness and Peace shall kiss each other.' We shall know, you, and I as the father of this family, how to dispose our mercies to God's glory; and how to dispose our severity. How to distinguish between obedient and rebellious children; — and not to do as Eli did, who told his sons 'he did not *hear* well of them,' when perhaps he *saw* ill *by* them. And we know the severity of that. And therefore let me say, — though I will not descant upon the words, — that Mercy must be joined with Truth: Truth, in that respect, that we think it our duty to *exercise a just* severity, as well as to apply kindness and

mercy. And truly, Righteousness and Mercy must kiss each other. If we will have Peace without a worm in it, lay we foundations of Justice and Righteousness. [*Hear this Lord Protector!*] And if it shall please God so to move you, as that you marry this redoubtable Couple together, Mercy and Truth, Righteousness and Peace, — you will, if I may be free to say so, be blessed whether you will or no! And that you and I may, for the time the Lord shall continue us together, set our hearts upon this, shall be my daily prayer. And I heartily and humbly acknowledge my thankfulness to you."[1]

On Monday, 9th February, Sindercomb was tried by a jury in the Upper Bench; and doomed to suffer as a traitor and assassin, on the Saturday following. The night before Saturday, his poor Sister, though narrowly watched, smuggled him some poison: he went to bed, saying, "Well, this is the last time I shall go to bed;" the attendants heard him snore heavily, and then cease; they looked, and he lay dead. "He was of that wretched sect called *Soul-Sleepers*, who believe that the soul falls *asleep* at death:"[2] a gloomy, far-misguided man They buried him on Tower-hill, with due ignominy; and there he rests; with none but Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, or Deceptive-Presbyterian Titus, to sing his praise.[3]

Next Friday, Friday the 20th, which was Thanksgiving Day, "the Honorable House, after hearing two Sermons at Margaret's Westminster, partook of a most princely Entertainment," by invitation from his Highness, at Whitehall. "After dinner his Highness withdrew to the Cockpit; and there entertained them with rare music, both of voices and instruments, till the evening;"[4] his Highness being very fond of music. In

[1] *Burton's Diary* (from Lansdown MSS. 755, no. 244), ii. 490–493.

[2] *Cromwelliana*, p. 162.

[3] "Equal to a Roman in virtue," says the noisy Pamphlet *Killing no Murder*, which seems to have been written by Sexby; though Titus, as adroit King's-Flunky, at an after-period saw good to claim it. A Pamphlet much noised of in those months and afterwards; recommending all persons to *assassinate* Cromwell; — has this merit, considerable or not, and no other worth speaking of.

[4] *Newspapers* (in Burton, i. 377); Commons Journals, vii. 499.

this manner end, once more, the grand Assassination projects, Spanish-Invasion projects; unachievable even the Preface of them. And now we will speak of something else.

LETTER CCXVII.

KINGSHIP.

THIS Second Protectorate Parliament, at least while the fermenting elements or "hundred Excluded Members" are held aloof from it, unfolds itself to us as altogether reconciled to the rule of Oliver, or even right thankful for it; and really striving towards Settlement of the Nation on that basis. Since the First constitutioning Parliament went its ways, here is a great change among us: three years of successful experiment have thrown some light on Oliver, and his mode of ruling, to all Englishmen. What can a wise Puritan Englishman do but decide on complying with Oliver, on strengthening the hands of Oliver? Is he not verily doing the thing we all wanted to see done? The old Parchments of the case may have been a little hustled, as indeed in a Ten-years Civil War, ending in the Execution of a King, they could hardly fail to be; — but the divine Fact of the case, meseems, is well cared for! Here is a Governing Man, undeniably the most English of Englishmen, the most Puritan of Puritans, — the Pattern Man, I must say, according to the model of that Seventeenth Century in England; and a Great Man, denizen of all the Centuries, or he could never have been the Pattern one in that. Truly, my friends, I think, you may go farther and fare worse! — To the darkest head in England, even to the assassinative truculent-flunky head in steeple-hat worn brown, some light has shone out of these three years of Government by Oliver. An uncommon Oliver, even to the truculent-flunky. If not the noblest and worshipfulest of all Englishmen, at least the strongest and terriblest; with whom really it might be as well to comply; with whom, in fact, there is small hope in not *complying!* —

For its wise temper and good practical tendency, le praise this Second Parliament; — admit nevertheless tha History, like that of most Parliaments, amounts to li This Parliament did what they could: forbore to pester Highness with quibblings and cavillings and constitu pedantries; accomplished respectably the Parliamentary tine; voted, what perhaps was all that could be expecte them, some needful modicum of supplies; "debated whe it should be debated," "put the question whether this ques should be put;" — and in a mild way neutralized one anot and as it were handsomely *did nothing*, and left Oliver to A Record of their proceedings has been jotted down by on their Members there present, who is guessed rather vag by Editorial sagacity to have been "one Mr. Burton." It saved from the fire in late years, that Record; has been pri under the title of *Burton's Diary;* and this Editor has fi fully read it, — not without wonder, once more, at the adequacy of the human pen to convey almost any glimme of insight to the distant human mind! Alas, the human oppressed by incubus of Parliamentary or other Pedantr a most poor matter. At bottom, if we will consider it, poor Burton — let us continue to call him "Burton," the that was not his name — cared nothing about these mat himself; merely jotted them down *pedantically*, by imp from without, — that he might seem, in his own eyes and t of others, a knowing person, enviable for insight into facts an high nature." And now, by what possibility of cha can he interest thee or me about them; now when they l turned out to be facts of no nature at all, — mere wearis *ephemera*, and cast-clothes of facts, gone all to dust and a now; which the healthy human mind resolutely, not with impatience, tramples under its feet! A Book filled, a many are, with mere dim inanity and moaning wind. nobody condense it into sixteen pages; instead of four t octavo volumes? For there are, if you look long, some str of dull light shining even through *it;* perhaps, in judic hands, one readable sheet of sixteen pages might be mad *it;* — and even the rubbish of the rest, with a proper In

might be useful; might at least be left to rot quietly, once it was known to be rubbish. But enough now of poor Mr. Burton and his *Diary*, — who, as we say, is not "Mr. Burton" at all, if anybody cared to know who or what he was![1] Undoubtedly some very dull man. Under chimerical circumstances he gives us, being fated to do it, an inane History of a Parliament now itself grown very inane and chimerical! —

This Parliament, as we transiently saw, suppressed the Major-Generals; refused to authorize their continued "Decimation" or *Ten-per-centing* of the Royalists;[2] whereupon they were suppressed. Its next grand feat was that of James Nayler and his Procession which we saw at Bristol lately. Interminable Debates about James Nayler, — excelling in stupor all the Human Speech, even in English Parliaments, this Editor has ever been exposed to. Nayler, in fact, is almost all that survives with one, from *Burton*, as the sum of what this Parliament did. If they did aught else, the human mind, eager enough to carry off news of them, has mostly dropped it on the way hither. To Posterity they sit there as the James-Nayler Parliament. Four hundred Gentlemen of England, and I think a sprinkling of Lords among them, assembled from all Counties and Boroughs of the Three Nations, to sit in solemn debate on this terrific Phenomenon; a Mad Quaker fancying or seeming to fancy himself, what is not uncommon since, a new Incarnation of Christ. Shall we hang him, shall we whip him, bore the tongue of him with hot iron; shall we imprison him, set him to oakum; shall we roast, or boil, or stew him; — shall we put the question whether this question shall be put; debate whether this shall be debated; — in Heaven's name, what shall we do with him, the terrific Phenomenon of Nayler? This is the history of Oliver's Second

[1] Compare the *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 404, line 2, and vol. ii. p. 347, line 7, with *Commons Journals*, vii. 588; and again *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 346, line 13, with *Commons Journals*, vii. 450, 580: Two Parliament-Committees, on both of which "I" the writer of the Diary sat; in neither of which is there such a name as *Burton*. Guess rather, if it were worth while to guess, one of the two Suffolk *Bacons;* most probably *Nathaniel Bacon*, Master of the "Court of Requests," — a *dim old* Law-Court fallen obsolete now.

[2] *Commons Journals*, 7th to 29th Jan. 1656–7.

Parliament for three long months and odd. Nowhere does the unfathomable Deep of Dulness which our English character has in it, more stupendously disclose itself. Something almost grand in it; nay, something really grand, though in our impatience we call it "dull." They hold by Use and Wont, these honorable Gentlemen, almost as by Laws of Nature, — by Second Nature almost as by First Nature. Pious too; and would fain know rightly the way to new objects by the old roads, without trespass. Not insignificant this English character, which can placidly debate such matters, and even feel a certain smack of delight in them! A massiveness of eupeptic vigor speaks itself there, which perhaps the liveliest wit might envy. Who is there that has the strength of ten oxen, that is able to support these things? Couldst thou debate on Nayler, day after day, for a whole Winter? Thou, if the sky were threatening to fall on account of it, wouldst sink under such labor, appointed only for the oxen of the gods! — The honorable Gentlemen set Nayler to ride with his face to the tail, through various streets and cities; to be whipt (poor Nayler), to be branded, to be bored through the tongue, and then to do oakum *ad libitum* upon bread-and-water; after which he repented, confessed himself mad, and this world-great Phenomenon, visible to Posterity and the West of England, was got winded up.[1]

LETTER CCXVII.

CONCERNING which, however, and by what power of jurisdiction the honorable Gentlemen did it, his Highness has still some inquiry to make; — for the limits of jurisdiction between Parliament and Law-Courts, Parliament and Single Person, are never yet very clear; and Parliaments uncontrolled by a Single Person have been known to be very tyrannous before now! On Friday, 26th December, Speaker Widdrington inti-

[1] Sentence pronounced, *Commons Journals*, vii. 486, 487 (16th Dec. 1656); executed in part, Thursday, 18th Dec. (ib. 470); — petitions, negotiations on it *do not* end till May 26th, 1657. James Nayler's Recantation is in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 22–29.

mates that he is honored with a Letter from his Highness; and reads the same in these words: —

"*To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington, Speaker of the Parliament; To be communicated to the Parliament.*

"O. P.

"Right Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Having taken notice of a Judgment lately given by Yourselves against one James Nayler: Although We detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of the crimes commonly imputed to the said Person: Yet We, being intrusted in the present Government, on behalf of the People of these Nations; and not knowing how far such Proceeding, entered into wholly without Us, may extend in the consequence of it, — Do desire that the House will let Us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded.

"Given at Whitehall, the 25th of December, 1656."[1]

A pertinent inquiry; which will lead us into new wildernesses of Debate, into ever deeper wildernesses; — and, in fact, into our far notablest achievement, what may be called our little oasis, or island of refuge: that of reconstructing the Instrument of Government upon a more liberal footing, explaining better the boundaries of Parliament's and Single Person's jurisdiction; and offering his Highness the Title of King. —

Readers know what choking dust-whirlwind in certain portions of "the Page of History" this last business has given rise to! Dust-History, true to its nature, has treated this as one of the most important businesses in Oliver's Protectorate; though intrinsically it was to Oliver, and is to us, a mere "feather in a man's cap," throwing no new light on Oliver; and ought to be treated with great brevity indeed, had it not to many thrown much new darkness on him. It is now our

[1] *Burton*, i. 370; see *Commons Journals*, vii. 476.

painful duty to deal with this matter also; to extricate Oliver's real words and procedure on it from the detestable confusions and lumber-mountains of Human Stupidity, old and recent, under which, as usual, they lie buried. Some Seven, or even Eight, Speeches of Oliver, and innumerable Speeches of other persons on this subject have unluckily come down to us; and cannot yet be consumed by fire; — not yet, till one has painfully extricated the real speakings and proceedings of Oliver, instead of the supposititious jargonings and imaginary dark pettifoggings of Oliver; and asked candid mankind, Whether there is anything particular in them? Mankind answering No, fire can be applied; and mountains of rubbish, yielding or not some fractions of Corinthian brass, may once more be burnt out of men's way.

The Speeches and Colloquies, reported by one knows not whom, upon this matter of the Kingship, which extend from March to May of the year 1657, and were very private at the time, came out two years afterwards as a printed Pamphlet, when Kingship was once more the question, Charles Stuart's Kingship, and men needed incitements thereto. Of course it is with the learned Law-arguments in favor of Kingship that the Pamphleteer is chiefly concerned; the words of Oliver, which again are our sole concern, have been left by him in a very accidental condition! Most accidental, often enough quite meaningless, distracted condition; — growing ever more distracted, as each new Imaginary-Editor and unchecked Printer, in succession, did his part to them. Till now in *Somers Tracts*,[1] which is our latest form of the business, they strike description silent! Chaos itself is Cosmos in comparison with that Pamphlet in *Somers*. In or out of Bedlam, we can know well, gods or men never spake to one another in that manner! Oliver Cromwell's meaning is there; and that is *not* it. O Sluggardship, Imaginary-Editorship, Flunkyism, Falsehood, Human Platitude in general — ! But we will complain of nothing. Know well, by experience of him, that Oliver Cromwell always had a meaning, and an honest manful meaning; search well for that, after ten or twenty reperusals you will find

[1] vi. 349–403.

it even there. Those frightful jungles, trampled down for two centuries now by mere bisons and hoofed cattle, you will begin to see, *were* once a kind of regularly planted wood! — Let the Editor with all brevity struggle to indicate so much, candid readers doing their part along with him; and so leave it. A happier next generation will then be permitted to seek the aid of *fire;* and this immense business of the Kingship, throwing little new light, but also no new darkness, upon Oliver Protector, will then reduce itself to very small compass for his Biographers.

Monday, 23d February, 1656–7. Amid the Miscellaneous business of this day, Alderman Sir Christopher Pack, one of the Members for London, a zealous man, craves leave to introduce "Somewhat tending to the Settlement of the Nation," — leave, namely, to read this Paper "which has come to his hand," which is written in the form of a "Remonstrance from the Parliament" to his Highness; which if the Parliament please to adopt, they can modify it as they see good, and present the same to his Highness. Will not the Honorable House consent at least to hear it read? The Honorable House has great doubts on that subject; debates at much length, earnestly puts the question whether the question shall be put; at length however, after two divisions, and towards nightfall, decides that it will; and even resolves by overwhelming majority "that a candle be brought in." Pack reads his Paper: A new Instrument of Government, or improved Constitution for these Nations; increased powers to the Single Person, intimation of a *Second* House of Parliament, the Protector something like a King; very great changes indeed! Debate this matter farther to-morrow.

Debate it, manipulate it, day after day, — let us have a Day of Fasting and Prayer on Friday next; for the matter is really important.[1] On farther manipulation, this "Remonstrance" of Pack's takes improved form, increased development; and, under the name "Petition and Advice presented to his Highness," became famous to the world in those spring months. We can see, the Honorable House has "a very good reason

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 496, 497.

ment of it." The Lawyer-party is all zealous for it; certain of the Soldier-party have their jealousies. Already, notwithstanding the official reticence, it is plain to every clear-sighted man they mean to make his Highness King!

Friday, 27th February. "The Parliament keep a Fast within their own House; Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, Mr. Manton, carrying on the work of the day; it being preparatory to the great work now on hand of Settling the Nation."[1] In the course of which same day, with an eye also to the same great work, though to the opposite side of it, there waits upon his Highness, Deputation of a Hundred Officers, Ex-Major-Generals and considerable persons some of them: To signify that they have heard with real dismay of some project now on foot to make his Highness King; the evil effects of which, as "a scandal to the People of God," "hazardous to his Highness's person, and making way for the return of Charles Stuart," are terribly apparent to them!—

Whereto his Highness presently makes answer, with dignity, not without sharpness: "That he now specifically hears of this project for the first time,—*he* [with emphasis on the word, and a look at some individuals there] has not been caballing about it, for it or against it. That the Title 'King' need not startle *them* so dreadfully; inasmuch as some of them well know [what the Historical Public never knew before] it was already offered to him, and pressed upon him, by themselves when this Government was undertaken. That the Title King, a feather in a hat, is as little valuable to him as to them. But that the fact is, they and he have not succeeded in settling the Nation hitherto, by the schemes *they* clamored for. Their Little Parliament, their First Protectorate Parliament, and now their Major-Generalcies, have all proved failures;—nay this Parliament itself, which they clamored for, had almost proved a failure. That the Nation is tired of Major-Generalcies, of uncertain arbitrary ways; and really wishes to come to a Settlement. That actually the original Instrument of Government does need mending in some points. That a House of *Lords*, or other check upon the arbitrary tendencies of a Single

[1] Newspapers (in Burton, i. 399).

House of Parliament, may be of real use: see what they, by their own mere vote and will, I having no power to check them, have done with James Nayler: may it not be any one's case, some other day?" That, in short, the Deputation of a Hundred Officers had better go its ways, and consider itself again. — So answered his Highness, with dignity, with cogency, not without sharpness. The Deputation did as bidden. "Three Major-Generals," we find next week, "have already come round. The House hath gone on with much unity."[1]

The House, in fact, is busy, day and night, modelling, manipulating its Petition and Advice. Amid the rumor of England, all through this month of March, 1657. "Chief Magistrate for the time being is to name his successor;" so much we hear they have voted. What Title he shall have, is still secret; that is to be the last thing. All men may speculate and guess! — Before March ends, the Petition and Advice is got ready; in Eighteen well-debated Articles;[2] fairly engrossed on vellum: the Title, as we guessed, is to be *King*. His Highness shall adopt the whole Document, or no part of it is to be binding.

SPEECHES VII.–X.

On Tuesday, 31st March, 1657, "the House rose at eleven o'clock, and Speaker Widdrington, attended by the whole House, repaired to his Highness at Whitehall,"[3] to present this same Petition and Advice, "engrossed on vellum," and with the Title of "King" recommended to him in it. Banqueting House, Whitehall; that is the scene. Widdrington's long flowery Speech[4] is omissible. As the interview began about eleven o'clock, it may now be past twelve; Oliver *loquitur*.

[1] *Passages between the Protector and the Hundred Officers* (in Additional Aycough MSS. no. 6125; printed in Burton, i. 382–384), a Fragment of a Letter, bearing date 7th March, 1656–7; — to the effect abridged as above.

[2] Copy of it in Whitlocke, p. 648 et seqq.

[3] *Commons Journals*, vii. 516.

[4] Burton, i. 397–413.

SPEECH VII.

"Mr. Speaker, — This Frame of Government which it hath pleased the Parliament through your hand to offer to me, — truly I should have a very brazen forehead if it did not beget in me a great deal of consternation of spirit; it being of so high and great importance as, by your opening of it,[1] and by the mere reading of it, is manifest to all men; the welfare, the peace and settlement of Three Nations, and all that rich treasure of the best people in the world[2] being involved therein! I say, this consideration alone ought to beget in me the greatest reverence and fear of God that ever possessed a man in the world.

"Truly I rather study to say no more at this time than is necessary for giving some brief general answer, suitable to the nature of the thing. The thing is of weight; the greatest weight of anything that ever was laid upon a man. And therefore, it being of that weight, and consisting of so many parts as it doth, — in each of which much more than my life is concerned, — truly I think I have no more to desire of you at present, but that you would give me time to deliberate and consider *what* particular answer I may return to so great a business as this. —

"I have lived the latter part of my age in — if I may say so — the fire; in the midst of troubles. But all the things that have befallen me since I was first engaged in the affairs of this Commonwealth, if they could be supposed to be all brought into such a compass that I could take a view of them at once, truly I do not think they would [so move], nor do I think they ought so to move, my heart and spirit with that fear and reverence of God that becomes a Christian, as this thing that hath now been offered by you to me! — And truly my comfort in all my life hath been that the burdens which have lain heavy on me, they were laid upon me by the hand

[1] In this long florid speech.

[2] Us and all the Gospel Protestants in the world.

of God. And I have not known, I have been many times at a loss, which way to *stand* under the weight of what hath lain upon me: — except by looking at the conduct and pleasure of God in it. Which hitherto I have found to be a good pleasure to me.

"And should I give any resolution in this [matter] suddenly, without seeking to have an answer put into my heart, and so into my mouth, by Him that hath been my God and my Guide hitherto, — it would give you very little cause of comfort in such a choice as you have made [*Of me to be King*] in such a business as this. It would savor more to be of the flesh, to proceed from lust, to arise from arguments of self. And if, — whatsoever the issue of this [great matter] be, — [my decision in] it have *such* motives in me, have *such* a rise in me, it may prove even a curse to you and to these Three Nations. Who, I verily believe, have intended well in this business; and have had those honest and sincere aims[1] towards the glory of God, the good of His People, the rights of the Nation. I verily believe these have been your aims: and God forbid that so good aims should suffer by any dishonesty and indirectness on my part. For although, in the affairs that are in the world, things may be intended well, — as they are always, or for the most, by such as love God, and fear God and make Him their aim (and such honest ends and purposes I do believe yours now are); — yet if these considerations[2] fall upon a person or persons whom God takes no pleasure in; who perhaps may be at the end of his work [*Growing old and weak? Say not that, your Highness! — A kind of pathos, and much dignity and delicacy in these tones*]; — who, to please any of those humors or considerations which are of this world, shall run upon such a rock as this is,[3] — without due consideration, without integrity, without approving the heart to God, and seeking an answer from Him; and putting things *to* Him as if for life and death, that such an

[1] *Subaudi*, but do not insert, "which you profess."

[2] Means "your choice in regard to such purpose;" speaks delicately, in an oblique way.

[3] "is," — *or may be*: this of the Kingship.

answer may be received [from Him] as may be a blessing to the person [*Me*] who is to be used for these noble and worthy and honest intentions of the persons [*You*] that have prepared and perfected this work: — [why then], it would be like a match where a good and worthy and virtuous man *mistakes* in the person he makes love to; and, as often turns out, it proves a curse to the man and to the family, through mistake! And if this should be so to you, and to these Nations, whose good I cannot but be persuaded you have in your thoughts aimed at, — why then, it had been better, I am sure of it, that I had never been born! —

"I have therefore but this one word to say to you: That seeing you have made progress in this Business, and completed the work on your part, I [on my side] may have some short time to ask counsel of God and of my own heart. And I hope that neither the humor of any weak unwise people, nor yet the desires of any who may be lusting after things that are not good, shall steer me to give other than such an answer as may be ingenuous and thankful, — thankfully acknowledging your care and integrity; — and such an answer as shall be for the good of those whom I presume you and I serve, and are made for serving.

"And truly I may say this also: That as the thing will deserve deliberation, the utmost deliberation and consideration on my part, so I shall think myself bound to give as speedy an answer to these things as I can."[1]

SPEECH VIII.

Friday, 3d April, 1657. Three days after the foregoing Speech, there comes a Letter from his Highness to Mr. Speaker, the purport of which we gather to have been, that now if a Committee will attend his Highness, they shall have answer to the Petition and Advice. Committee is

[1] Burton's Diary, i. 413–416.

nominated, extensive Committee of persons already engaged in this affair, among whom are Lord Broghil, General Montague, Earl of Tweedale, Whalley, Desborow, Whitlocke, and others known to us; they attend his Highness at three o'clock that afternoon; and receive what answer there is,—a negative, but none of the most decided.[1]

"My Lords,—I am heartily sorry that I did not make this desire of mine known to the Parliament sooner; [the desire] which I acquainted them with, by Letter, this day. The reason was, Because some infirmity of body hath seized upon me these last two days, Yesterday and Wednesday. [*It is yet but three days, your Highness.*]

"I have, as well as I could, taken consideration of the things contained in the Paper, which was presented to me by the Parliament, in the Banqueting-House, on Tuesday last; and sought of God that I might return such an answer as might become me, and be worthy of the Parliament. I must needs bear this testimony to them, That they have been zealous of the two greatest Concernments that God hath in the world. The *one* is that of Religion, and of the just preservation of the professors of it; to give them all due and just Liberty; and to assert the Truth of God;—which you have done, in part, in this Paper; and do refer it more fully to be done by yourselves and me. And as to the Liberty of men professing Godliness, you have done that which was never done before! And I pray it may not fall upon the People of God as a fault in them, in any sort of them, if they do not put such a value upon this that is now done as never was put on anything since Christ's time, for such a Catholic interest of the People of God! [*Liberty in non-essentials; Freedom to all peaceable Believers in Christ to worship in such outward form as they will; a very "Catholic interest" indeed.*] The *other* thing cared for is, the Civil Liberty and Interest of the Nation. Which though it is, and indeed I think ought to be, subordinate to the more peculiar Interest of God,—yet it is the *next best* God hath

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 519, 520; Burton, i. 417.

given men in this world; and if well cared for, it is better than any rock to fence men in their other interests. Besides, if any whosoever think the Interest of Christians and the Interest of the Nation inconsistent [or two different things], I wish my soul may never enter into *their* secrets! [*We will take another course than theirs, your Highness!*]

"These are things I must acknowledge Christian and honorable; and they are provided for by you like Christian men and also men of honor,—like yourselves, English men. And to this I must and shall bear my testimony, while I live, against all gainsayers whatsoever. And upon these Two Interests, if God shall account me worthy, I shall live and die. And I must say, If I were to give an account before a greater Tribunal than any earthly one; if I were asked, Why I have engaged all along in the late War, I could give no answer that were not a wicked one if it did not comprehend these two ends!—Meanwhile only give me leave to say, and to say it seriously (the issue will prove it serious), that you have one or two considerations which do stick with me. The one is, You have named me by another Title than I now bear. [*What* SHALL *I answer to that?*]

"You do necessitate my answer to be categorical; and you have left me without a liberty of choice save as to all. [*Must accept the whole Petition and Advice, or reject the whole of it.*] I question not your wisdom in doing so; I think myself obliged to acquiesce in your determination; knowing you are men of wisdom, and considering the trust you are under. It is a duty not to question the reason of anything you have done. [*Not even of the Kingship: say Yes, then!*]

"I should be very brutish did I not acknowledge the exceeding high honor and respect you have had for me in this Paper. Truly, according to what the world calls good, it hath nothing but good in it,—according to worldly approbation of[1] sovereign power. You have testified your value and affection as to my person, as high as you could; for more you could not do! I hope I shall always keep a grateful

[1] Means "value for."

memory of this in my heart; — and by you I return the Parliament this my grateful acknowledgment. Whatever other men's thoughts may be, I shall not own ingratitude. — But I must needs say, That that may be fit for you to offer, which may not be fit for me to undertake. [*Profound silence.*] And as I should reckon it a very great presumption, were I to ask the reason of your doing any one thing in this Paper, — (except [in] some very few things, the [new] Instrument [this Paper] bears testimony to itself), — so you will not take it unkindly if I beg of you this addition to the Parliament's favor, love and indulgence unto me, That it be taken in tender part if I give such an answer as I find in my heart to give in this business, *without* urging many reasons for it, save such as are most obvious, and most to my advantage in answering: Namely, that I am not able for such a trust and charge. [*Won't have it, then!*]

"And if the 'answer of the tongue,' as well as the preparation of the heart, be 'from God,' I must say my heart and thoughts ever since I heard the Parliament were upon this business — [*Sentence breaks down* — For] though I could not take notice of your proceedings therein without breach of your privileges, yet as a common person I confess I heard of it in common with others. — I must say I have been able to attain no farther than this, That, seeing the way is hedged up so as it is to me, and I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all, I have not been able to find it my duty to God and you to undertake this charge under that Title. [*Refuses, yet not so very peremptorily!*]

"The most I said in commendation of the [new] Instrument may be retorted on me; — as thus: 'Are there such good things provided for [in this Instrument]; will you refuse to accept them because of such an ingredient?' Nothing must make a man's conscience a servant. And really and sincerely it is my conscience that guides me to this answer. And if the Parliament be so resolved [for the whole Paper or none of it], it will not be fit for me to use any inducement to you to alter their resolution.

"*This is all I* have to say. I desire it may, and do not

doubt but it will, be with candor and ingenuity represented unto them by you."[1]

His Highness would not in all circumstances be inexorable, one would think!—No; he is groping his way through a very intricate business, which grows as he gropes; the final shape of which is not yet disclosed to any soul. The actual shape of it on this Friday afternoon, 3d April, 1657, I suppose he has, in his own manner, pretty faithfully, and not without sufficient skill and dignity, contrived to express. Many considerations weigh upon his Highness; and in itself it is a most unexampled matter, this of negotiating about being made a King! Need of wise speech; of wise reticence no less. Nay it is of the nature of a Courtship withal: the young lady cannot answer on the first blush of the business; if you insist on her answering, why then she must even answer, No!—

SPEECH IX.

Wednesday, 8th April, 1657. The Parliament, justly interpreting this *No* of his Highness, has decided that it will adhere to its Petition and Advice, and that it will "present reasons to his Highness;" has got, thanks to our learned Bulstrode and others, its reasons ready;—and, this day, "at three in the afternoon," walks over in a body to the Banqueting House, Speaker Widdrington carrying in his hand the Engrossed Vellum, and a Written Paper of "Reasons," to present the same.[2] What Speaker Widdrington spoke on the occasion is happily lost; but his "Reasons," which are very brief, remain on the Record;[3] and will require to be transcribed. They are in the form of a Vote or Resolution, of date yesterday, 7th April, 1657:—

[1] Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125: printed in *Burton*, i. 417; and *Parliamentary History*, xxiii. 161.

[2] *Commons Journals*, ii. 520, 521 (6th, 8th April); Burton, i. 421.

[3] *Ibid.*

"*Resolved*, That the Parliament having lately presented their Humble Petition and Advice to your Highness, whereunto they have not as yet received satisfaction; and the matters contained in that Petition and Advice being agreed upon by the Great Council and Representative of the Three Nations; which matters, in their judgment, are most conducing to the good of the People thereof both in Spiritual and Civil concernments: They have therefore thought fit

"To adhere to this Advice; and to put your Highness in mind of the great obligation which rests upon you in respect of this Advice; and again to desire you to give your Assent thereunto."

Which brief Paper of Reasons, Speaker Widdrington having read, and then delivered to his Highness, with some brief touches of mellifluous eloquence now happily lost,—his Highness, with a look I think of more than usual seriousness, thus answers the Assembled Parliament and him:—

"MR. SPEAKER,—No man can put a greater value than I hope I do, and shall do, upon the desires and advices of the Parliament. I could in my own heart aggravate, both concerning the Persons advising and concerning the Advice;—readily acknowledging that it is the Advice of the Parliament of these Three Nations. And if a man could suppose it were *not* a Parliament to some [*Malignants there are who have such notions*];—yet doubtless it should be to me, and to us all that are engaged in this common Cause wherein we have been engaged. I say, surely it ought to be a Parliament to us! Because it arises as a result of those issues, and determinations of Settlement, that *we* have labored to arrive at! And therefore I do most readily acknowledge the weight of authority [you have] in advising these things.

"I can aggravate also to myself the general notion of the Things Advised to; as being things which tend to the settlement of the chiefest Interests[1] that can fall into the hearts of men to devise or endeavor after. And at such a time [too]; when truly, I may think, the nation is big with expectation of

[1] "things" again, in orig.

something that may add to their [security of] Being. — I therefore must needs put a very high esteem [upon], and have a very reverent opinion of anything that comes from you.

"And so I have had of this Instrument: — and, I hope, so I have expressed. And what I have expressed, hath been — if I flatter not myself — from a very honest heart towards the Parliament and the Public. I say not these things to compliment you. For we are all past complimenting, and all considerations of that kind! [*Serious enough his Highness is, and we all are; the Nations and the Ages, and indeed the* MAKER *of the Nations and the Ages, looking on us here!*] We must all be very real now, if ever we will be so! —

"Now, howbeit your title and name you give to this Paper [*Looking on the Vellum*] makes me think you intended 'Advice;' and I should transgress against all reason, should I make any other construction than that you did intend Advice: [yet —! — *Still hesitates, then?*] — I would not lay a burden on my beast but I would consider his strength to bear it! And if you lay a burden upon a man that is conscious of his own infirmity and disabilities, and doth make some measure of counsels which may seem to come from Heaven, counsels from the Word of God (who leaves room for charity, and for men to consider their own strength), — I hope it will be no evil in me to measure your 'Advice' with my own Infirmities. And truly these will have some influence upon conscience! Conscience in him that receives talents [1] to know how he may answer the trust of them. And such a conscience have I had [in this matter]; and still have; and therefore, when I thought I had an opportunity to make an Answer, I made that Answer [*The unemphatic Negative; truest "Answer" your Highness then had: — can it not grow an Affirmative?*] — and am a person that have been, before and then and since, lifting up my heart to God, To know *what* might be my duty at such a time as this, and upon such an occasion and trial as this was to me! [*Deep silence: Old Parliament casts down its eyes.*] —

"Truly, Mr. Speaker, it hath been heretofore, I think, a

[1] Meaning "charges," "offices."

matter of philosophical discourse, That great places, great authority, are a great burden. I know it so. And I know a man that is convinced in his conscience, Nothing less will enable *him* to the discharge of it than Assistance from Above. And it may very well require in such a one, so convinced and so persuaded, That he be right with the Lord in such an undertaking! — And therefore, to speak very clearly and plainly to you: I had, and I have, my hesitations as to that individual thing. [*Still Negative, your Highness?*] If I undertake anything *not* in Faith, I shall serve you in my own Unbelief; — and I shall then be the most unprofitable Servant that People or Nation ever had!

"Give me leave, therefore, *to ask counsel.* I am ready to render a reason of my apprehensions; which haply may be overswayed by better apprehensions. I think, so far I have deserved no blame; nor do I take it you will lay any upon me. Only you mind me of the duty that is incumbent upon me. And truly the same answer I have as to the point of duty one way, the same consideration have I as to duty another way.[1] — I would not urge to you the point of 'Liberty.' Surely you have provided for Liberty, — I have borne my witness to it, — Civil and Spiritual! The greatest provision that ever was made have you made [for Liberty] to all, — and I know that you do not intend to exclude *me.* The 'Liberty' I ask is, To vent my own doubts, and my own fears, and my scruples. And though haply, in such cases as these are, the world hath judged that a man's conscience ought to know no scruples; yet surely mine doth, and I dare not dissemble. And therefore — !

"They that are knowing in the ground of their own Action will be best able to measure advice to others. [*Will have us reason, in Free Conference, with him?*] There are many things in this [Instrument of] Government besides that one of the Name and Title, that deserve much to be elucidated [2] as to my judgment. It is you that can capacitate me to receive satis-

[1] Bound to regard your "Advice;" and yet, in doing so, not to disregard a Higher.

[2] "*deserve much information*" in orig.

faction in them! Otherwise, I say truly, — I must say, I am not persuaded to the performance of [this] as my trust and duty, nor [sufficiently] informed. [Not persuaded or informed]; and so not actuated [by a call of *duty*] as I know you intend I should be, — and as every man in the Nation should be. You have provided for [every one of] them as a Free Man, as a man that is to act possibly,[1] rationally and conscientiously! — And therefore I cannot tell what other return to make to you than this: —

"I am ready to give a reason, if you will, I say, capacitate me to do it; and [capacitate] yourselves to receive it; — and to do what other things may inform me a little more particularly than this Vote which you have passed Yesterday, and which has now been read by you to me.

"Truly I hope when [once] I understand the ground of these things, — the whole being [meant] neither for your good nor mine, but for the good of the Nation, — there will be no doubt but we may, even in these particulars, find out what[2] may answer our duty. Mine, and all our duties, to those whom we serve. And this is that that I do, with a great deal of affection and honor and respect, offer now to you."[3]

Thus has the Honorable House gone a second time in a body, and not yet prevailed. We gather that his Highness has doubts, has scruples; on which, however, he is willing to be dealt with, "to receive satisfaction," — has intimated, in fact, that though the answer is still No, the Courtship may continue.

Committee to give satisfaction is straightway nominated: Whitlocke, Lord Chief-Justice Glynn, Lord Broghil, Fiennes, Old-Speaker Lenthall, Ninety-nine of them in all;[4] and is ready to confer with his Highness. At this point, however,

[1] Means "in a way possible for him;" "*does* possibly" is the phrase in orig.
[2] "those things" in orig.
[3] *Old Pamphlet* (in *Parliamentary History*, xxiii., Appendix, pp. 164–166)
[4] *List* in *Commons Journals*, vii. 521; in Somers Tracts, vi. 381.

there occurs an extraneous Phenomenon, which unexpectedly delays us for a day or two: a rising of the Fifth-Monarchy, namely. The Fifth-Monarchy, while men are meditating earthly Kingship, and Official Persons are about appointing an earthly tyrannous and traitorous King, thinks it ought to bestir itself, now or never; — explodes accordingly, though in a small way; testifying to us how electric this element of England now is.

Thursday, 9th April. The Fifth-Monarchy, headed mainly by one Venner a Wine-Cooper, and other civic individuals of the old Feak-and-Powel species whom we have transiently seen emitting soot and fire before now, has for a long while been concocting underground; and Thurloe and his Highness have had eye on it. The Fifth-Monarchy has decided that it will rise this Thursday, expel carnal sovereignties; and call on the Christian population to introduce a Reign of Christ, — which it is thought, if a beginning were once made, they will be very forward to do. Let us rendezvous on Mile-End Green this day, with sword and musket, and assured heart: perhaps General Harrison, Colonel Okey, one knows not who, will join us, — perhaps a miracle will be wrought, such as Heaven might work in such a case, and the Reign of Christ actually take effect.

Alas, Heaven wrought no miracle: Heaven and his Highness sent a Troop of Horse into the Mile-End region, early in the morning; seized Venner, and some Twenty Ringleaders, just coming for the rendezvous; seized chests of arms, many copies of a flaming Pamphlet or War-manifesto with title *A Standard set up;* seized also a War-flag with Lion Couchant painted on it, Lion of the Tribe of Judah, and this motto, "Who shall rouse him up?" O Reader, these are not fictions, these were once altogether solid facts in this brick London of ours; ancient resolute individuals, busy with wine-cooperage and otherwise, had entertained them as very practicable things! — But in two days' time, these ancient individuals and they are all lodged in the Tower; Harrison, hardly connected with the thing, except as a well-wisher, he and others are likewise made secure: and the Fifth-Monarchy is put under lock and key.[1]

[1] *Narrative* in *Thurloe*, vi. 184–188.

Nobody was tried for it: Cooper Venner died on the scaffold, for a similar attempt under Charles Second, some two years hence. The Committee of Ninety-nine can now proceed with its "satisfaction to his Highness;" his Highness is now at leisure for them again.

This Committee did proceed with its satisfactions; had various Conferences with his Highness, — which unfortunately are not lost; which survive for us, in *Somers Tracts* and the old Pamphlets, under the Title of *Monarchy Asserted;* in a condition, especially his Highness's part of them, enough to drive any Editor to despair! The old Pamphleteer, as we remarked, was intent only on the learned law-arguments in favor of Kingship; and as to what his Highness said, seems to have taken it very easy; printing what vocables he found on his Note-paper, with or without meaning, as it might chance. Whom new unchecked Printers and Imaginary-Editors following, and making the matter ever worse, have produced at last in our late time such a Coagulum of Jargon as was never seen before in the world! Let us not speak of it; let us endeavor to get through it, — through this also, now since we have arrived at it, and are not yet permitted to burn it! Out of this sad monument of Human Stupor too the imprisoned Soul of a Hero must be extricated. Souls of Heroes, — they have been imprisoned, enchanted into growing Trees, into glass Phials, into leaden Caskets sealed with Solomon's signet, and sunk in the deep sea; — but to this of *Somers Tracts* there wants yet a parallel! Have not we English a talent of musical utterance? Here are men consummating the most *epic* of acts, Choosing their King; and it is with such melodious elegancies that they do it; it is in such soft-flowing hexameters as the following that the Muse gives record of it! —

My reader must be patient; thankful for mere Dulness, thankful that it is not Madness over and above. Let us all be patient; walk gently, swiftly, lest we awaken the sleeping Nightmares! We suppress, we abridge, we elucidate; struggle to make legible his Highness's words, — dull but not insane. Notes where not indispensable are not given. The curious

reader can, in all questionable places, refer to the Printed Coagulum of Jargon itself, and see whether we have read aright.

SPEECH X.

PROPERLY an aggregate of many short Speeches, and passages of talk: his Highness's part in this First Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine. His Highness's part in it; the rest, covering many pages, is, so far as possible, strictly suppressed. One of the dullest Conferences ever held, on an epic subject, in this world. Occupied, great part of it, on mere preliminaries, and beatings about the bush; throws light, even in its most elucidated state, upon almost nothing. Oliver is here — simply what we have known him elsewhere. Which so soon as Mankind once understood to be the fact, but unhappily not till then, — the aid of *fire* can be called in, as we suggested.

Fancy, however, that the large Committee of Ninety-nine has got itself introduced into some Council-room, or other fit locality in Whitehall, on Saturday, 11th April, 1657, "about nine in the morning;" has made its salutations to his Highness, and we hope been invited to take seats; — and all men are very uncertain how to act. Who shall begin? His Highness wishes much *they* would begin; and in a delicate way urges and again urges them to do so; and, not till after great labor and repeated failures, succeeds. Fancy that old scene; the ancient honorable Gentlemen waiting there to do their epic feat: the ponderous respectable Talent for Silence, obliged to break up and become a kind of Utterance in this thick-skinned manner: — really rather strange to witness, as dull as it is! —

The Dialogue has gone on for a passage or two, but the Reporter considers it mere preliminary flourishing, and has not taken it down. Here is his first Note, — in the abridged lucidified state: [1] —

[1] *Somers Tracts*, vi. 353.

LORD WHITLOCKE. "Understands that the Committee is here only to receive what his Highness has to *offer;* such the letter and purport of our Instructions; which I now read. [*Reads it.*] Your Highness mentions 'the Government that now is;' seems to hint thereby: The Government being well now, why change it? If that be your Highness's general objection, the Committee will give you satisfaction."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. "Sir, I think both parties of us meet here with a very good heart to come to some issue in this great business; and truly that is what I have all the reason in the world to move me to. And I am exceeding ready to be ordered by you as to the manner of proceeding. Only I confess, according to the thoughts I have, — in preparing my thoughts for so great a work, I formed this notion to myself: That the Parliament having already done me the honor of Two Conferences;[1] and now sent you again, their kind intention to me evidently is no other than this, That I should receive satisfaction. They might have been positive in the thing; might have declared their Address itself to be enough, and insisted upon Yes or No to that. But I perceive that it is really and sincerely the satisfaction of my doubts that they aim at; and there is one clause in the Paper itself [quoted by my Lord Whitlocke], which doth a little warrant that: 'To offer such reasons for his satisfaction,' &c. — Now, Sir, it 's certain the occasion of all this [Conference] is the Answer I already made; that 's the occasion of your having to come hither again. And truly, Sir, I doubt whether by your plan — If you will *draw out my reasons from me,* I will offer them to you: but on my own part, I doubt, if you should proceed that other way, it would a little put me out of the method of my own thoughts. And it being mutual satisfaction that is endeavored, if you will do me the favor — ["*To go by my method,*" *his Highness means; to "offer me* YOUR *Reasons, and* DRAW *me out, rather than oblige me to* COME *out"*] — I shall take it as a

[1] Two Conferences with the whole Parliament; and one Conference with a Committee: Speeches VII. (31st March), IX. (8th April), and VIII. (3d April).

favor, if it please you! I will leave you together to consider your own thoughts of it." [*Motioning to go.*]

LORD WHITLOCKE. "This Committee, being sent to wait upon your Highness, I do suppose cannot undertake to give the *Parliament's* reasons for what the Parliament hath done. But any gentleman here may give for your Highness's satisfaction his own particular apprehension of them. And if you will be pleased to go in the way you have propounded, and on any point *require* a satisfaction from the Committee, I suppose we shall be ready to do the best we can to give you satisfaction." [*Bar Practice! Is not yet what his Highness wants.*]

THE LORD PROTECTOR. "If this be so, then I suppose nothing can be said by you but what the Parliament hath dictated to you? — However, I think it is clearly expressed that the Parliament intends satisfaction. Then it is *as* clear that there must be reasons and arguments which have light and conviction in them, in order to satisfaction! I speak for myself in this; I hope you will not take it otherwise.[1] I say it doth appear to me you have the liberty of giving your own reasons. If I should write down any of *them*, I could not call that 'the reason of Parliament.' [*Whitlocke, in a heavy manner, smiles respectful assent.*] But in Parliamentary and other such conclusions the efficient 'reason' is diffused over the general body, and every man hath his particular share of it; yet when they have determined such and such a thing, certainly it was reason that led them up into it. And if you shall be pleased to make me partaker of some of that 'reason'—! I do very respectfully represent to you that I have a general dissatisfaction at the thing [*Glancing at the Engrossed Vellum; but meaning the Kingship*]; and do desire to be informed of the grounds that lead you, whom I presume to be all satisfied with it and with every part of it. And if you will be pleased, if you so think fit, — I will not urge it farther upon you, — to proceed in that way, it will be a favor to me. Otherwise, I deal plainly with you, it doth put me out of the method of my

[1] *As if I meant to* dictate to you, or tutor you in your duties.

own conceptions: and in that case I shall beg that we may have an hour's deliberation, and meet again in the afternoon."

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE GLYNN, — one of the old expelled Eleven, whom we saw in great straits in 1647; a busy man from the beginning, and now again busy; begs to say in brief: "The Parliament has sent us to give all the satisfaction which it is in our understandings to give. Certainly we will try to proceed according to what method your Highness finds best for that end. The Paper or Vellum Instrument, however, is general, consisting of many heads; and we can give but general satisfaction."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. "If you will please to give me leave. [*Clearing his throat to get under way.*] I do agree, truly, the thing is a general; for it either falls under the notion of Settlement, which is a general consisting of many particulars; or if you call it by the name it bears in the Paper, 'Petition and Advice,' — that again is a general; it is advice, desires and advice. What in it I have objected to is as yet, to say truth, but one thing. Only, the last time I had the honor to meet the Parliament,[1] I did offer to them that they might put me in the way of getting satisfaction as to particulars [any or all particulars]. Now, no question I might easily offer somethin particular for debate, if I thought that would answer the end. [*What curious pickeering, flourishing, and fencing backwards and forwards, before the parties will come to close action! As in other affairs of courtship.*] For truly I know my end and yours is the same: To bring things to an issue one way or the other, that we may know where we are, — that we may attain the general end, which is Settlement. [*Safe ground here, your Highness!*] The end is in us both! And I durst contend with any one person in the world that it is not more in his heart than in mine! — I would go into some particulars [*Especially one particular, the Kingship*], to ask a question, to ask a reason of the alteration [made]; which might well

[1] Wednesday last, 8th April; Speech IX.

enough let you into the business, — that it might.[1] Yet, I say, it doth not answer me. [*I had counted on being drawn out, not on* COMING *out: I understood I was the young lady and* YOU *the wooer!*] I confess I did not so strictly examine the terms of your Order from the Parliament [which my Lord Whitlocke cites]; whether I even read it or no I cannot tell. — [*Pause.*] — If you will have it that way, I shall, as well as I can, make such an objection as may occasion some answer [and so let us into the business]; — though perhaps I shall object weakly enough! I shall very freely submit to you."

GLYNN (with official solemnity). "The Parliament hath sent us for that end, to give your Highness satisfaction."

LORD COMMISSIONER FIENNES, — Nathaniel Fiennes, alias Fines alias Fenys, as he was once called when condemned to be shot for surrendering Bristol; second son of "Old Subtlety" Say and Sele; and now again a busy man, and Lord Keeper, — opens his broad jaw, and short snub face full of hard sagacity,[2] to say: "Looking upon the Order, I find that *we* may offer your Highness *our* reasons, if your Highness's dissatisfaction be to the alteration of the Government whether in general or in particular." — So that his Highness may have it his own way, after all? Let us hope the preliminary flourishing is now near complete! His Highness would like well to have it his own way.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. "I am very ready to say, I have no dissatisfaction that it hath pleased the Parliament to find out a way, though it be of alteration, for bringing these Nations into a good Settlement. Perhaps you may have judged the Settlement we hitherto had was not so favorable to the great end of Government, the Liberty and Good of the Nations, and the preservation of all honest Interests that have been engaged in this Cause. I say I have no objection to the general [fact], That the Parliament hath thought fit to take consideration of a new Settlement or Government. But you having done it in

[1] A favorite reduplication with his Highness; that it is!

[2] *Good Portrait* of him in Lord Nugent's Memorials of Hampden.

such way, and rendered me so far an interested party in it by making such an Overture to me [*As this of the Kingship, which modesty forbids me to mention*], — I shall be very glad [to learn], if you please to let me know it, besides the *pleasure* of the Parliament, somewhat of the *reason* they had for interesting me in this thing, by such an Overture.

"Truly I think I shall, as to the other particulars, have less to object.[1] I shall be very ready to specify objections, in order to clear for you whatsoever it may be better to clear; [in order] at least to help myself towards a clearer understanding of these things; — for better advantage [to us all]; for that, I know, is in your hearts as well as mine. Though I cannot presume that I have anything to offer calculated to convince you; yet, if you will take it in good part, I shall offer somewhat to every particular.

"[And now,] if you please, — As to the *first* of the things [*Kingship*] I am clear as to the ground of the thing, being so put to me as it hath been put. And I think that some of the reasons which moved the Parliament to do it, would [if they were now stated to me] lead us into such objections or doubts as I may have to offer; and would be a very great help to me in that. And if you will have me offer this or that or the other doubt which may arise methodically, I shall do it."

Whereupon LORD WHITLOCKE, summoning into his glassy coal-black eyes and ponderous countenance what animation is possible, lifts up his learned voice, and speaks several pages;[2] — which we abridge almost to nothing. In fact, the learned pleadings of these illustrious Official Persons, which once were of boundless importance, are now literally shrunk to zero for us; it is only his Highness's reply to them that is still something, and that not very much. Whitlocke intimates,

"That perhaps the former Instrument of Government having originated in the way it did, the Parliament considered it would be no worse for sanctioning by the Supreme Authority; such was their reason for taking it up. 'Their intentions I

[1] "shall, as to the other particulars, swallow this," in orig.

[2] *Somers Tracts*, vi. 355.

suppose were' this and that, at some length. As for the new Title, that of *Protector* was not known to the Law; that of *King* is, and has been for many hundreds of years. If we keep the title of Protector, as I heard some argue, our Instrument has only its own footing to rest upon; but with that of *King*, 'it will ground itself in all the ancient foundations of the Laws of England,'" &c. &c.

MASTER OF THE ROLLS, — old Sly-face Lenthall, once Speaker of the Long Parliament; the same whom Harrison helped out of his Chair, — him also the reader shall conceive speaking for the space of half an hour: —

"'May it please your Highness,' Hum-m-m! Drum-m-m! 'Upon due consideration, you shall find that the whole body of the Law is carried upon this wheel' of the Chief Magistrate being called King. Hum—m—m! [*Monotonous humming for ten minutes.*] 'The title of Protector is not *limited* by any rule of Law that I understand;' the title of King is. Hum—m—m! King James wanted to change his Title, and that only from *King of England* to *King of Great Britain;* and the Parliament could not consent, so jealous were they of new titles bringing new unknown powers. Much depends upon a title! The Long Parliament once thought of changing its title to *Representative of the People;* but durst not. Hum—m—m! '*Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.*' Drum—m—m! '*Vox populi:* it is the voice of the Three Nations that offers your Highness this Title.' Drum—m—m!" — Such, in abbreviated shape, is the substance of Lenthall's Speech for us.[1] At the ending of it, a pause.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. "I cannot deny but the things that have been spoken have been spoken with a great deal of weight. And it is not fit for me to ask any of you if you have a mind to speak farther of this. But if such had been your pleasure, truly then I think it would have put me into a way of more preparedness, according to the method and way I had conceived for myself, to return some answer. And if it had not been to you a trouble — Surely the business requires, from any

[1] *Somers*, vi. 356, 357.

man in the world in any case, and much more from me, that there be given to it serious and true answers! I mean such answers as are not feigned in my own thoughts; but such wherein I express the truth and honesty of my heart. [*Seems a tautology, and almost an impertinence, and ground of suspicion, your Highness; — but has perhaps a kind of meaning struggling half-developed in it. Many answers which call and even* THINK *themselves "true" are but "feigned in one's own thoughts," after all; from that to "the truth and honesty of heart" is still a great way; — witness many men in most times; witness almost all men in such times as ours.*] That is what I mean by true answers.

"I did hope that when I had heard you, so far as it might be your pleasure to speak on this head, I should then, having taken some short note of it as I do [*Glancing at his Note-paper*], have been in a condition, this afternoon [*Would still fain be off!*] — if it had not been a trouble to you, — to return my answer, upon a little advisement with myself. But seeing you have not thought it convenient to proceed that way, — truly I think I may very well say, I shall need to have a little thought about the thing before returning answer to it: lest our Debate should end on my part with a very vain discourse, and with lightness; as it is very like to do. [*A Drama* COMPOSING *itself as it gets* ACTED, *this; very different from the blank-verse Dramas.*]

"I say, therefore, if you had found good to proceed farther in speaking of these things, I should have made my own short animadversions on the whole, this afternoon, and have made some short reply. And this would have ushered me in not only to give the best answer I could, but to make my own objections [too. — *An interrogative look; evidently some of us must speak! Glynn steps forward.*]"

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE GLYNN steps forward, speaks largely; then SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY steps forward; and NATHANIEL FIENNES steps forward; and LORD BROGHIL (Earl of Orrery *that is to be*) steps forward; and all speak largely: whom, not *to treat* with the indignity poor Lenthall got from us, we shall

abridge down to *absolute* nothing. Good speaking too; but without interest for us. In fact it is but repetition, under new forms, of the old considerations offered by heavy Bulstrode and the Master of the Rolls. The only idea of the slightest novelty is this brought forward by Lord Broghil in the rear of all.[1]

LORD BROGHIL. "By an Act already existing (the 11th of Henry VII.), all persons that obey a 'King *de facto*' are to be held guiltless; not so if they serve a Protector *de facto*. Think of this. — And then 'in the 7th and last place,' I observe: The Imperial Crown of this country and the Pretended King are indeed divorced; nevertheless persons divorced may come together again; but if the person divorced be married to another, there is no chance left of that!" —

Having listened attentively to perhaps some three hours of this, his Highness, giving up the present afternoon as now hopeless, makes brief answer.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. "I have very little to say to you at this time. I confess I shall never be willing to deny or defer those things[2] that come from the Parliament to the Supreme Magistrate [*He accepts, then?*], if they come in the bare and naked authority of such an Assembly as is known by that name, and is the Representative of so many people as a Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland is. I say, this ought to have its weight; and it hath so, and ever will have with me.

"In all things a man is free to grant desires coming from Parliament. I may say, inasmuch as the Parliament hath condescended so far as to do me this honor (a very great one added to the rest) of giving me the privilege of counsel from so many members of theirs, so able, so intelligent of the grounds of things — [*Sentence breaks down*] — This is, I say, a very singular honor and favor to me; and I wish I may do, and I hope I shall do, what becomes an honest man in giving an answer to these things, — according to such insight[3] either

[1] *Somers*, p. 363. [2] Means "anything, — the Kingship for one thing."
[3] "*desire*" *in orig.*: but there is no sense in that.

as I have, or as God shall give me, or as I may be helped into by reasoning with you. But indeed I did not in vain allege conscience in the first answer I gave you. [*Well!*] For I must say, I should be a person very unworthy of such favor if I should prevaricate in saying things did stick upon my conscience. Which I must still say they do! Only, I must [also] say, I am in the best way I could be [in] for information; and I shall gladly receive it.

"Here have been divers things spoken by you to-day, with a great deal of judgment and ability and knowledge. I think the arguments and reasonings that have been used were upon these three heads:[1] *First*, Speaking to the thing simply, to the abstract notion of the Title, and to the positive reasons upon which it stands. Then [*secondly*, Speaking] comparatively of it, and of the foundation of it; in order to show the goodness of it comparatively [in comparison with our present title and foundation]. It is alleged to be so much better than what we now have; and that *it* will do the work which this other fails in. And *thirdly*, Some things have been said by way of precaution; which are not arguments from the thing itself, but are considerations drawn from the temper of the English People, what will gratify them [and so on];—which is surely considerable. As also [some things were said] by way of anticipation of me in my answer; speaking to some objections which others have made against this proposal. These are things, in themselves, each of them considerable. [*The "objections?" or the "Three heads" in general? Uncertain; nay it is perhaps uncertain to Oliver himself! He mainly means the objections, but the other also is hovering in his head,—as is sometimes the way with him.*]

"To answer objections, I know, is a very weighty business; and to make objections is very easy; and that will fall to my part. And I am sure I shall make them to men who know somewhat how to answer them [to whom they are not strange],—having already in part been suggested to them by the Debates already had.

"But upon the whole matter, I having as well as I could

[1] "accounts" in orig.

taken those things [*Looking at his Notes*] that have been spoken,— which truly are to be acknowledged as very learnedly spoken, — I hope you will give me a little time to consider of them. As to when it may be the best time for me to return hither and meet you again, I shall leave that to your consideration."

LORD WHITLOCKE. "Your Highness will be pleased to appoint your own time."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. "On Monday at nine of the clock I will be ready to wait upon you."[1]

And so, with many bows, *exeunt*. — Thus they, doing their epic feat, not in the hexameter measure, on that old Saturday forenoon, 11th April, 1657; old London, old England, sounding manifoldly round them; — the Fifth-Monarchy just locked in the Tower.

Our learned friend Bulstrode says: "The Protector often advised about this" of the Kingship "and other great businesses with the Lord Broghil, Pierpoint" (Earl of Kingston's Brother, an old Long-Parliament man, of whom we have heard before), with "Whitlocke, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Thurloe; and would be shut up three or four hours together in private discourse, and none were admitted to come in to him. He would sometimes be very cheerful with them; and laying aside his greatness, he would be exceedingly familiar; and by way of diversion would make verses with them," play at crambo with them, "and every one must try his fancy. He commonly called for tobacco, pipes and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself;" which was a very high attempt. "Then he would fall again to his serious and great business" of the Kingship; "and advise with them in those affairs. And this he did often with them; and their counsel was accepted, and" in part "followed by him in most of his greatest affairs," — as well as it deserved to be.[2]

[1] *Somers Tracts*, vi. 351–365. [2] Whitlocke, p. 647.

SPEECHES XI.–XIV.

On Monday, April 13th, at Whitehall, at nine in the morning,[1] according to agreement on Saturday last, the Committee of Ninety-nine attend his Highness, and his Highness there speaks: — addressing Whitlocke as reporter of the said Committee.

SPEECH XI.

"My Lord, — I think I have a very hard task on my hand. Though it be but to give an account of *myself*, yet I see I am beset on all hands here. I say, but to give an account of 'myself:' yet that is a business very comprehensive of others; — [comprehending] us all in some sense, and, as the Parliament have been pleased to shape it, comprehending all the interests of these Three Nations!

"I confess I have two things in view. The *first* is, To return some answer to what was so well and ably said the other day on behalf of the Parliament's putting that Title in the Instrument of Settlement. [*This is the First thing; what the Second is, does not yet for a long while appear.*] I hope it will not be expected I should answer everything that was then said: because I suppose the main things that were spoken were arguments from ancient Constitutions and Settlements by the Laws; in which I am sure I could never be well skilled, — and therefore must the more ask pardon for what I have already transgressed [in speaking of such matters], or shall now transgress, through my ignorance of them, in my [present] answer to you.

"Your arguments, which I say were chiefly upon the Law, seem to carry with them a great deal of necessary conclusiveness, to inforce that one thing of Kingship. And if your

[1] at "eight," say the Journals, vii. 522.

arguments come upon me to inforce upon me the ground of Necessity, — why, then, I have no room to answer: for what must be must be! And therefore I did reckon it much of my business to consider whether there *were* such a necessity, or would arise such a necessity, from those arguments. — It was said: 'Kingship is not a Title, but an Office, so interwoven with the fundamental Laws of this Nation, that they cannot, or cannot well, be executed and exercised without [it], — partly, if I may say so, upon a supposed ignorance which the Law hath of any other Title. It knows no other; neither doth any know another. And, by reciprocation, — this said Title, or Name, or Office, you were farther pleased to say, is understood; in the dimensions of it, in the power and prerogatives of it; which are by the Law made certain; and the Law can tell when it [*Kingship*] keeps within compass, and when it exceeds its limits. And the Law knowing this, the People can know it also. And the People do love what they know. And it will neither be *pro salute populi*, nor for our safety, to obtrude upon the People what they do not nor cannot understand.'

"It was said also, 'That the People have always, by their representatives in Parliament, been unwilling to vary Names, — seeing they love settlement and known names, as was said before.' And there were two good instances given of that: the one, in King James's time, about his desire to alter somewhat of the Title: and the other in the Long Parliament, where they being otherwise rationally moved to adopt the word 'Representative' instead of 'Parliament,' refused it for the same reason. [*Lenthall tries to blush.*] — It was said also, 'That the holding to this word doth strengthen the [new] Settlement; for hereby there is not anything *de novo* done, but merely things are revolved into their old current.' It was said, 'That it is the security of the Chief Magistrate, and that it secures all who act under him.' — Truly these are the principal of those grounds that were offered the other day, so far as I do recollect.

"I cannot take upon me to refel those grounds; they are so strong and rational. But if I am to be able to make any

answer to them, I must not grant that they are necessarily conclusive; I must take them only as arguments which perhaps have in them much conveniency, much probability towards conclusiveness. For if a remedy or expedient may be found, they are not *of necessity*, they are not inevitable grounds: and if not necessary or concluding grounds, why then they will hang upon the reason of expediency or conveniency. And if so, I shall have a little liberty [to speak]; otherwise I am concluded before I speak. — Therefore it will behoove me to say what I can, Why these are not *necessary* reasons; why they are not — why *it*[1] is not (I *should* say) so interwoven in the Laws but that the Laws may still be executed as justly, and as much to the satisfaction of the people, and answering all objections equally well, without such a Title as with it. And then, when I have done that, I shall only take the liberty to say a word or two for my own grounds.[2] And when I have said what I can say as to that [latter point], — I hope you will *think* a great deal more than I say. [*Not convenient to* SPEAK *everything in so ticklish a predicament; with Deputations of a Hundred Officers, and so many "scrupulous fellows, considerable in their own conceit," glaring into the business, with eyes much sharper than they are deep!*]

"Truly though Kingship be not a [mere] Title, but the Name of an Office which runs through the [whole of the] Law; yet is it not so *ratione nominis*, by reason of the name, but by reason of what the name signifies. It is a Name of Office plainly implying a Supreme Authority: is it more; or can it be stretched to more? I say, it is a Name of Office, plainly implying the Supreme Authority: and if so, why then I should suppose, — I am not peremptory in anything that is matter of deduction or inference of my own, — but I should suppose that whatsoever name hath been or shall

[1] The Kingship: his Highness finds that the grammar will require to be attended to.

[2] "Grounds" originating with myself independently of yours. Is this the "*second*" thing, which his Highness had in view, but did not specify after the "*first*," when he started? The issue proves it to be so.

be the Name under which the Supreme Authority acts — [*Sentence abruptly stops; the conclusion being visible without speech!*] Why, I say, if it had been those Four or Five Letters, or whatever else it had been — ! That signification goes to the *thing*, certainly it does; and not to the name. [*Certainly!*] Why, then, there can no more be said but this: As such a Title hath been fixed, so it may be unfixed. And certainly in the right of the Authority, I mean the Legislative Power, — in the right of the Legislative Power, I think the Authority that could christen it with such a name could have called it by another name. Therefore the name is only derived from that [Authority]. And certainly they [the primary Legislative Authority] had the disposal of it, and might have detracted [from it], changed [it]: — and I hope it will be no offence to say to you, as the case now stands, 'So may you.' And if it be so that you may, why then I say, there is nothing of *necessity* in your argument; and all turns on consideration of the expedience of it. [*Is the Kingship expedient?*]

"Truly I had rather, if I were to choose, if it were the original question, — which I hope is altogether *out* of the question [*His Highness means, afar off, in a polite manner,* "You *don't pretend that I still need to be made Protector by you or by any creature*"!], — I had rather have any Name from this Parliament than any other Name without it: so much do I value the authority of the Parliament. And I believe all men are of my mind in that; I believe the Nation is very much of my mind, — though it be an uncertain way of arguing, *what* mind *they* are of.[1] I think we may say it without offence; for I would give none! [*No offence to you, Honorable Gentlemen; who are here, by function, to interpret and signify the Mind of the Nation. It is very difficult to do!*] — Though the Parliament be the truest way to know what the mind of the Nation is, yet if the Parliament will be pleased to give me a liberty to reason for myself; and if that be one of your

[1] Naturally a delicate subject: some assert the Nation has never recognized his Highness, — his Highness himself being of a very different opinion indeed!

arguments — [*"That:" what, your Highness? That the mind of the Nation, well interpreted by this Parliament, is really for a King? That our Laws cannot go on without a King? — His Highness means the former mainly, but means the latter too; means several things together, as his manner sometimes is, in abstruse cases!*] — I hope I may urge against it, that the reason of my own mind is not quite to that effect. But I do say undoubtedly (let us think about other things [about the mind of the Nation and such like] what we will), What the Parliament settles is what will run [and have currency] through the Law; and will lead the thread of Government through this Land equally well as what hath been. For I consider that what hath been was upon the same account [by the same authority]. Save that there hath been some long continuance of the thing [*This thing of Kingship*], it is but upon the same account! It had its original somewhere! And it was with consent of the whole, — there is the original of it. And consent of the whole will [still], I say, be the needle that will lead the thread through all [*The same tailor-metaphor a second time*]; — and I think no man will pretend right against it, or wrong!

"And if so, then, under favor to me, I think these arguments from the Law are all *not* as of *necessity*, but are to be understood as of *conveniency*. It is in your power to dispose and settle; and beforehand we can have confidence that what you do settle will be as authentic as the things that were of old, — especially as this individual thing, the Name or Title, — according to the Parliament's appointment. [Is not this so? It is question not of necessity; we have power to settle it as conveniency directs.] Why then, there will (with leave) be way made for me to offer a reason or two to the other considerations you adduced: otherwise, I say my mouth is stopped! [*His Highness is plunging in deep brakes and imbroglios; hopes, however, that he now sees daylight athwart them.*]

"There are very many inforcements to carry on this thing. [*Thing of the Kingship.*] But I suppose it will [have to] stand on its expediency — Truly I should have urged one

consideration more which I forgot [*Looks over his shoulder in the jungle, and bethinks him!*], — namely, the argument not of reason only, but of *experience*. It is a short one, but it is a true one (under favor), and is known to you all in the fact of it (under favor) [*A damnable iteration; but too characteristic to be omitted*]: That the Supreme Authority going by *another* Name and under another Title than that of King hath been, why it hath been already twice complied with! [*Long Parliament, called "Keepers of the Liberties of England," found compliance; and now the "Protectorate" finds.* — Twice:] under the *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*, and also since I exercised the place, it hath been complied with. And truly I may say that almost universal obedience hath been given by all ranks and sorts of men to both. Now this [on the part of both these Authorities] was a beginning with the highest degree of Magistracy at the first alteration; and [at a time] when that [Kingship] was the Name [established]: and the new Name, though it was the name of an invisible thing, the very Name, I say, was obeyed, did pass current, was received and did carry on the [Public] Justice of the Nation. I remember very well, my Lords the Judges were somewhat startled: yet upon consideration, — if I mistake not, — I believe so, — they, there being among them (without reflection) as able and as learned as have sat there, — though they did, I confess, at first, demur a little, — *they* did receive satisfaction, and did act, as I said before. [*Untwist this extraordinary* WITHE *of a sentence; you will find it not inextricable, and very characteristic of Oliver!*] And as for my own part [*My own Protectorate*], I profess I think I may say: Since the beginning of *that* change, — though I should be loath to speak anything vainly, — but since the beginning of that change to this day, I do not think there hath been a freer procedure of the Laws, not even in those years called, and not unworthily, the 'Halcyon Days of Peace,' — from the Twentieth of Elizabeth to King James's and King Charles's time. I do not think but the Laws have proceeded with as much freedom and justice, and with less of private solicitation since I came to the Government, as they did in those years so named [Halcyon].

I do not think, under favor, — [*His Highness gets more emphatic*] — that the Laws had a freer exercise, more uninterrupted by any hand of Power, in those years than now; or that the Judge has been less solicited by letters or private interpositions either of my own or other men's, in *double* so many years in all those times [named] 'of Peace'! [*Sentence involving an incurable Irish-bull; the head of it eating the tail of it, like a Serpent-of-Eternity; but the meaning shining very clear through its contortions nevertheless!*] And if more of my Lords the Judges were here than now are, they could tell us perhaps somewhat farther.[1] —And therefore I say, under favor: These two Experiences do manifestly show that it is not a *Title*, though never so interwoven with our Laws, that makes the Law to have its free passage, and to do its office without interruption (as we venture to think it is now doing): [not a Title, no;] and if a Parliament shall determine that another Name run through the Laws, I believe it will run with as free a passage as this [of King ever did]. Which is all I have to say upon that head.

"And if this be so, then truly other things may fall under a more indifferent consideration:[2] and so I shall arrive [at the Second thing I had in view] at some issue of answering for *myself* in this great matter. And all this while, nothing that I say doth any way determine as to my final resolution, or [intimate any] thought against the Parliament's wisdom in this matter; but [endeavoreth] really and honestly and plainly towards such an answer as may be fit for me to give. The Parliament desires to have this Title. It hath stuck with me, and doth yet stick. As truly, and I hinted the other day,[3] it seemed as if your arguments to me did partly give positive grounds for what was to be done, and partly comparative grounds; stating the matter as you were then pleased to do, — for which I gave no cause that I know of, that is, for comparing the effects of Kingship with those of such a Name as I at

[1] Reform of Chancery; improvements made in Law.

[2] "Other things," your other arguments, may lose a great deal of their formidable air of cogency, as if Necessity herself were backing them.

[3] Saturday last, day before Yesterday.

present bear, with [those of] the Protectorship [to wit]. I say, I hope it will not be understood that I contend for the Name; or for any name, or any thing [of a merely extraneous nature]; but truly and plainly [for the substance of the business], — if I speak as in the Lord's presence; ay, in all right things, as a person under the disposal of the Providence of God, — neither 'naming' one thing nor other; but only endeavoring to give fit answer as to this proposed Name or Title.[1] For I hope I do not desire to give a rule to anybody — [much less to the Parliament]. I professed I had not been able, — and I truly profess I have not yet been able, — to give a rule to myself [in regard to your Proposal]. I would be understood in this. [*Yes, your Highness.* "*That it is not doubt of the Parliament's wisdom; that it is not vain preference or postponence of one 'name' to another; but doubt as to the substantial expediency of the thing proposed, uncertainty as to God's will and monition in regard to it, — that has made and still makes me speak in this uncomfortable, haggling, struggling and wriggling manner. It is no easy thing forcing one's way through a jungle of such depth! An affair of Courtship moreover, which grows and has to grow by the very handling of it! I would not be misunderstood in this.*"]

"I am a man standing in the Place I am in [*Clearly, your Highness*]; which Place I undertook not so much out of hope of doing any good, as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil [*Note this*], — which I did see was imminent on the Nation. I say, we were running headlong into confusion and disorder, and would necessarily [have] run into blood; and I was passive to those that desired me to undertake the Place which I now have. [*With tones, with a look of sorrow, solemnity and nobleness; the brave Oliver!*] A Place, I say, not so much of doing good, — which a man lawfully *may*, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience, — a man *may* (I say) lawfully, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience; a man may lawfully, as the case may be (though it is

[1] The original (*Somers*, vi. 368) unintelligible, illegible except with the powerfulest *lenses*, yields at last, — with some slight changes of the points and so forth, — this sense as struggling at the bottom of it.

a very tickle case), desire a Place to do good in! [*Window once more into his Highness! "Tickle" is the old form of* TICKLISH: *"a tickle case indeed," his Highness candidly allows; yet a case which does occur, — shame and woe to him, the poor cowardly Pedant, tied up in cobwebs and tape-thrums, that neglects it when it does!*] I profess I had not that apprehension, when I undertook the Place, that I could so much do good; but I did think I might prevent imminent evil. — And therefore I am not contending for one 'name' compared with another; — and therefore have nothing to answer to any arguments that were used for preferring [the name] Kingship to Protectorship. For I should almost think any 'name' were better than my Name; and I should altogether think any person fitter than I am for such business [*Your Highness? — But St. Paul too professed himself "the chief of sinners," — and has not been altogether thought to "cant" in doing so!*]; — and I compliment not, God knows it! But this I should say, That I do think, you, in the settling of the peace and liberties of this Nation, which cries as loud upon you as ever Nation did for somewhat that may beget a consistence [ought to attend to that]; otherwise the Nation will fall in pieces! And in that, so far as I can, I am ready to serve not as a King, but as a Constable [if you like]! For truly I have, as before God, often thought that I could not tell what my business was, nor what I was in the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good Constable set to keep the peace of the Parish. [*Hear his Highness!*] And truly this hath been my content and satisfaction in the troubles I have undergone, That you yet have peace.

"Why now, truly, — if I may advise, — I wish to God you may but be so happy as to keep the peace still![1] If you cannot attain to such perfection as to accomplish this [that we are now upon], I wish to God we may still have peace, — that I do! But the 'fruits of righteousness' are shown in 'meekness;' a better thing than we are aware of! — I say therefore, I do judge for myself there is no such necessity of this Name

[1] *If I may advise, I should say the purport and soul of our whole inquiry at present ought to be that of keeping the peace.*

of King; for the other Names may do as well. I judge for myself. I must say a little (I think I have somewhat of conscience to answer as to the matter), why I cannot undertake this Name. [*We are now fairly entered upon the Second head of method.*] And truly I must needs go a little out of the way, to come to my reasons. And you will be able to judge of them when I have told you them. And I shall deal seriously, as before God.

"If you do not all of you, I am sure some of you do, and it behooves me to say that I do, 'know my calling from the first to this day.' I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater; from my first being a Captain of a Troop of Horse; and did labor as well as I could to discharge my trust; and God blessed me [therein] as it pleased Him. And I did truly and plainly, — and in a way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men too, — desire to make my instruments help me in that work. And I will deal plainly with you: I had a very worthy Friend then; and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all, — Mr. John Hampden. [*Hear, hear; — a notable piece of History!*] At my first going out into this engagement,[1] I saw our men were beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's Army, of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows I lie not.[2] 'Your troops,' said I, 'are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and,' said I, 'their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will

[1] enterprise.

[2] A notable clause of a sentence, this latter too; physiognomic enough; — and perhaps very liable to be misunderstood by a modern reader. The old phrase, still current in remote quarters, "It 's no lie," which signifies an emphatic and even courteous assent and affirmation, must be borne in mind.

ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honor and courage and resolution in them?' Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him: 'You must get men of a spirit: and take it not ill what I say, —I know you will not, — of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go: — or else you will be beaten still.' I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. [*Very natural in Mr. Hampden, if I recollect him well, your Highness! With his close thin lips, and very vigilant eyes; with his clear official understanding; lively sensibilities to "unspotted character," "safe courses," &c. &c. A very brave man; but formidably thick-quilted, and with pincer-lips, and eyes very vigilant. — Alas, there is no possibility for poor Columbus at any of the Public Offices, till once he become an Actuality, and say, "Here* IS *the America I was telling you of!"*] Truly I told him I could *do* somewhat in it. I did so [did this somewhat]: and truly I must needs say this to you, [The result was] — impute it to what you please, — I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did [*The Ironsides; yea!*]; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually. [*Yea!*] And truly this is matter of praise to God: — and it hath some instruction in it, To own men who are religious and godly. And so many of them as are peaceably and honestly and quietly disposed to live within [rules of] Government, and will be subject to those Gospel rules of obeying Magistrates and living under Authority [*Sentence catches fire abruptly, and explodes here*] — I reckon no Godliness without that circle! Without that spirit, let it pretend what it will, it is diabolical, it is devilish, it is from diabolical spirits, from the depth of Satan's wickedness[1] — [*Checks him-*

[1] Not "height of Jotham's wickedness," as the lazy Reporter has it. Jotham was not "wicked" at all (Judges c. 9). Nay the lazy Reporter corrects himself elsewhere, — if he had not been asleep! Compare p. 369 line 16 *of Somers* with p. 385 line 2.

self] — Why truly I need not say more than to apply all this[1] [to the business we have in hand].

"I will be bold to apply this to our present purpose, because it is my all! I could say as all the world says, and run headily upon anything; but I must tender this [my present answer] to you as a thing that sways upon my conscience; or else I were a knave and a deceiver. [Well;] I tell you there are such men in this Nation; godly men of the same spirit, men that will not be beaten down by a worldly or carnal spirit while they keep their integrity. And I deal plainly and faithfully with you [when I say]: I cannot think that God would bless an undertaking of anything [Kingship or whatever else], which would, justly and with cause, grieve *them*. True, they may be troubled *without* cause; — and I must be a slave if I should comply with any such humor as that. [*Leaves the matter open still!*] But I say there are honest men and faithful men, true to the great things of the Government, namely the Liberty of the People, giving them what is due to them, and protecting this Interest (and I think verily God will bless you for what you have done in that) — [*Sentence broken; try it another way*] — But if I know, as indeed I do, that very generally good men do not swallow this Title, — though really it is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them, yet I must say, it is my duty and my conscience to beg of you that there may be no hard things put upon me; things, I mean, hard to *them*, which they cannot swallow. [*The Young Lady will and she will not!*] If the Nation may be as well provided for without these things we have been speaking of [*Kingships, &c.*], as, according to my apprehension, it may, — [then] truly I think it will be no sin in you, it will be to you as it was to David in another case,[2] 'no grief of heart in time coming,' that you have a tenderness even possibly (if it be their weakness) to the weakness of those who have integrity and honesty and uprightness, and who are not carried away with the

[1] "this" of my old proposal to Mr. Hampden; and how good it is to "own men who are religious and godly."

[2] Nabal's and Abigail's case (1 Samuel xxv. 31).

hurries I see some taken with — [*"A Standard lifted up," the other day! We have had to turn the key upon them, in Chepstow, in the Tower and elsewhere*], — that think their virtue lies in despising Authority, in opposing it! I think you will be the better able to root out of this Nation that [disobedient] spirit and principle, — and to do so is as desirable as anything in this world, — by complying, indulging, and being patient to the weakness and infirmities of men who have been faithful, and have bled all along in this Cause; — and who *are* faithful, and will oppose all oppositions (I am confident of it) to the things that are Fundamentals in your Government, in your Settlement for Civil and Gospel Liberties. [*Not ill said, your Highness; and really could not well be better thought!* — *The moral is: "As my old Ironsides, men fearing God, proved the successful soldiers; so in all things it is men fearing God that we must get to enlist with us. Without these we are lost; with these, if they will be soldiers with us (not noisy mutineers like Wildman, Harrison and Company, but true soldiers, rational persons that will learn discipline), — we shall, as heretofore, hope to prevail against the whole world and the Devil to boot, and 'never be beaten at all,' no more than the Ironsides were. See, therefore, that you do not disaffect* THEM. *Mount no foolish cockade or Kingship which can convert* THEM, *rational obedient men, true in all essential points, into mutineers."*]

"I confess, for it behooves me to deal plainly with you — [*Young Lady now flings a little weight into the other scale, — and the sentence trips itself once or twice before it can get started*] — I must confess I would say — I hope I may not be misunderstood in this, for indeed I must be tender in what I say to such an audience: — I say I would have it understood, That in this argument I do not make a parallel between men of a different mind [mere dissentient individuals] and a Parliament, [as to] Which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison. Nor can it be urged upon me that my words have the least color that way. For the Parliament seems to have given me liberty to say whatever is on my mind to you; as that [indeed] is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment and opinion to them: and now if I think these objectors

to the Kingship [1] are such [as I describe], and [that they] will be such; [if I think] that they are faithful servants and will be so to the Supreme Authority, and the Legislative wheresoever it is, — if, I say, I should *not* tell you, knowing their minds to be so, then I should not be faithful. I am bound to tell it you, to the end you may report it to the Parliament. [*Parliament very jealous lest the Army be thought of greater weight than it. We try to carry the scales even.*]

"I will now say something for *myself*. As for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words, or names, or such things. I have not [hitherto clear direction] [2] — but as I have the Word of God, and I hope shall ever have, for the rule of my conscience, for my information and direction; so, truly, if men have been led into dark paths [*As this matter of the Kingship is to me even now; very "dark" and undecidable!*] through the providence and dispensations of God, — why surely it is not to be objected to a man! For who can *love* to walk in the dark? But Providence doth often so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to Providence *sinfully*, — yet this must be at a man's own peril. The case may *be* that it is the Providence of God that doth lead men in darkness! I must needs say, I have had a great deal of experience of Providence; and though such experience is no rule without or against the Word, yet it is a very good expositor of the Word in many cases. [*Yes, my brave one!*]

"Truly the Providence of God hath laid aside this Title of King providentially *de facto:* and that not by sudden humor or passion; but it hath been by issue of as great deliberation as ever was in a Nation. It hath been by issue of Ten or Twelve Years' Civil War, wherein much blood hath been shed. I will not dispute the justice of it when it was done; nor need I tell you what my opinion is in the case were it *de novo* to be done. [*Somewhat grim expression of face, your Highness!*] But if it be at all disputable; and a man comes and finds that

[1] "they" in orig.

[2] Coagulated Jargon (*Somers*, p. 370) is almost worth looking at here: — never was such a Reporter since the Tower of Babel fell.

God in His severity hath not only eradicated a whole Family, and thrust them out of the land, for reasons best known to Himself, but also hath made the issue and close of that to be the very eradication of a Name or Title — ! Which *de facto* is [the case]. It was not done by me, nor by them that tendered me the Government I now act in: it was done by the Long Parliament, — that was it.[1] And God hath seemed Providential [seemed to appear as a Providence], not only in striking at the Family but at the Name. And, as I said before, it is blotted out: it is a thing cast out by an Act of Parliament; it hath been kept-out to this day. And as Jude saith, in another case, speaking of abominable sins that should be in the Latter Times,[2] — he doth farther say, when he comes to exhort the Saints, he tells them, — they should 'hate even the *garments* spotted with the flesh.'[3]

"I beseech you think not that I bring this as an argument to prove anything. God hath seemed so to deal with the Persons and the Family that He blasted the very Title. And you know when a man comes, *a parte post*, to reflect, and see this *done*, this Title laid in the dust, — I confess I can come to no other conclusion. ["*But that God seems to have blasted the very Title;*" — *this, however, is felt to need some qualifying.*] The like of this may make a strong impression upon such weak men as I am; — and perhaps upon weaker men (if there be any such) it will make a stronger. I will not seek to set up that which Providence hath destroyed, and laid in the dust; I would not build Jericho again! And this is somewhat to me, and to my judgment and my conscience. This, in truth, it is this that hath an awe upon my spirit. [*Hear!*] And I must confess, as the times are, — they are very fickle, very uncertain, nay God knows you had need have a great deal of

[1] Oliverian reduplication of the phrase: accent on *was*.

[2] Very familiar with this passage of Jude; see Speech II. vol. xviii. pp. 403, 404.

[3] Grammar a little imperfect. Really one begins to find Oliver would, as it were, have needed a *new* Grammar. Had all men been *Olivers*, what a different set of *rules* would Lindley Murray and the Governesses now have *gone upon*!

faith to strengthen you in your work, you had need look at Settlement! — I would rather I were in my grave than hinder you in anything that may be for Settlement of the Nation. For the Nation needs it, never needed it more! And therefore, out of the love and honor I bear you, I am forever bound, whatever becomes of me, to do [what is best for that]; — [and] I am forever bound to acknowledge you have dealt most honorably and worthily with me, and lovingly, and have had respect for one who deserves nothing.

"Indeed, out of the love and faithfulness I bear you, and out of the sense I have of the difficulty of your work, I would not have you lose *any* help [*Help of the Name "King;" help of the scrupulous Anti-King people: — it is a dark case!*] that may serve you, that may stand in stead to you. I would willingly be a sacrifice [*King, Protector, Constable, or what you like*], that there might be, so long as God shall please to let this Parliament sit, a harmony, and better and good understanding between all of you. And — whatever any man may think — it equally concerns one of us as another to go on to Settlement: and where I meet with any that is of another mind, indeed I could almost curse him in my heart. And therefore, to deal heartily and freely, I would have you lose nothing [*Not even the Scrupulous*] that may stand you in stead in this way. I would advise, if there be [found] any of a froward, unmannerly or womanish spirit, — I would not that you should lose them! I would not that you should lose any servant or friend who might help in this Work; that any such should be offended by a thing that signifies no more to me than I have told you it does. That is to say: I do not think the thing necessary; I do not. I would not that you should lose a friend for it. If I could help you to many [friends], and multiply myself into many, that would be to serve you in regard to Settlement! And therefore I would not that any, especially any of these who indeed perhaps are men that do think themselves engaged to continue with you, and to serve you, should be anywise disobliged from you.

"[I have now no more to say.] The truth is, I did indicate this as my *conclusion* to you at the first, when I told you what

method I would speak to you in.[1] I may say that I cannot, with conveniency to myself, nor good to this service which I wish so well to, speak out all my arguments as to the safety of your Proposal, as to its tendency to the effectual carrying on of this Work. [*There are many angry suspicious persons listening to me, and every word is liable to different misunderstandings in every different narrow head!*] I say, I do not think it fit to use all the thoughts I have in my mind as to that point of safety. But I shall pray to God Almighty that He would direct you to do what is according to His will. And this is that poor account I am able to give of myself in this thing."[2]

And so enough for Monday, which is now far spent: "till to-morrow at three o'clock"[3] let us adjourn; and diligently consider in the interim.

His Highness is evidently very far yet from having made up his mind as to this thing; the undeveloped Yes still balancing itself against the undeveloped No, in a huge dark intricate manner, with him. Unable to "declare" himself; there being in fact nothing to declare hitherto, nothing but what he does here declare, — namely, darkness visible. An abstruse time his Highness has had of it, since the end of February, six or seven weeks now; all England sounding round him, waiting for his Answer. And he is yet a good way off the Answer. For it is a considerable question this of the Kingship: important to the Nation and the Cause he presides over; to himself not unimportant, — and yet to himself of very minor importance, my erudite friend! A Soul of a Man in right earnest about its own awful Life and Work in this world; much superior to "feathers in the hat," of one sort or the other, my erudite friend! — Of all which he gives here a candid and honest account; and indeed his attitude towards this matter

[1] "This was my *second* head of method; all this about myself and my own feelings in regard to the Kingship, — after I had proved to you in my first head that it was not *necessary*, that it was only *expedient* or *not expedient*. I am *now* therefore got to the end of my second head, to my conclusion."

[2] *Somers Tracts*, vi. 365–371. [3] Burton, ii. 2.

throughout, what towards other matters it has been, very anful and natural.

However, on the morrow, which is Tuesday, at three o'clock, e Committee cannot see his Highness; attending at White-all, as stipulated, they find his Highness indisposed in health; - are to come again to-morrow, Wednesday, at the same hour. Vednesday they come again; "wait for above an hour in the ouncil-Chamber;" — Highness still indisposed, "has got a ad:" Come again to-morrow, Thursday! "Which," says the riter of the thing called *Burton's Diary*, who was there, "did rongly build up the faith of the Contrariants," — He will not are to accept, think the Contrariants. The Honorable House i the mean while has little to do but denounce that Shoreditch ifth-Monarchy Pamphlet, the *Standard set up*, which seems o be a most incendiary piece; — and painfully adjourn and re-djourn, till its Committee do get answer. A most slow busi-ess; and the hopes of the Contrariants are rising.

Thursday, 16th April, 1657, Committee attending for the hird time, the Interview does take effect; Six of the Gran-ees, Glynn, Lenthall, Colonel Jones, Sir Richard Onslow, ienues, Broghil, Whitlocke, take up in their order the vari-us objections of his Highness's former Speech, of Monday ast, and learnedly rebut the same, in a learned and to us in-upportably wearisome manner; fit only to be entirely omitted. Whitlocke urges on his Highness, That, in refusing this King-hip, he will do what never any that were actual Kings of ngland did, reject the advice of his Parliament.[1] Another ays, It is his duty; let him by no means shrink from his uty! — Their discoursings, if any creature is curious on the ubject, can be read at great length in the distressing pages f *Somers*,[2] and shall be matter of imagination here. His ighness said, These were weighty arguments; give him till o-morrow to think of them.[3] "To-morrow at three: *spero!*" ays the writer of the thing called *Burton's Diary*, who is not ne of the Contrariants.

[1] *Somers*, p. 386. [2] Ibid. vi. 371–387. [3] *Burton*, ii. 5.

SPEECH XII.

ALAS, to-morrow at three his Highness proves again indisposed; which doth a little damp our hopes, I fancy! Let us appoint Monday morning: Monday, ten o'clock, "at the old place," Chamber of the Council-of-State in Whitehall. Accordingly, on Monday, 20th April, 1657, at the set place and hour, the Committee of Ninety-nine is once more in attendance, and his Highness speaks, — answering our arguments of Thursday last, and indicating still much darkness.

"[MY LORDS], — I have, as well as I could, considered the arguments used by you, the other day, to enforce your conclusion as to that Name and Title, which has been the subject of various Debates and Conferences between us. I shall not now spend your time nor my own much, in recapitulating those arguments, or giving answers to them. Indeed I think they were [mainly] but the same we formerly had, only with some additional inforcements by new instances: and truly, at this rate of debate, I might spend your time, which I know is very precious; and unless I were [to end in being] a satisfied person, the time would spin out, and be very unprofitably spent, — so it would. I will say a word or two to that only which I think was new.

"[You were pleased to say some things as to the power of Parliament, as to the force of a Parliamentary sanction in this matter.][1] What comes from the Parliament in the exercise of their Legislative power, as this Proposal does, — I understand this to be an exercise of the *Legislative* power, and the Laws formerly were always passed in this way [of Proposal or Conference], and the way of Bills is of a newer date, — I understand that, I say; but — [*In short, the Sentence falls prostrate, and we must start again*]. You said, 'that what was done by the Parliament now, and simply made to hang upon this Legislative power [as any Title but that of King will do], might seem partly as if it were a thing *ex dono*, not *de jure*; a thing that had not the same weight, nor the same strength,

[1] Glynn, Lenthall, Broghil, Whitlocke (Somers, pp. 371, 372, 384–386).

as if it bore a reference to [the general Body of] the Law that is already in being.' I confess there is some argument in that,—that is there! But if the degree of strength will be as good without Parliamentary sanction, [then — *Sentence pauses, never gets started again.*] — Though *it* too [this Title of Kingship] comes as a gift from you! I mean as a thing which you either provide for the people or else it will never come to them; so in a sense it comes from *you*, it is what *they* cannot otherwise arrive at; therefore in a sense it is *ex dono;* for whoever helps a man to what he cannot otherwise attain, doth an act that is very near a gift; and you helping *them* to this Title, it were a kind of gift to them, since otherwise they could not get it [though theirs — *this Sentence also finds that it will come to nothing, and so calls halt.*] — But if you do it simply by your Legislative power — [*Halt again. — In what bottomless imbroglios of Constitutional philosophy and crabbed Law-logic, with the Fifth-Monarchy and splenetic Contrariants looking on, is his poor Highness plunging! A ray of natural sagacity now rises on him with guidance.*] — The question, 'What makes such a thing as this more firm?' is not the manner of the settling of it, or the manner of your [or another's] doing of it; there remains always the grand question after that; the grand question lies, In the *acceptance* of it by those who are concerned to yield obedience to it and accept it? [*Certainly, your Highness; that is worth all the Law-logic in the world!*] And therefore if a thing [*Like this Protectorate, according to your argument, — not altogether to mine*] hath but, for its root, your Legislative sanction — If I may put a 'But' to it [to that most valid sanction!], I will not do so: for I say, It is as good a foundation as that other [which you ascribe to the Kingship, howsoever "grounded in the body of Law"]. And if that thing [that Protectorate] be as well accepted, and the other be less well — ? Why, then truly *it*, I shall think, is the better; — and then all that I say is founded upon Law too! —

"Your arguments founded upon the Law do all make for the Kingship. Because, say you, it doth agree with the *Law; the Law knows,* — the People know it, and are likelier to

receive satisfaction that way. Those were arguments that have [*" had" is truer, but less polite*] been used already; and truly I know nothing that I have to add to them. And therefore, I say, those arguments also may stand as we found them and left them already; — except, truly, this [one point]. It hath been said to me [*Saluting my Lord Whitlocke slightly with the eye, whose heavy face endeavors to smile in response*] that I am a person who meditate to do what never any that were actually Kings of England did: 'Refuse the Advice of Parliament.' I confess, that runs deep enough, [that runs] to all; that may be accounted a very great fault in me; and may rise up in judgment against me another time, — if my case be not different from any man's that ever was in the Chief Command and Government of these Nations before. But truly I think, all they that have been in this Office before, and owned in right of Law, were inheritors coming to it by birthright, — or if owned by the authority of Parliament, they yet had some previous pretence of title or claim to it. And so, under favor, I think I deserve less blame than any of them would have done, if I cannot so well comply with this Title, and [with] the desire of Parliament in regard to it, as these others might do. For they when they were *in*, would have taken it for an injury *not* to be in. Truly such an argument, to *them*, might be very strong, Why they should not refuse what the Parliament offered! But [as for me] I have dealt plainly with you: and I have not complimented with you [in saying] I have not desired, I have no title to, the Government of these Nations. [No title] but what was taken up in a case of necessity, and as a temporary means to meet the actual emergency; without which we must needs — [*Have gone you know whither!*] — I say we had been all [topsy-turvying now] at the rate of the Printed Book [you have just got hold of — *Shoreditch* STANDARD SET UP, *and Painted Lion there*], and at the rate of those men that have been seized going into arms, — if that expedient had not been taken! That was visible to me as the day, unless I undertook it. And so, it being put upon me, I being then General, as I was General by Act of Parliament, — it being [put] upon me to take the

power into my hand after the Assembly of Men that was called together had been dissolved — [*"I took it, as you all know:" but his Highness blazing off here, as his wont is when that subject rises, the Sentence explodes*] — !

"Really the thing would have issued itself in this Book: — for the Book, I am told, knows an Author [*Harrison, they say, is Author*]; he was a Leading Person in that Assembly! And now when I say (I speak in the plainness and simplicity of my heart, as before Almighty God), I did out of necessity undertake that [Business], which I think no man but myself would have undertaken, — it hath pleased God that I have been instrumental in keeping the Peace of the Nation to this day. And have kept it under a Title [*Protector*] which, some say, signifies but a keeping of it to another's use, — to a better use; [a Title] which may improve it to a better use! And this I may say: I have not desired the continuance of my power or place either under one Title or another, — that have I not! I say it: If the wisdom of the Parliament could find where to place things so as they might save this Nation and the Interests of it, — the Interest of the People of God in the first place; of those Godly honest men, — for such a character I reckon them by, who live in the fear of God, and desire to hold forth the excellency [of Christ] and a Christian course in their life and conversation — [*Sentence may be said to burst asunder here for the present, but will gather itself together again perhaps!*] I reckon *that* proceeds from Faith, and [from] looking to our duties towards Christians, and our humanity to men as men; and to such Liberties and Interests as the People of this Nation are of: — and [I] do look upon that as a standing truth of the Gospel; and whoso lives up to that is a Godly Man in my apprehension! [*Looks somewhat animated.*] — And therefore I say, If the wisdom of this Parliament, — I speak not this vainly or as a fool, but as to God, — if the wisdom of this Parliament should have found a way to settle the Interests of this Nation, upon the foundations of justice and truth and liberty, to the people of God, and concernments of men as Englishmen [*Voice risen into a kind of recitative*], — *I* would have lain at their feet, or at anybody

else's feet, that things might have run in such a current! [*Your Highness can't get out; no place for you now but here or in the grave!* — *His Highness fetches a deep breath.*] — I say I have no pretensions to things for myself; to ask this or that, or to avoid this or that. I know the censures of the world may quickly pass upon me [and are already passing]: but I thank God I know where to lay the weight that is laid upon me; — I mean the weight of reproach and contempt and scorn that hath been cast upon me! [*Ends, I think, in a kind of snort, — and the look partly as of an injured dove, partly as of a couchant lion.*] —

"I have not offered you any Name in competition with Kingship. I know the evil spirits of men may easily obtrude upon a man, That he would have a Name which the Laws know not, and which is boundless, and is one under which he may exercise more arbitrariness: but I know there is nothing in that argument; and if it were in your thoughts to offer any Name of that kind, I think, whatsoever it was, you would bound it and limit it sufficiently. I wish it were come to that, That no favor should be showed to me; but that the good of these Nations should be consulted; — as [indeed] I am confident it will be by you in whatsoever you do. — But I may say a word to another thing which doth a little pinch upon me: That it is my duty [to accept this Title]. I think it can be no man's duty but between God and himself, if he be conscious of his own infirmities, disabilities and weakness; [conscious] that he perhaps is not able to encounter with it, — although he may have a little faith too, for a little exercise. I say I do not know what way it can be imputed to me for a fault, or laid upon me as a duty. Except I meant to gripe at the Government of the Nations without a legal consent, — as I say I have done in time past upon principles of Necessity [but have no call now to do again]. And I promise I shall think whatever is done towards Settlement, without authority of Parliament, will neither be very honest, nor to me very comprehensible at this stage of the business. *I think* we have fought for the Liberties of the Nation and *for other* Interests! — [*Checks himself.*] —

"You will pardon me that I speak these things in such a [desultory] way as this. I may be borne withal, because I have not truly well stood the exercise that hath been upon me these three or four days, — I have not, I say. [*Besides, your Highness is suffering from the dregs of a cold, and I doubt still somewhat feverish!*] — I have told you my thoughts, and have laid them before you. You have been pleased to give me your grounds, and I have given you mine. And truly I do purposely refuse to mention those arguments that were used when ye were last here; but rather tell you what since (as I say) lies upon my heart, — [speaking to you] out of the abundance of difficulty and trouble that lies upon me. [*His Highness, sick of body, feverish, unequal to such a jungle of a subject and its adjuncts, is really weltering and staggering like a wearied man, in the thickets and puddles.*] And therefore you having urged me, I mean offered reasons to me, and urged them in such way as did occur to you; and I having told you, the last time we met, that the satisfaction from them did not reach to me so as wholly to convince me of my duty, — I have thought rather to answer to-day by telling you my grief, and the trouble I am under. [*Poor Sovereign Man!*] —

"And truly my intentions and purposes, they are honest to the Nation, — and shall be, by the Grace of God. And I have it *not* in view, upon collateral pretences, [either by asking this Kingship or by refusing it] — to act towards things that may be destructive to the liberties of this Nation! ["*I am worn and weary; let me be as clay in the hands of the potter!*"] — Any man may give me leave *to die;* every one may give me leave to be as a dead man, — when God takes away the spirit and life and activity that are necessary for the carrying on of such a work! [*Poor Highness, still somewhat feverish, suffering from the dregs of a cold!*]

"And therefore I do leave the former Debates as they were, and as we had them; and will let you know that I have looked a little upon the Paper [*Petition and Advice*], the Instrument, I would say, in the other parts of it [unconnected with this *of the Kingship*]. And considering that there are very many

particulars in this Instrument [*Holding it in his hand*], some of a general reference and others specific, and all of weight (let this business of the Title be decided as it may) to the concernment of the Nations, — I think I may desire that those [particulars] may be really such as will serve their object, — let the 'Title' we *fix* upon be one or the other. They might be such as the People have no cause — [*Sentence checking itself*] — But I am confident your care and faithfulness need neither a spur nor an admonition to that! I say, reading in your Order, the Order of the Parliament to this Committee, I find mention there of 'divers particulars,' concerning which, if I do make any scruple of them, I am to have the freedom with this Committee to cast[1] my doubts.

"The truth of it is, I have a Paper here in my hands[2] that doth contain divers things with relation to the Instrument; which, I hope, have a Public aspect in them; therefore I cannot presume but they will be very welcome to you. Therefore I shall desire that you will read them. [*Hands Whitlocke the Paper.*] I should desire, if it please you, the liberty, —. which I submit to your judgment whether you think I have or no, — that I might tender these few things; and some others which I have in preparation. And truly I shall reduce them to as much brevity as I can: — they are too large here [these in the Paper are diffuse].[3] And if it please you, To-morrow in the afternoon at three o'clock I may meet you again. And I hope we shall come to know one another's minds; and shall agree to that that may be for the glory of God, and for the good of these Nations."[4]

So much for Monday, the 20th; — noontide and the hour of dinner being now nigh. Herewith *exeunt* till to-morrow at three.

[1] canvass, shake out.

[2] A Paper of Objections by his Highness; repeatedly alluded to in the Journals; "unhappily altogether lost now," say the *Parliamentary History*, and the Editor of *Burton*, — not very unhappily, say my readers and I.

[3] He gave them the complete Paper on the morrow (Burton, ii. 7).

[4] *Somers*, vi. 387–389.

We returned "much unsatisfied with the Lord Protector's Speech," says the Writer of *Burton;* it is "as dark and promiscuous as before;" nobody can know whether he will have the Kingship or not. Sometimes the "Contrariants" are up in hope, and sometimes again we,[1] — and the bets, if betting were permitted under Gospel Ordinances, would fluctuate not a little.

Courage, my Lord Protector! Blake even now, though as yet you know it not, is giving the Spaniards a terrible scorching for you, in the Port of Santa Cruz! — Worth noting: In those very minutes while the Lord Protector is speaking as above, there goes on far off, on the Atlantic brine, under shadow of the Peak of Teneriffe, one of the fieriest actions ever fought by land or water; this action of the Sea-king Blake, at the Port of Santa Cruz. The case was this. Blake cruising on the coast of Spain, watching as usual for Plate Fleets, heard for certain that there was a Fleet actually coming, actually come as far as the Canary Isles, and now lying in the Bay of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe there. Blake makes instant sail thither; arrives there still in time this Monday morning early; finds the Fleet fast moored in Santa Cruz Bay; rich silver-ships, strong war-ships, Sixteen as we count them; stronger almost than himself, — and moored here under defences unassailable apparently by any mortal. Santa Cruz Bay is shaped as a horse-shoe: at the entrance are Castles, in the inner circuit are other Castles, Eight of them in all, bristling with great guns; war-ships moored at the entrance, war-frigates moored all round the beach, and men and gunners at command: one great magazine of sleeping thunder and destruction: to appearance, if you wish for sure suicide to run into, this must be it. Blake, taking measure of the business, runs into it, defying its loud thunder; much out-thunders it, — mere whirlwinds of fire and iron hail, the old Peak never heard the like; — silences the Castles, sinks or burns every sail in the Harbor; annihilates the Spanish Fleet; and then, the wind veering round in his favor, sails out again, leaving

[1] See *Burton*, ii. 7 et seqq.

Santa Cruz Bay much astonished at him.[1] It is the last action of the brave Blake; who, worn out with toil and sickness and a cruise of three years, makes homewards shortly after; dies within sight of Plymouth.[2]

On the whole, the Spanish Antichrist finds his Highness a rough enemy. In these same April days, six thousand men are getting mustered here, "furnished with new red coats" and other equipments, to join French Turenne in the Low Countries, and fight the Spaniard by land too. For our French Treaty has become a French League Offensive and Defensive,[3] to last for one year; and Reynolds is to be Land-General, and Montague to help him as Sea-General: of whom by and by there may be tidings. — But meanwhile this matter of the Kingship must be settled. All men wish it settled; and the present Editor as much as any! They have to meet to-morrow again, Tuesday, 21st, at three o'clock: they for their uncertain airy talking, while so much hard fighting and solid work has to be managed withal.

SPEECH XIII.

His Highness this Tuesday, we find, has deserted the question of the Kingship; occupies himself with the other points of the New Instrument, what he calls the "essentials" of it; leaving that comparatively empty unessential one to hang undecided, for the present. The Writer of *Burton's Diary*, Nathaniel Bacon or another, is much disappointed. The question of the Kingship not advanced a whit by this long Discourse, one of the most tedious we have yet listened to from his Highness. "Nothing but a dark speech," says he,[4] "more promiscuous than before!" — A sensible Speech too, in some respects, Mr. Bacon. His Highness once more elucidates as

[1] *Heath's Chronicle*, pp. 720–721.

[2] 7th August, 1657, in his Fifty-ninth year (*Biog. Brit.* in voce)

[3] Signed 23d March, 1656–7 (Godwin, iv. 540).

[4] *Burton*, ii. 7.

he best can his past conduct, and the course of Providence in bringing us all hither to the very respectable pass we now stand in; — explains next what are the *essential* elements of keeping us safe here, and carrying us farther, as checking of Public Immorality, attention wiser and wiser to the Preaching Clergy, and for one indispensable thing, additional Provision of Cash; — and terminates by intimating with soft diffuseness, That when he has heard their answer as to these essential things (not that he makes them "conditions," that were terribly ill-judged!), he will then be prepared, in regard to unessential things, to King's Cloaks, Titles, and such like frippery and feathers in the cap, which are not without use say the Lawyers, but which irritate weak brethren, — to give such answer as may reasonably be expected from him, as God may set him free to do. — Let us listen, us and Whitlocke who also has to report, the best we can.

"My Lords, — I think you may well remember what the issue was of the last Conference I had with you [yesterday], and what the stick[1] then was. I confess I took liberty [at that time], from the Order of Parliament; whereby they gave me power to speak with you about those things that were in the body of that Instrument and Desire which you have been pleased to speak with me [upon]; that I might confer with you about those particulars, and might receive satisfaction from you as to them. Whether there will a good issue be to all these affairs or no, is only in the hands of God. That is a great secret; — and secrets belong to God. To us belong things revealed; — and such things are the subject-matter of this Instrument of yours: and [the course is], so far as they may have relation to me, That you and I shall consider what may be for the public good [therein], that so they may receive such an impression[2] as can humanly be given them.

"I would be well understood in that I say, The former Debates and Conferences have been upon the Title; and that rests as it did. But seeing, as I said before, your Order of Commitment [your Order to Committee] doth as well reach to

[1] *stop.* [2] impulse and decision.

the particulars contained in the Instrument [generally] as to that of the Title, — I did offer to you that I should desire to speak with you about *them* also. That so we may come to an understanding one with another, not What the things in their parts are, but What is in the whole conducible to that end we ought all to aim at, — which is a general Settlement upon good foundations.

"Truly, as I have often said to the Parliament itself when they did me the honor to meet me in the Banqueting-House, so I may now say to you who are a Committee, a very considerable representation of the Parliament: I am hugely taken with the word *Settlement;* with the thing, and with the notion of it. [And indeed] I think he is not worthy to live in England who is not! No; I will do my part, so far as I am able, to expel that man out of the Nation who desireth not that in the general we come to a Settlement. Because indeed it is the great misery and unhappiness of a Nation to be without such: it is like a house (and so much worse than a 'house') divided against itself; it 'cannot stand' without Settlement! — And therefore I hope, so far, we are all at a good point; and the spirit of the Nation, I hope, in the generality of it, is so far at a good point: we are all contending for *a* Settlement. That is sure. But the question is, *De modo,* and Of those things [and conditions] that will make it a good Settlement if possible. It's no fault to aim at perfection in Settlement! And truly I have said, and I say it again: That I think this [present proposed Form of Settlement] doth tend to the making of the Nation enjoy the things we have [all along] declared for; and I would come upon that issue with all men, or with any man. The things we have declared for, which have been the ground of our quarrelling and fighting all along, — the securing of these is what will accomplish the general work. Settlement is the general work. That which will give to the Nation to enjoy their civil and religious liberties; that which will conserve the liberties of every man, and not rob any man of what is *justly* his! I think these two things make up Settlement. I am sure they acquit us before God and man; having endeav-

ored, as we have done, through some streamings of blood, to attain that end.

"I may tell you my [own] experience in this business, and offend no good man who loves the Public before what is personal. Truly, I shall, a little, shortly recapitulate to you what my observations and endeavors and interest have been to this end. And I hope no man that hath been interested in transactions all along[1] will blame me. And he shall have no cause to blame me: because I will take myself into the number of the Culpable Persons (if there be any such), — though perhaps apt enough, from the self-love I have, to be willing to be [reckoned] innocent where I am so! And yet as willing withal to take my reproach, if anybody will lay it upon me, where I am culpable! And truly I have, through the Providence of God, endeavored to discharge a poor duty; having had, as I conceive, a clear call to the stations I have acted in through all these affairs; — and I believe very many are sufficiently satisfied in that. I shall not go about saying anything to clear it to you [*No, your Highness; let it stand on its own feet*]; — but must exercise myself in a little short Chronology. To come to that [issue: *not the "Chronology," but what the Chronology will help to teach us*] I say, is really all our business at present; and the business of this Nation: To come upon clear grounds; To consider the Providence of God, how He hath led us hitherunto.

"After it pleased God to put an end to the War of this Nation; a final end; which was done at Worcester, in the determination and decision that was there by the hand of God, — for other War, we have had none that deserves the name of War, since that time, which is now six years gone September [last]; — I came up to the Parliament that then was. And truly I found the Parliament, as I thought, very [well] disposed to put a good issue to all those Transactions which had been in the Nation; and I rejoiced at it. And though I had not been well skilled in Parliamentary affairs, having been near ten years in the Field; yet, in my poor measure, my desires did tend to the same issue; believing verily that all

[1] *Not polite* to add, "as I have been."

the blood which had been shed, and all the distemper which God had suffered to be among us, which in some sense God had raised among us, — [believing, I say,] that surely Fighting was not the *end*, but the *means*, which had an end, and was in order to somewhat! Truly the end, then, was, I thought, Settlement; that is, that men might come to some consistencies. And to that end I did endeavor to add my mite, — which was no more than the interest any one member there might have, — after I was returned again to that capacity. And I did. — I shall tell you no fable, but things [of] which divers persons here can tell whether they be true or no [*Threatening to blaze up again?*], — I did endeavor it. I would make the best interpretation of all that: but yet it is a truth, and nothing of a discovery on my part, but a fact which everybody knows to be true, That the Parliament, having done these memorable things — [*Sentence explodes; and even launches off into a panegyric of the Long Parliament, — preparatory to* EXECUTION] — They had done things of honor, and things of necessity; things which, if at this day you have any judgment that there lieth a possibility upon you to do any good, and to bring this Nation to any foot of Settlement, I may say you are all along, in a good manner, beholden to that Parliament [for]. But yet truly as men who contend for the Public Interest are not like to have the applause of all men, nor justification from all hands, so it was with them. And truly, when they had made preparations which might have led to the issuing in some good for the Settlement of these Nations, in point of liberty, in point of freedom from tyranny and oppression and from hazard of our religion, — To throw it all away upon men who designed by innovations to introduce Popery, and by complying with some notions introduce Arbitrariness upon a Civil account — [" *Royalist Malignants, in* 1647, 1648, *and Crypto-Royalists; with their 'notions' that of all things indispensable, a Stuart King was indispensablest? That would never have done! The Long Parliament did need a Pride's Purge; could not*" — *But the Sentence here, in its hasty impatience, as is usual, bursts*] — Why, they had more enemies than friends [that Long Parliament had]; they had

so all along! And this made them careful [*In* 1648, *trying to bargain with Charles, they were "full of care;" and even afterwards they could not decide all at once on granting a new Free Parliament and General Election; no!*], — upon principles of Nature, which do sometimes suggest the best. And upon the most undeniable grounds, they did think that it was not fit for them presently to go and throw themselves, and all this Cause, into hands that perhaps had no heart nor principle [in common] with them to accomplish the end *they* had aimed at. [*In short, they, very properly, decided on sitting still for a while.*]

"I grant, perhaps through infirmity they did desire to have continued themselves; to have perpetuated themselves upon that Act.[1] An Act which was justly enough obtained, and necessarily enough obtained, when they did get it from the King. But though, truly, it was good in the first obtaining of it; yet it was, by most men who had ventured their lives in this Cause, judged not fit to be perpetuated, but rather a thing that was to have an end when it had finished its course! Which was certainly the true way of doing, — in subserviency to the bringing in of what might be a good and honest Settlement to the Nation. — I must say to you that I found them very willing to perpetuate themselves! And truly this is not a thing of reflection upon *all*, for perhaps some were not so; — I can say it of some. The sober men whom I had converse with, were not for continuing; but the major part, I think, did overrule in that they would have continued. This is true that I say to you: I was entreated to comply with the plan, and advised to it; and it was to have been accomplished by this medium, [They were] to have sent into the country to have got their number reinforced, and the Parliament filled up by new elections. And it had this excuse, That it would not be against the Liberty of the People, nor against a *succession* of men coming into rule and government; because as men died out of the House, so they should be supplied again. [*Like*

[1] Act, 10th May, 1641, That we are not to be dissolved without our own consent. Necessary in all ways; the City would not lend money otherwise, — *not even money could be had* otherwise (antea, vol. xvii. p. 116).

Sir John Cockle's silk hose; which always, after infinite darnings, could remain the same hose, though not a thread of the original silk was now left in them: a perennial pair of stockings. Such was the plan of the Rump.] And this was the best answer they could give to all objections [this], 'That the proper way to govern is to have *successive* men in such great bodies as Parliaments; to have men learning to know how to obey as well as how to govern.'[1] And truly the expedient they then offered was what I tell you.

"The truth of it is, this did not satisfy a company of poor men [*Certain insignificant individuals, — mentioned elsewhere by the same name!*], who thought they had ventured their lives, and had some interest to inquire after these things! And the rather, because really they had been invited out [first of all, into this War], upon principles of honesty, conscience and religion; 'for Spiritual Liberties;' as many as would come. [Yes;] when the Cause was a little doubtful, there had issued forth a declaration [of that purport], which was very inviting; and men did come in [and enlist] upon that invitation; — and did thereby think themselves not to be mercenary men, but men who had wives and children in the Nation, and [who] therefore might a little look after satisfaction in what would be the Issue of the Business! [*They told us always, We were Soldiers, sworn as our first duty to obey; but we answered (and it was intrinsically a fact), We were the most peculiar Soldiers that had ever handled steel in England; whereby our first, and also our second and third, duties had become modified a good deal!*]

"And when this thing was thus pressed, and perhaps overpressed [by us], That a period might be put, and some ascertainment made, and a time fixed, — why then truly the extreme ran another way. [*Parliament would not go at all*, that had been the one extreme; *Parliament shall go straightway*, that was now the other.] This is very true that I tell you; although it shame me. [Extremes give rise to their

[1] The "Rota *Club*" (see Wood, iv. 1119, 1120, § Harrington) had not started in 1653; but this doctrine, it would seem, was already afloat; — not much patronized by his Highness at any time.

opposite extremes; and are honorable to nobody!] I do not say it shames all that were of the House, for I know all were not of that mind; but truly when this was urged, they on their side did fall into another extreme. And what was that? Why, truly, then it was: Seeing this Parliament could not be perpetual, yet *a* Parliament might always be sitting. And to that end there was a Bill framed, That Parliaments might always be sitting; that as soon as one Parliament went out of place, another might leap in.[1] When we saw this, truly we thought it did but make a change in pretence; and did not remedy the thing! — However, it was pursued with such heat [in the House], I dare say there was more progress in it in a month than had ever been with the like business in four; [so eager were they] to hasten it to an issue, to get such a Parliament brought in: — to bring the state of the Nation into this, *A continual sitting of Parliament.*

"We did think, who were plain men, and I do think it still, That that had been, according to the old foolish proverb, 'out of the frying-pan into the fire!' For, looking at the Government you would then have had, it was [still] a 'Commonwealth's' Government. [*Not entirely the Ideal of a Government, your Highness thinks?*] Why, we should have had fine work then! We should have had a Council of State, and a Parliament of four hundred men, executing arbitrary government [*As the Long Parliament did*] without intermission, except some change of a part of them; one Parliament stepping into the seat of another, just left warm for them; the same day that the one left, the other was to leap in! — Truly I did think,

[1] This arrangement, of a Parliament constantly sitting, his Highness and the company of poor men did by no means consider a good "Issue of the Business." It leads almost infallibly to "arbitrariness," argues his Highness (Speech III., vol. xviii. p. 428), leads to &c. &c. — in fact, as in these days of ours is everywhere becoming too apparent, leads to "Nothing," to Self-cancelment (like that of the Kilkenny Cats) and peaceable *Zero*. Which in very few epochs of the world's history is the desirable thing! His Highness's logic-arguments, here and in his other Speech, are none of the best; but instincts and inarticulate insights much deeper than logic taught him well that "a Parliament always sitting" was not the Balm of Gilead we had all been *fighting for*.

and I do think, however much some are enamoured with that kind of Government — [*Style getting hasty, hot; the Sentence breaks*] — Why it was no more but this, That Committees of Parliament should take [all] upon them, and be instead of the Courts at Westminster! Perhaps some will think there had been no hurt in that arbitrariness of Committees? Where a man can neither come to prove nor to defend, — nor to know his judges; because there are one set of men who judge him to-day, and another set of men to-morrow! Thus was to have been the Law of England; and thus was to have been the way of judging this Nation. And truly I thought that it was an ill way of 'judging.' For I may say to you, with truth in regard to that, After it pleased God, your poor Army, those poor contemptible men, came up hither, — it did prove so. An outcry here in this place [then an outcry there in that], to get some cause determined and judged. [*The way of Parliaments, your Highness, with their caballings and committeeings, and futile jargonings, and Babel outbabbled!*] And Committees erected to fetch men from the extremest parts of the Nation to London, to attend Committees [set] to determine all things. And without any manner of satisfaction. Whether a man travel with never such right or never such wrong, he must come, — and he must go back again, as wise as he came. This truly was the case [*Fancy an old Ironside who had stood Dunbar and Worcester, and Marston and Naseby, dancing attendance here!*], and our condition. And truly I must needs say, Take all that was in the practices there — [*Better not, your Highness!*], — I am sorry to tell the story of it! — Though there was indeed some necessity for such a thing. A necessity for some Committees to look to Indemnity [and such like]; but no necessity for Committees instead of Courts of Justice! However, so it was; and this was the case of the People of England at that time; the Parliament assuming to itself the authority of the *Three* Estates that were before. It had so assumed that authority: and if any man had come and said, 'What rules do you judge by?' — 'Why, we have none! We are supreme [we] in Legislature and Judicature!' —

"Such was the state of the case. And I thought, and we

thought, and I think so still, That this was a pitiful remedy, [this that they proposed. — *This of a Perpetual Parliament,* NEW-DARNED, *like Sir John's Perpetual Pair of Stockings: — a bad article in itself, whether new or new-darned, if you make it the exclusive one!*] And it will always be so when and whensoever a Perpetual Legislative is exercised; where the Legislative and Executive Powers are always the same. — Truly I think the Legislature might almost as well be in the Four Courts of Westminster Hall! If they could make Laws and Judges too, you would have excellent Laws; and the Lawyers would be able to give excellent counsel! And so it was then. This was our condition, without scruple or doubt; and I shall say no more to it. But the offer was made by us with a true and honest spirit; the desire, the entreaty that we might have a Settlement. And there is our 'Settlement;' that is what they propose for a Settlement! —

"It was desired then, it was offered and desired, that the Parliament would be pleased, either of their own body or of any else, to choose a certain number of men [*The Puritan Notables; ah yes!*] to settle the Nation: 'This,' said we, 'is unsettlement, this is confusion!' For, give me leave, if anybody now have the face to say, — and I would die upon this — [*Sentence catching fire*] — if any man in England have the impudence [*Ah!*] or face to say, That the reluctance of the Parliament to dissolve themselves was their fear of hasty throwing of the Liberties of the People of God, and of the Nation, into the hands of a bare Representative of the People, — which was then the business *we* opposed: if any man have the face to say this *now*, who did *then* judge it [that last measure of theirs], and I will say more, ought then to have judged it, to be a confounding of the whole Cause we had fought for, — which it was, — I would look upon that man's face! I would be glad to see such a man![1] I do not say there is

[1] A dangerous spectator, your Highness, with that thundery countenance of yours! — His Highness's anger is exceedingly clear; but the cause of it, in this intricate sentence, much more in the distracted coagulum of jargon which the original here offers, is by no means so clear. On intense inspection, he discovers *himself to* be (as above) reproaching certain parties who now

any such here: but if any such should come to me, see if I would not look upon him, and tell him he is an hypocrite! I dare say it, and I dare die for it [he is an hypocrite]; — knowing the spirit that hath been in some men to me. They come and tell me, They do not like my being Protector. Why do you not? — 'Why, because you will exercise arbitrary government.' — Why, what is it you want me to do? — 'Pray, turn those Gentlemen [of the Long Parliament] all in again; then we will like you exceedingly well!' — [*Inarticulate interjection; snort or "Humph!"*] — I was a child in swaddling clouts![1] I cannot go beyond the Instrument of Government. I cannot do anything but in co-ordination with the Council. They fear [these objectors]: 'arbitrary government' by *me* in that way; but if arbitrary government were restored to be general [by reinstatement of the Long Parliament], then they are not afraid of it! Such things as these are, such hypocrisies as these are, should they enter into the heart of any man that hath truth or honesty in him? —

"Truly that was our case: — and finding our case to be thus, we did press the Parliament, as I told you, That they would be pleased to select some Worthy Persons who had loved this Cause, and the liberties of England, and the interest of England: and we told them we would acquiesce, and lie at *their* [the Worthy Persons'] feet; but that to be thrown into Parliaments which should sit perpetually, though but for three years [each], we had experience of that! An experience which may remain to this day, to give satisfaction to honest and sober men! — Why, truly this might have satisfied, this proposal of ours; but it did not. And therefore we did think that it was the greatest of dangers, [thus] to be overwhelmed, and brought under a slavery by our own consent, and 'Iniquity to become a

affect to regret the Long Parliament, which while it existed they had been sufficiently loud in condemning. You say: "They were afraid to fling the whole Cause into the lottery of a general Parliament:" — *They?* while *we* opposed that; and while that was the very thing they at last were recklessly doing! I should like to see the face of a man brazen enough for a story *like this!*

[1] So tied up with restrictions in that first Instrument; had not the smallest power to do "arbitrary government."

Law.'[1] And there was our ground we acted upon at that time. And truly they had perfected their Bill for perpetuating of Parliaments to the last Clause [*Hear!*]; and were resolved to pass it as a Bill in Paper [not even engrossed on Parchment as the wont was], rather than comply with any expedient. [*We then entered upon them; bade them with emphasis, Go about their business! That 's no lie!*] — If your own experience add anything to you in this, [if you ever individually had to do with a Long-Parliament Committee, and know its ways,] — in this point, 'Whether or no, in cases civil and criminal, if a Parliament assume an absolute power, without any control, to determine the interests of men in property and liberty; whether or no *this* be desirable in a Nation?' — if you have any sense ["*General openness of perception;*" *not exactly our modern word; but a questionable expression, as his Highness immediately sees:* "*any sense*"], — as I believe you have, — you have more than I, — [then] I think you will take it for a mercy that *that* did not befall England at that time! And that is all I will say of it.

"Truly I will now come and tell you a story of my own weakness and folly. [*The Little Parliament.*] And yet it was done in my simplicity, I dare avow it was: and though some of my companions — ["*May dislike my mentioning the story?*" — *The Sentence, in its haste, has no time to* END.] — And truly this is a story that should not be recorded, that should not be told, except when good use may be made of it. I say, It was thought then that men of our own judgment, who had fought in the Wars, and were all of a piece upon that account; — [it was thought,] 'Why surely these men will hit it, and these

[1] "The Throne of Iniquity, which frameth mischief by a *Law*" (Psalm xciv. 20). A fearful state of matters; shadowed forth by old Prophets as the fearfulest of all; but entirely got rid of in these modern days, — if Dryasdust and the general course of *new* Prophecy may be credited, to whom Law *is* Equity, and the mere want of "Law," with its three readings, and tanned pieces of sheepskin written over in bad English, is Iniquity. — O Dryasdust, thy works in this world are wonderful. Thy notions of this world, thy ideas, what thou namest ideas, perhaps defy all ages, even ages when Witchcraft was believed in, — or when human creatures worshipped Leeks, and considered that the Founder of this Universe was one Apis, a sacred Prize Ox! I begin to be weary of thee.

men will do it to the purpose, whatever can be desired!' And truly we did think, and I did think so, — the more blame to me. And such a Company of Men were chosen [*The Little Parliament; — Convention of the Puritan Notables*]; and did proceed to action. And truly this was the naked truth, That the issue was not answerable to the simplicity and honesty of the design. [*Poor Puritan Notables!*]

"What the issue of that Meeting would have been [seemed questionable], and was feared: upon which the sober men of that Meeting did withdraw; and came and returned my power as far as they could, — they did actually the greater part of them, — into my hands; professing and believing that the issue of that Meeting would have been The subversion of your Laws and of all the Liberties of this Nation, the destruction of the Ministers of this Nation; in a word, the confusion of all things. [Confusion of all things!] To set up, instead of Order, the Judicial Law of Moses, in abrogation of all our administrations; to have had administered the Judicial Law of Moses *pro hic et nunc*, according to the wisdom of any man that would have interpreted the Text this way or that — ! And if you do not believe that these Persons [thereupon sent home] were sent home by the major part [of themselves], who were judicious and sober and learned (the minority being the worser part upon this account), and with my consent *a parte post*, — you will believe nothing! [*Somewhat tart.*] For the persons that led in that Meeting were Mr. Feak and his Assemblage in Blackfriars. [*We know "Feak," and other foul chimneys on fire, from of old! As for "Mr. Squib," he sits now with Venner and the Fifth-Monarchy, safe locked in the Tower.* — Mr. Feak] Major-General Harrison, and the rest that associated with him at one Mr. Squib's house. There were all the resolutions taken that were acted in that House [of Parliament] day by day. And this was so *de facto;* I know it to be true. And that such must naturally be the product of it, I do but appeal to that Book I told you of the other day ["*Standard set up*"], That all Magistracy and Ministry is Anti-*christian*, wherefore all these things ought to be abolished. *Which* we are certain must have been the issue of that

Meeting. [*A failure, that poor Convention of the Puritan Notables!*]

"So that you have been delivered, if I think aright, from two evils. The *one*, a secular evil, which would have swallowed up all religious and civil interest, and brought us under the horridest arbitrariness that ever was exercised in the world: To have had five or six hundred 'Friends,'[1] with *their* friends [the Feaks &c.], intrusted with the judgment of all causes, and to judge of them without rule; thinking that 'the Power which swallowed up all other Lawful Powers in the Nation' hath all the power *they* ever had, both Legislative and Judiciary! In short, a thing which would have swallowed both the Civil and Religious Interest. And the *other* evil — [*His Highness has already inextricably caudled the two together, and here merely gives them another stir*] — merely under a Spiritual Interest, would have swallowed up all again in another extreme [no stated Ministry being allowed]. All our Civil and Religious Interest; and had made our Ministry, and all the things we were beholding to God for [of no account]! Truly we think we ought to value *this* Interest above all the interests in the world: but if this latter had not as surely been destroyed as the former, I understand nothing. —

"And having told you these two things [two Failures in getting Settlement], — truly it makes me in love with this Paper; and with all the things in it; and with the additions I have now to tender you thereto; and with *Settlement* above all things in the world! — Except [only] that, where I left you last time ["*The Kingship!*" *Committee of Ninety-nine look alert*]; — for that, I think, we have debated. [*Look dumpish again.*] I have heard your mind, and you have heard mine [as to that]; I have told you my heart and judgment; and the Lord bring forth His own issue. [*His Highness produces the Engrossed Vellum.*]

"I think we are now to consider, not what we are in regard to our Footing and that of the Government which called this

[1] The name of Quakers already budding in 1653, — now, in 1657, budded and blown.

Parliament. [*No: our First foolish Parliament spent all their time on that; not you, my wiser Friends.*] Our Footing and Government is, till there be an end put to it, — that that hath existence! [*What other definition of it can be given, or need?*] And so I shall say nothing to *it*. If it accomplisheth the end of our Fighting, and all those blessed ends and aims that we should aim at; if it do, — I would we might keep it, and remain where we are. If it do not, I would we might have a better! — Which[1] truly I do come out of myself to tell you, That as to the substance and body of your Instrument, I do look upon it as having things in it, — if I may speak freely and plainly; I may, and we all may! — I say, the things that are provided for in this [Act of] Government [*Handling the Vellum*] do secure the Liberties of the People of God so as they never before had them! And he must be a pitiful man who thinks the People of God ever had the like Liberty either *de facto* or *de jure*; — *de jure* from God, I think they have had it from the beginning of the world to this day, and have it still, — but asserted by a *jus humanum* I say, they never had it so as they have it now. I think you have provided for the Liberty of the People of God, and [for the Liberty] of the Nation. And I say he sings sweetly that sings a song of reconciliation betwixt those two Interests! And it is a pitiful fancy, like wisdom and ignorance, to think they are *in*consistent. Certainly they may consist! And, I speak my conscience of this [Act of] Government, I think you have made them to consist.

"And therefore, I must say, in that, and in other things, you have provided well, — that you have. And because I see the Rule of the Parliament [your written Order here] gives you leave to speak with me about the particulars (I judge the Parliament doth think that any Member it has is not to be neglected in offering of anything that may be of additional good,) — therefore, I having a little surveyed the Instrument, I have a Paper here to offer you upon that account. [*Handles a Paper of his own.*] And truly I must needs say and think that, in such a case as this, where so new a work and

[1] Ungrammatical, but unalterable. Means "On which [head]."

so strange a work as this is before you, it will not be thought ill [*Not at all, your Highness, — only get on!*] if I do with a little earnestness press you for some explanations in some things. [A few explanations] that may help to complete the business, and leave me — (for it is only handled with *me* [and for *my* behoof] at this time, not with you and the Parliament whom you represent): — I say, I would be glad that you might leave me, and all opposers, without excuse; as well as glad that you should settle this Nation to the uttermost advantage for it; — in all the things I have to offer you. They are not very weighty; they may tend to the completion of the business; and therefore I shall take the freedom to read them to you.

[First, however, this Editor, with your Highness's leave, will read to the Moderns a certain excerpt or abstract from the Engrossed Vellum itself, which he has obtained sight of,[1] that they also may understand what your Highness will animadvert upon. Let the Moderns pay what attention they can.

"*Article Fourth* of the Petition and Advice is taken up with describing who are to be Electors to Parliament, and Eligibles, — or rather who not; for it is understood that, except the classes of persons here specified, all who had such a privilege by the old Laws are still entitled to vote and to be voted for.

"The Classes excluded from electing or being elected are the following: —

"1. All who have been concerned in the rebellion of Ireland; or who, with or without concern in said Rebellion, are or shall become Papists. — All who have advised, abetted or assisted in any War against the Parliament since the First of January, 1641–2, — unless they have since given signal proofs of repentance, by bearing arms *for* the Parliament, — or in some other 'signal' manner, difficult to define. The defining of which has occasioned great debates in Parliament.[2] This excludes all the English and other Malignants. — All who have

[1] Whitlocke, p. 648 et seqq.; *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 129 et seqq.

[2] *Burton's Diary.*

ever been engaged in any Plot against the Person of his Highness; or, apart from that, have been engaged in any Insurrection in England or Wales 'since 16th December, 1653,' beginning of the Protectorate.

"2. In Scotland all who have been in arms against the Parliament of England or the Parliament of Scotland before the First of April, 1648. This excludes the Montrose Party and Royalists Proper of Scotland, — except such as have given 'signal' &c. But then follows this clause in favor of the Hamilton Engagers, and the Dunbar and Worcester people, which attracts his Highness's animadversion in the present Discourse: 'Nor any' (shall elect or be elected) 'who *since* the First of April, 1648, have been in arms, or otherwise aided, abetted' &c. (which excludes all the Preston, and all the Dunbar and Worcester people; with, however, a most *important* exception) — 'except such as since the First day of March, 1651–2, have *lived peaceably*,' — as they might *all* very well do, having been all smashed to powder six months before, at Worcester Fight, and their 'Chief Malignant,' whom they had set up as King, being now sent on his travels, somewhat in the style of a King of the Gypsies!" His Highness cannot but animadvert on this with some tartness.

With these exceptions, and one "proviso for Ireland" to be speedily noticed, all Freeholders of Counties, according to the old definition, shall vote; and all Burgesses and Citizens of Towns, — nay, I think, there is in this latter department a tendency towards the *Potwalloper* System; but modified of course by the established custom of each several locality in that respect.

And now let us hear his Highness in regard to Paragraph Second of Article Fourth:]

"In the Fourth Article and Second Paragraph, you have something that respects the calling of Members to Parliament [for Scotland]. You would not have those excluded that were under Duke Hamilton, and made that Invasion.[1] Because it — *hath* been said to you, perhaps, that if you should exclude all —

[1] Which met its due at Preston.

[such], you would have no Members from that Nation? I hope there be persons of that Nation who will be ready to give a better testimony of their country than admit that argument! And I hope it is no argument: but if it be one, then truly, to meet with the least certainty as to qualifications, you should indeed exclude men of your own country upon better [defined] crimes; you should hold them off upon stricter characters [than those given]! It is thought, the qualification there which saith, of their 'good testimony,' That they are to be men who have given good testimony by their quiet living — Why, truly, for divers years, they have not been willing to do other; they have not had an easy possibility to do otherwise, than to live quietly! [*Not since the taming they got at Worcester, your Highness!*] Though perhaps [at bottom] many of them have been the same men: — and yet [certainly too] I know many of them are good men, worthy men. — And therefore whether it be not fit, in that place, to explain somewhat farther, and put some other character[1] upon what may really be regarded as 'a good testimony' of their *being* otherwise minded, of their *being* now of another judgment? I confess I have not anything here to supply this defect with: but certainly if the description so stand as it now is in your Article, — those men, though they be never so indisposed, enemies and remain so, yet if they have 'lived peaceably,' where they could neither will nor choose [to live otherwise], they are to be admitted. I only tell you so, being without any amendment for it; and when done, I shall leave it all with yourselves. This is for the Second Paragraph.

[For the Second Paragraph his Highness is "without any amendment" of his own; offers us nothing to "supply the defect:" indeed it is difficult to supply well, as that Nation stands and has stood. Besides they send but Fifty Members in all, poor creatures; it is no such vital matter! Paragraph Second remains *un*altered. — And now let the Moderns attend for an instant to Paragraph Third: —

"*Article Fourth*, Paragraph Third: A proviso as to Ireland,

[1] description.

'that no English or Scotch Protestant in Ireland who before the First of March, 1649–50' (just about the time his now Highness, then Lord General, was quitting Ireland, having entirely demolished all chance of opposition there) 'have borne arms *for* the Parliament or your Highness, or otherwise given signal testimony' &c. 'shall be excluded.'" This also to his Highness seems worthy of animadversion.]

"In the Third Paragraph of the same Article, whereas it is said, 'That all persons in Ireland be made capable to elect or to be elected who, before the First of March, 1649, have borne arms for the Parliament, or otherwise given testimony of their good affections to the Parliament and continued faithful *to the Parliament:*'—and yet perhaps many of them are since revolted [against us]!—Whether it be not necessary that this be more clearly expressed? For it seems to capacitate all those who revolted from the Parliament;[1] if they have borne arms for the State before the First of March, 1649, it seems to restore them. But if *since* then they have revolted, as I doubt many of our English-Irish have done, why then the question is, Whether those men who lately[2] have been angry and have flown to arms; Whether you will think their having borne arms formerly on the Parliament's side shall be an exemption to them? This is but tendered to you, for some worthy person here to give an answer unto?

[Very rational and irrefragable. It is accordingly altered: "Signal testimony of their good affection to the *Commonwealth or your Highness, and continued*" &c.—And now let us look at Paragraph Fifth; concerning the last item of which his Highness has a word to say:—

"*Article Fourth*, Paragraph Fifth. All who are atheistical, blasphemous, 'married to Popish wives,' who train or shall train any child to be Popish, or consent that a son or daughter of theirs shall marry a Papist;—who are scoffers of religion, or can be proved to have scoffed any one for being

[1] The Ormond Royalists almost all;—Malignant enough many of them in late years.

religious; who deny the Scriptures to be God's Word; who deny Sacraments, Ministry or Magistracy to be ordinances of God (Harrison's set); who are Sabbath-breakers, swearers, haunters of taverns or alehouses; — in short demonstrably unchristian men. All who are Public Preachers too." Concerning this latter clause his Highness has a remark to make.

"Following in the rear of which, in the same Fifth Paragraph, is a new Item which still more deserves consideration. For securing the 'Freedom of Parliament' as well as its Purity, there are to be Forty-one Commissioners appointed 'by Act of Parliament with your Highness's consent,' who are to examine and certify whether the Persons returned by these rules are, after all, qualified to sit." — So that it is not to be by the Council of State henceforth, and by "Nathaniel Tayler, Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery," with his *Certificate* in the Lobby, that Honorable Gentlemen are to be turned back at the door of the House, and sent to redact *Protests*, as in the case of this present Parliament! Forty-one Commissioners are now to do it. His Highness on this also will have a word to say.]

"In the Fifth Paragraph of the same Article, you have incapacitated Public Preachers from sitting in Parliament. And truly I think your intention is [of] such [only] as have Pastoral Function; such as are actually real Ministers. For I must say to you, in behalf of our Army, — in the next place to their fighting, *they* have been very good 'Preachers:' and I should be sorry they should be excluded from serving the Commonwealth because they have been accustomed to 'preach' to their troops, companies and regiments: — which I think has been one of the blessings upon them to the carrying on of the great Work. I think you do not mean so [that they should be excluded]: but I tender it to you that, if you think fit, there may be a consideration had of it. There may be some of us, it may be, who have been a little guilty of that, who would be loath to be excluded from sitting in Parliament [on account of it! — "*I myself have been known, on occasion, to exhort my troops with Bible texts and considerations*;

to 'preach,' if you like to call it so! What has my whole Life been but a 'Sermon' of some emphasis; preached with tongue and sword, with head and heart and right hand, and soul and body and breeches-pocket, — not without results, one would venture to hope!" — This Clause, the Committee, expressly or tacitly, will modify as desired.]

"In the same Paragraph, there is care taken for the nominating of Commissioners to *try* the Members who are chosen to sit in Parliament. And truly those Commissioners are uncertain Persons; and it is hard to say what may happen. I hope they will be always good men; — but if they should be bad, then perhaps they will keep out good men! Besides we think, — truly, if you will give us leave to help as to the 'freedom of Parliament,' this [of the Commissioners] will be something that may go rather harshly down than otherwise! Very many reasons might be given; but I do only tender it to you. I think, if there were *no* Commissioners, it might be never a whit the worse: — if you make qualifications [for Membership], and any man presume to sit without those qualifications, you may deal with him. A man without qualifications, sitting there, is as if he were not chosen; and if he sit without being *chosen*, without having qualification, — I am sure the old custom was to send him to the Tower [*That will settle him!*], to imprison such a one! If any sit there that have not right to sit, — if any stranger come in upon a pretended title of *election*, perhaps it is a different case, — but if any sit there upon a pretence of *qualification* in him, you may send *him* to prison without more ado. Whether you think fit to do so or no, is parliamentary business: — I do but hint it to you. I believe, If any man had sat in former Parliaments without [for instance] taking the oaths &c. that were prescribed, it would have been fault enough in him. I believe something of that kind [instead of your Forty-one Commissioners] might be equivalent to any other way, if not better.

[The Honorable House does not want any more concern with Nathaniel Tayler and his Certificates. This Paragraph

remains unaltered. Forty-one Commissioners, Fifteen a quorum; future Parliaments to name a future set when they like: the Examinations as to Members are to be by oath of informer in writing, with copies left &c., and rigorous enough formalities. — Let us now glance at Article Fifth: —

"*Article Fifth* relates to the 'Other House;' a new House of Lords we are getting up. Not more than Seventy of them, not fewer than Forty: they are to be nominated by your Highness and approved by this House: all classes excluded by the preceding Article from our body are of course excluded from theirs." His Highness has a remark to make on this also.]

"In that Article, which I think is the Fifth Article [*Yes*], which concerns the Nomination of the Other House, — in the beginning of that Article it stands, That the House is to be nominated as you there design it,[1] and the approbation is to be from This House, — I would say, from the Parliament. It stands so. But then now, if any shall be subsequently named, after the Other House *is sat*, upon any accidental removal or death, — you do not say [How]. Though it seems to refer to the same [rule] as the first [original] selection doth; yet it doth not so clearly intimate this, That the nomination shall be, where it was, with the Chief Officer,[2] and the approbation of the 'Other House.' If I do express clearly what you — Pardon me: but I think that is the aim of it; and it is not clearly expressed there; — as I think you will be able to judge whether it be or no.

[Article Fifth ruled as his Highness wishes. And now take Article Seventh: —

"*Article Seventh* promises, but does not say how, that there shall be a yearly Revenue of £1,300,000; one million for Navy and Army, £300,000 for the support of the Government. No part of it by a Land-tax. Other temporary supplies to be granted by the Commons in Parliament, — and neither this

[1] "as you there design it;" polite for "by me."

[2] Cannot say "me."

Revenue nor any other charge whatever to be laid upon the subject except according to the Parliament's direction and sanction." Such yearly Revenue the Parliament promises in this Petition and Advice, but does not specify in what way it shall be raised: which omission also his Highness fails not to comment on.]

"In the Seventh Article, which concerns the Revenue, that is, the Revenue which you have appointed for the Government; wherein you have distributed three hundred thousand pounds of it to the Maintenance of the Civil Authority and one million to the Maintenance of your Forces by Sea and Land: — you have indeed in your Instrument said so, [that there shall be such a Revenue,] and we cannot doubt of it: but yet you have not made it certain; nor yet those 'temporary supplies' which are intended for the peace and safety of the Nations. It is desired, That you will take this into your thoughts, and make the general and temporary allowances of Revenue *certain* both as to the sum and to the times those 'supplies' are to be continued. [*Let us know what ground we stand on.*] And truly I hope I do not curry favor with you: but another thing is desired, and I may very reasonably desire it, That these moneys, whatever they are; — that they may not, if God shall bring me to any interest in this business [1] as lieth at His disposal; — that these moneys [I say] may *not* be issued out by the authority of the Chief Magistrate, but by the advice of his Council. You have made in your Instrument a co-ordination [of Council and Chief Magistrate] in general terms: [but I could wish] that this might be a specified thing, That the moneys were not to be distributed [except by authority of both]. It will be a safety to whosoever is your Supreme Magistrate, as well as a security to the Public, That the moneys be issued out by advice of the Council, and that the Treasurers who receive these moneys be accountable every Parliament, within a certain time limited by yourselves; — [that] every new Parliament, the Treasurer be accountable to the Parliament for the disposing of the Treasury.

[1] If I live, and continue to govern.

[*"Article Ninth:* Judges, Principal Officers of State, Commanders-in-chief by Sea or Land, all chief Officers civil and military, 'are to be approved of by both Houses of Parliament.'"]

"There is mention made of the Judges in your Ninth Article. It is mentioned that the Officers of State and the Judges are to be chosen with the approbation of Parliament. But now if there be no Parliament sitting, should there be never so great a loss of Judges, it cannot be supplied. And whether you do not intend that, in the intervals of Parliament, it should be by the choice — [*Omit "of the Chief Magistrate," or politely mumble it into indistinctness*], — with the consent of the Council; to be *afterwards* approved by Parliament?

[Certainly, your Highness; reason so requires it. Be it tacitly so ruled. — And now for Article Twelfth: —

"*Article Twelfth* (Let us still call it Article *Twelfth*, though in the ultimate Redaction it has come to be marked *Thirteenth*): — Classes of persons incapable of holding any office. Same, I think, as those excluded from elections, — only there is no penalty annexed. His Highness makes some remarks upon this, under the Title of 'Article Twelfth;' — a new article introduced for securing Purchasers of Church Lands, which is now Article Twelfth,[1] has probably pushed this into the Thirteenth place."]

"The Twelfth Article relates to several qualifications that persons must be qualified with, who are put into places of Public Office and Trust. [*Treats all of* DISqualifications, *your Highness; which, however, comes to the same thing.*] Now if men shall step into Public Places and Trust who are not so qualified, [I do not see but hereby still] they may execute them. 'Office of Trust' is a very large word; it goeth almost to a Constable, if not altogether; — it goeth far. Now if any shall come in who are not so qualified, they certainly do commit a breach upon your rule: — and whether you will not

[1] Whitlocke, p. 659.

think in this case that if any shall take upon him an Office of Trust, there shall not some *Penalty* be put upon him, where he is excepted by the general rule? Whether you will not think it fit in that respect to deter men from accepting Offices and Places of Trust, contrary to that Article?

[Nothing done in this. The "Penalty," vague in outline, but all the more terrible on that account, can be sued for by any complainant in Westminster Hall.

"*Article Thirteenth* suddenly provides that your Highness will be pleased to consent that 'Nothing in this Petition and Advice, or the assent thereto, shall be construed to extend to — the dissolving of this present Parliament!'" — "Oh, no!" answers his Highness in a kind of bantering way; "not in the least!"]

"The next [Article] is fetched, in some respects, I may say, by head and shoulders into your Instrument! Yet in some sense it hath an affinity [with the rest, too]; I may say, I think it is within your general scope[1] upon this account; — [yes,] I am sure of it: There is mention made in the last parts of your Instrument [*Looking in the Paper; Article Eighteenth*] of your purpose to do many good things: — I am confident, *not* like the gentleman who made his last will, and set down a great number of names of men who were to receive benefit by him, and there was no sum at the latter end! [*"You cannot do these 'many good things' if I dissolve you! That will be a Will, with many beneficiary legatees, and no sum mentioned at the end!" His Highness wears a pleasant bantering look; — to which the countenances of the others, even Bulstrode's leaden countenance, respond by a kind of smile.*]

"I am confident you are resolved to deal effectually in these things at the latter end; and I should wrong my own conscience if I thought otherwise. I hope you *will* think sincerely, as before God, 'That the Laws be regulated.'[2] I hope you will. We have been often talking of them: — and I remember

[1] "order" in orig.

[2] One of their concluding promises (Article Eighteenth).

well, at the old Parliament [*Whitlocke and Glynn look intelligence*], we were three months, and could not get over the word 'Incumbrances' [*Hum-m-m!*]: and we thought there was little hope of 'regulating the Law' where there was such difficulty as to that. But surely the Laws need to be regulated! And I must needs say, I think it were a sacrifice acceptable to God, upon many accounts. And I am persuaded it is one of the things that God looks for, and would have. [*Alas, your Highness!*]—I confess, if any man should ask me, 'Why, how would you have it done?' I confess I do not know How. But I think verily, at the least, the Delays in Suits, and the Excessiveness in Fees, and the Costliness of Suits, and those various things which I do not know what names they bear—I heard talk of 'Demurrers' and such like things, which I scarce know—[*Sentence is wrecked*]!—But I say certainly, The people are greatly suffering in this respect; they are so. And truly if this whole business of Settlement, whatever be the issue of it, if it come, which I am persuaded it doth, as a thing that would please God;—[then] by a sacrifice [to God] in it, or rather as an expression of our thankfulness to God, I am persuaded that *this* will be one thing that will be upon your hearts, to do something that is honorable and effectual in this. ["*Reforming of the Law!*" *Alas, your Highness!*]—

"[Another thing] that—truly I say that it is not in your Instrument—[*Nothing said of it there, which partly embarrasses his Highness; who is now getting into a small Digression*]!—Somewhat that relates to the Reformation of Manners,—you will pardon me!—My Fellow Soldiers [the Major-Generals], who were raised up upon that just occasion of the Insurrection, not only 'to secure the Peace of the Nation,' but to see that persons who were least likely to help on 'peace' or to continue it, but rather to break it—["*These Major-Generals, I say, did look after the restraining of such persons; suppressed their horse-racings, cock-fightings, sinful roysterings; took some charge of* REFORMATION OF MANNERS, *they:*"—*but his Highness is off else-whither, excited by this "tickle subject," and the Sentence has evaporated*]—Dissolute loose persons that can go up and down *from house to house*,—and they are Gentlemen's sons

who have nothing to live on, and cannot be supplied with means of living to the profit of the Commonwealth: these I think had a good course taken with them. [*Ordered to fly away their gamecocks, unmuzzle their bear-baitings; fall to some regular livelihood, some fixed habitat, if they could, — and, on the whole, to duck low, keep remarkably quiet, and give no rational man any trouble with them which could be avoided!*] And I think what was done to them was honorably and honestly and profitably done. And, for my part, I must needs say, It[1] showed the dissoluteness which was then in the Nation; — as indeed it springs most from that Party of the Cavaliers! Should that Party run on, and no care be taken to reform the Nation; to prevent, perhaps, abuses which will not fall under *this* head alone — ! [*Not under Reformation of* MANNERS *alone: what will the consequence be?*]

"We send our children into France before they know God or Good Manners;[2] and they return with all the licentiousness of that Nation. Neither care taken to educate them before they go, nor to keep them in good order when they come home! Indeed, this makes the Nation not only commit those abominable things, most inhuman things, but hardens men to justify those things; — as the Apostle saith, 'Not only to do wickedly themselves, but to take pleasure in them that do so.' And truly, if something be not done in this kind [in the way of reforming public morals] without sparing that condition of men, without sparing men's sons, though they be Noblemen's sons — ! [*Sentence breaks down*] — Let them be who they may that are deboist, it is for the glory of God that nothing of outward consideration should save them in their debauchery from a just punishment and reformation! And truly I must needs say it, I would much bless God to see something done in that matter heartily, not only as to those persons mentioned, but to all the Nation; that some course might be taken for Reformation; that there might be some stop put to such a current of wickedness and evil as this is! And truly,

[1] The course taken with them, the quantity of coercion they needed, and of complaint made thereupon, are all loosely included in this "It."

[2] Morals.

to do it heartily, and nobly and worthily! The Nobility of this Nation, they especially, and the Gentry, would have cause to bless you. And likewise that some care might be taken that those good Laws already made for punishing of vice might be put in execution.

"This I must needs say of our Major-Generals who did that service: I think it was an excellent good thing;—I profess I do! [*Yes; though there were great outcries about it.*] And I hope you will not think it unworthy of you, [to consider] that though we may have good Laws against the common Country disorders that are everywhere, yet Who is to execute them [now, the Major-Generals being off]? Really a Justice of the Peace,—he shall by the most be wondered at as an owl, if he go but one step out of the ordinary course of his fellow Justices in the reformation of these things! [*Cannot do it; not he.*] And therefore I hope I may represent this to you as a thing worthy your consideration, that something may be found out to repress such evils. I am persuaded you would glorify God by this as much as by any one thing you could do. And therefore I hope you will pardon me.

[His Highness looks to the Paper again, after this Digression. *Article Fifteenth* in his Highness's copy of the Paper, as we understand, must have provided, "That no part of the Public Revenue be alienated except by consent of Parliament:" but his Highness having thus remonstrated against it, the Article is suppressed, expunged; and we only gather by this passage that such a thing had ever been.]

"I cannot tell, in this Article that I am now to speak unto, whether I speak to anything or nothing! There is a desire that [no part of] 'the Public Revenue be alienated except by consent of Parliament.' I doubt 'Public Revenue' is like '*Custodes Libertatis Anglicæ;*' a notion only; and not to be *found* that I know of! [*It is all alienated; Crown Lands &c. are all gone, long ago. A beautiful dream of our youth, as the "Keepers of the* LIBERTY *of England" were—a thing you could nowhere lay hands on, that I know of!*] But if there

be any, — and if God bless us in our Settlement, there will be Public Revenue accruing, — the point is, Whether you will subject this to any alienation without consent of Parliament?

[We withdraw the question altogether, your Highness: when once the chickens are *hatched*, we will speak of selling them! — Let us now read Article Sixteenth: —

"*Article Sixteenth*," in his Highness's copy of the Paper, "provides that no Act or Ordinance already extant, which is not contrary to this Petition and Advice, shall be in the least made void hereby." — His Highness, as we shall see, considers this as too indefinite, too indistinct; a somewhat vague foundation for Church-Land Estates (for example), which men purchased with money, but hold only in virtue of Writs and Ordinances issued by the Long Parliament. — A new Article is accordingly added, in our Perfect-copy; specifying, at due breadth, with some hundreds of Law-vocables, that all is and shall be safe, according to the common sense of mankind, in that particular.]

"Truly this thing that I have now farther to offer you, — it is the last in this Paper; it is the thing mentioned in the Sixteenth Article: That you would have those Acts and Ordinances which have been made since the late Troubles, and during the time of them [kept unabrogated]; that they should, if they be not contrary to this Advice,[1] — that they should remain in force, in such manner as if this Advice had not been given. Why, what is doubted is, Whether or no this will be sufficient to keep things in a settled condition?[2] Because it is but an implication [that you here make]; it is not determined. You do pass by the thing, without such a foundation as will keep those people, who are now in possession of Estates upon this account, that their titles be not questioned or shaken, — if the matter be not explained. Truly I believe you intend very fully in regard to this [of keeping men safe who have

[1] *Petition* and Advice; but we politely suppress the former part of the name

[2] *It* was long debated; see Burton.

purchased on that footing]. If the words already [used] do not suffice — That I submit to your own advisement.

"But there is in this another very great consideration. There have been, since the present Government [began], several Acts and Ordinances, which have been made by the exercise of that Legislative Power that was exercised since we undertook this Government [*Very cumbrous phraseology, your Highness; for indeed the subject is somewhat cumbrous. Questionable, to some, whether one* CAN *make Acts and Ordinances by a mere Council and Protector!*]: And I think your Instrument speaks a little more *faintly* [as] to these, and dubiously, than to the other! And truly, I will not make an apology for anything: but surely two persons, two sorts of them [very extensive sorts], will be merely concerned upon this account: They who exercised that authority, and they who were objects of its exercise! This wholly dissettles them; wholly, if you be not clear in your expressions. It will dissettle us very much to think that the Parliament doth not approve well of what hath been done [by us] upon a true ground of necessity, in so far as the same hath saved this Nation from running into total arbitrariness. [Nay, if not,] why subject the Nation to a sort of men who perhaps would do so?[1] We think we have in that thing deserved well of the State. [*Do not "dissettle" his Highness! He has, "in that thing," of assuming the Government and passing what Ordinances &c. were indispensable, "deserved well."* — *Committee of Ninety-nine agree to what is reasonable.*]

"If any man will ask me, 'But ah, Sir, what have you done *since?*' — Why, ah, — as I will confess my fault where I am guilty, so I think, taking things as they [then] were, I think we have done the Commonwealth service! We have therein made great settlements, — that have we. We have settled almost all the whole affairs in Ireland; the rights and interests of the Soldiers there, and of the Planters and Adventurers. And truly we have settled very much of the business of the Ministry ["*Triers*" *diligent here,* "*Expurgators*" *diligent everywhere: much good work completed*]; — and I wish that be not an

[1] Why subject the Nation to *us*, who perhaps would drive it into arbitrariness, *as your non-approval of us* seems to insinuate?

aggravation of our fault;[1] I wish it be not! But I must needs say, If I have anything to rejoice in before the Lord in this world, as having done any good or service [it is this]. I can say it from my heart; and I know I say the truth, let any man say what he will to the contrary, — he will give me leave to enjoy my own opinion in it, and my own conscience and heart; and [to] dare bear my testimony to it: There hath not been such a service to England since the Christian Religion was perfect in England! I dare be bold to say it; however there may have, here and there, been passion and mistakes. And the Ministers themselves, take the generality of them — [*"are unexceptionable, nay exemplary as Triers and as Expurgators:" but his Highness, blazing up at touch of this tender topic, wants to utter three or four things at once, and his "elements of rhetoric" fly into the* ELEMENTAL *state! We perceive he has got much blame for his Two Church Commissions; and feels that he has deserved far the reverse.*] — They will tell [you], it is beside their instructions [if they have fallen into "passion and mistakes," if they have meddled with civil matters, in their operations as Triers!]. And we did adopt the thing upon that account; we did not trust upon doing what we did *virtute Instituti*, as if [these Triers were] *jure divino*, but as a civil good. But — [*Checks himself*] — So we end in this: We [knew not and] know not better how to keep the Ministry good, and to augment it in goodness, than by putting such men to be Triers. Men of known integrity and piety; orthodox men and faithful. We knew not how better to answer our duty to God and the Nation and the People of God, in that respect, than by doing what we did.

"And, I dare say, if the grounds upon which we went will not justify us, the issue and event of it doth abundantly justify us; God having had exceeding glory by it, — in the generality of it, I am confident, forty-fold! For as heretofore the men that were admitted into the Ministry in times of Episcopacy — alas what pitiful Certificates served to make a man a Min-

[1] "be not to secure the grave men" (Scott's *Somers*, p. 399) is unadulterated nonsense; for *grave men* read *gravamen*, and we have dubiously a sense as above; "an aggravation of our fault with such objectors."

ister! [*Forty-fold better now.*] If any man could understand Latin and Greek, he was sure to be admitted; — as if he spake Welsh; which in those days went for Hebrew with a good many! [*Satirical. "They studied Pan, Bacchus, and the Longs and Shorts, rather than their Hebrew Bible, and the Truths of the Living Jehovah!"*] Certainly the poorest thing in the world would serve a turn; and a man was admitted upon such an account [*As this of mere Latin and Greek, with a suspicion of Welsh-Hebrew*]; — ay, and upon a less. — I am sure the admission granted to such places *since* has been under this character as the rule: That they must not admit a man unless they were able to discern something of the Grace of God in him. [*Really it is the grand primary essential, your Highness. Without which, Pan, Bacchus, Welsh-Hebrew, nay Hebrew itself, must go for nothing, — nay for less, if we consider well. In some points of view, it is horrible!* — Grace of God;] which was to be so inquired for, as not foolishly nor senselessly, but so far as men could judge according to the rules of Charity. Such and such a man, of whose good life and conversation they could have a very good testimony from four or five of the neighboring Ministers who knew him, — he could not yet be admitted unless he could give a very good testimony of the Grace of God in him. And to this I say, I must speak my conscience in it,[1] — though a great many are angry at it, nay if all are angry at it, — for how shall you please everybody?

"Then say some, None must be admitted except, perhaps, he will be baptized [again]. That is their opinion. [*Anabaptists.*] They will not admit a man into a Congregation to be Minister, except he commence by being so much *less*. The Presbyterians [again] they will not admit him unless he be 'ordained.' Generally *they* will not go to the Independents: — truly I think, if I be not partial, I think if there be a freedom of judgment, it is there. [*With the Independents: that is your Highness's opinion.*] Here are three sorts of Godly Men whom you are to take care for; whom you have provided for in your Settlement. And how could you put the selection upon the Presbyterians without, by possibility, excluding all those

[1] "*I do* approve it" is modestly left out.

Anabaptists, all those Independents! And so now you have put it into this way, That though a man be of any of those three judgments, if he have the root of the matter in him, he may be admitted. [*Very good, your Highness!*] This hath been our care and work; both by some Ordinances of ours, laying the foundations of it, and by many hundreds of Ministers being [admitted] in upon it. And if this be a 'time of Settlement,' then I hope it is not a time of shaking; — and therefore I hope you will be pleased to settle this business too: and that you will neither 'shake' the Persons [*Us*] who have been poorly instrumental in calling you to this opportunity of settling this Nation, and of doing good to it; nor shake those honest men's interests who have been thus settled. And so I have done with the offers to you [with these my suggestions to you]. —

[His Highness looks now on the Paper again; looks at Article Seventh there, "That the Revenue shall be £1,300,000;" and also at a Note by himself of the Current Expenses; — much wondering at the contrast of the two; not having Arithmetic enough to reconcile them!]

"But here is somewhat that is indeed exceedingly past my understanding; for I have as little skill in Arithmetic as I have in Law! These are great sums; it is well if I can count them to you. [*Looking on his Note.*] The present charge of the Forces both by Sea and Land will be £2,426,989. The whole present Revenue in England, Scotland and Ireland, is about £1,900,000; I think this was reckoned the most, as the Revenue now stands. Why, now, towards this you settle, by your Instrument, £1,300,000 for the Government; and out of that 'to maintain the Force by Sea and Land,' and 'without Land-tax,' I think: and this is short of the Revenue which now can be raised by the [present Act of] Government £600,000! — [*A grave discrepancy!*] Because, you see, the present Government has £1,900,000; and the whole sum which can be raised comes [short] of the present charge by £542,689, — [*So his Highness says; but, by the above data, must be mistaken or mi*

reported: £526,989 is what "Arithmetic" gives.] And although an end should be put to the Spanish War, yet there will be a necessity, for preserving the peace of the Three Nations, to keep up the present established Army in England, Scotland and Ireland; also a considerable Fleet for some good time, until it shall please God to quiet and compose men's minds, and bring the Nation to some better consistency. So that, considering the Pay of the Army, which comes to upwards of £1,100,000 *per annum*, and the 'Support of the Government' £300,000, it will be necessary for some convenient time, — seeing you find things as you do, and it is not good to think a wound healed before it be, — that there be raised, over and above the £1,300,000, the sum of £600,000 *per annum;* which makes up the sum of £1,900,000. And likewise that the Parliament declare, How far they will carry on the Spanish War, and for what time; and what farther sum they will raise for carrying on the same, and for what time. [*Explicit, and undeniable!*] And if these things be not ascertained, — as one saith 'Money is the Cause,' and certainly whatever the Cause is, if Money be wanting, the business will fall to the ground, — all our labor will be lost. And therefore I hope you will have a care of our undertakings! — [*Most practical paragraph.*]

"And having received expressions from you which we may believe, we need not offer these things to you; [we need not doubt] but these things will be cared for. Those things have [already in Parliament] been made overture of to you; and are before you: — and so has likewise the consideration of the Debts, which truly I think are apparent.

"And so I have done with what I had to offer you, — I think I have, truly, for my part. [*"Nothing of the Kingship, your Highness?" Committee of Ninety-nine looks expectant*] — And when I shall understand where it lies on me to do farther; and when I shall understand your pleasure in these things a little farther; — we have answered the Order of Parliament in considering and debating of those things that were the subject-matter of debate and consideration; — and when you will be pleased to let me hear farther of your thoughts in these things, *then I suppose I shall* be in a condition to discharge myself

[*Throws no additional light on the Kingship at all!*], as God shall put in my mind. And I speak not this to evade; but I speak in the fear and reverence of God. And I shall plainly and clearly, I say, — when you shall have been pleased among yourselves to take consideration of these things, that I may hear what your thoughts are of them, — I do not say that as a *condition* to anything — but I shall then be free and honest and plain to discharge myself of what, in the whole and upon the whole, may reasonably be expected from me, and [what] God shall set me free to answer you in."[1]

Exeunt the Ninety-nine, much disappointed; the Moderns too look very weary. Courage, my friends, I now see land!

This Speech forms by far the ugliest job of *buckwashing* (as Voltaire calls it) that his Highness has yet given us. As printed in the last edition of *Somers*, it is perhaps the most unadulterated piece of coagulated nonsense that was ever put into types by human kind. Yet, in order to educe some sense out of it as above, singularly few alterations, except in the punctuation, have been required; no change that we could detect has been made in the style of dialect, which is physiognomic and ought to be preserved; in the meaning, as before, all change was rigorously forbidden. In only one or two places, duly indicated, did his Highness's sense, on earnest repeated reading, continue dubious. And now the horrid buck-basket is reduced in some measure to clean linen or huckaback: thanks be to Heaven! —

For the next ten days there is nothing heard from his Highness; much as must have been *thought* by him in that space. The Parliament is occupied incessantly considering how it may as far as possible fulfil the suggestions offered in this Speech of his Highness; assiduously perfecting and new-polishing the Petition and Advice according to the same. Getting Bills ready for "Reformation of Manners," — with an eye on the "idle fellows about Piccadilly," who go bowling and gambling, with much tippling too, about "Piccadilly House" and its

[1] Somers Tracts, vi. 389–409.

green spaces.[1] Scheming out how the Revenue can be raised: —"Land-tax," alas, in spite of former protest on that subject; "tax on new buildings" (Lincoln's Inn Fields for one place), which gives the public some trouble afterwards. Doing somewhat also in regard to "Triers for the Ministry;" to "Penalties" for taking Office when disqualified by Law; and very much debating and scrupling as to what Acts and Ordinances (of his Highness and Council) are to be confirmed.

Finally, however, on Friday, 1st of May, the Petition and Advice is again all ready; and the Committee of Ninety-nine wait upon his Highness with it,[2] — who answers briefly, "speaking very low," That the things are weighty, and will require meditation; that he cannot just at present say On what day he will meet them to give his final answer, but will so soon as possible appoint a day.

So that the Kingship remains yet a great mystery! "By the generality" it is understood that he will accept it. But to the generality, and to us, the interior consultations and slow-formed resolutions of his Highness remain and must remain entirely obscure. We can well believe with Ludlow, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, who is incorrect as to various details, That in general a portion of the Army were found averse to the Title; a more considerable portion than the Title was worth. Whereupon, "for the present," as Bulstrode indicates, "his Highness did decide to" — in fact speak as follows.

SPEECH XIV.

BANQUETING-HOUSE, Whitehall, Friday forenoon, 8th May, 1657, the Parliament in a body once more attends his Highness; receives at length a final Answer as to this immense matter of the Kingship. Which the reader shall now hear, and so have done with it.

[1] Dryasdust knows a little piece of Archæology: How "piccadillies" (*quasi* Spanish *pecadillos*, or *little-sins*, a kind of notched linen-tippet) used to be sold in a certain shop there; whence, &c. &c.

[2] *Burton, ii. 101.*

The Whitlocke Committee of Ninety-nine had, by appointment, waited on his Highness yesterday, Thursday, May 7th; gave him "a Paper," — some farther last-touches added to their ultimate painfully revised edition of the Petition and Advice, wherein all his Highness's suggestions are now, as much as possible, fulfilled; — and were in hopes to get some intimation of his Highness's final Answer then. Highness, "sorry to have kept them so long," requested they would come back next morning. Next morning, Friday morning: "We have been there; his Highness will see you all in the Banqueting-House even now."[1] Let us shoulder our Mace, then, and go. — "Petition of certain Officers," that Petition which Ludlow[2] in a vague erroneous manner represents to have been the turning-point of the business, is just "at the door:" we receive it, leave it on the table, and go. And now hear his Highness.

"MR. SPEAKER, — I come hither to answer That that was in your last Paper to your Committee you sent to me [yesterday]; which was in relation to the Desires that were offered me by the House in That they called their Petition.

"I confess, that Business hath put the House, the Parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much time.[3] I am very sorry for that. It hath cost me some [too], and some thoughts: and because I have been the unhappy occasion of the expense of so much time, I shall spend little of it now.

"I have, the best I can, revolved the whole Business in my thoughts: and I have said so much already in testimony to the whole, I think I shall not need to repeat what I have said. I think it is an [Act of] Government which, in the aims of it, seeks the Settling of the Nation on a good foot, in relation to Civil Rights and Liberties, which are the Rights of the Nation. And I hope I shall never be found one of them that go about to rob the Nation of those Rights; — but [always] to

[1] Report by Whitlocke and Committee: in *Commons Journals* (8th May 1657), vii. 531.

[2] *ii.* 588, &c., the vague passage always cited on this occasion.

[3] 23d Feb.–8th May: ten weeks and more.

serve it what I can to the attaining of them. It has also been exceedingly well provided there for the safety and security of honest men in that great natural and religious liberty, which is Liberty of Conscience. — These are the great Fundamentals; and I must bear my testimony to them; as I have done, and shall do still, so long as God lets me live in this world: That the intentions and the things are very honorable and honest, and the product worthy of a Parliament.

"I have only had the unhappiness, both in my Conferences with your Committees, and in the best thoughts I could take to myself, not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing which hath been so often insisted on by you, — to wit, the Title of King, — as in itself so necessary as it seems to be apprehended by you. And yet I do, with all honor and respect, testify that *cæteris paribus*, no private judgment is to be in the balance with the judgment of Parliament. But in things that respect particular persons, — every man who is to give an account to God of his actions, he must in some measure be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation in his own conscience of that which he is to do or to forbear. And whilst you are granting others Liberties, surely you will not deny *me* this; it being not only a Liberty but a Duty, and such a Duty as I cannot without sinning forbear, — to examine my own heart and thoughts and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in or for.

"I must confess therefore, though I do acknowledge all the other [points], I must be a little confident in this, That what with the circumstances which accompany human actions, — whether they be circumstances of time or persons [*Strait-laced Republican Soldiers that have just been presenting you their Petition*], whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private and particular circumstances such as compass any person who is to render an account of his own actions, — I have truly thought, and I do still think, that, at the best, if I should do anything on this account to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtingly. And certainly *whatsoever is so is* not of faith. And whatsoever is not so,

whatsoever is not of faith, is sin to him that doth it, — whether it be with relation to the substance of the action about which that consideration is conversant, or whether to circumstances about it [*Thin-skinned Republicans, or the like "circumstances"*], which make all indifferent actions good or evil. I say 'Circumstances' [*Yes!*]; and truly I mean 'good or evil' to him that doth it. [*Not to you Honorable Gentlemen, who have merely advised it in general.*]

"I, lying under this consideration, think it my duty— Only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the House, who have laid such infinite obligations on me [*With a kind glance over those honorable faces; all silent as if dead, many of them with their mouths open*]; I wish I had done it sooner for your sake, and for saving time and trouble; and for the Committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge I have been unreasonably troublesome! But truly this is my Answer, That (although I think the Act of Government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but that one thing, of the Title as to me) I should not be an honest man, if I did not tell you that I cannot accept of the Government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it — as to which I have a little more experimented than everybody what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts and in such undertakings — [*Sentence irrecoverable*] — I say I am persuaded to return this Answer to you, That I cannot undertake this Government with the Title of King. And that is mine Answer to this great and weighty Business."[1]

And so *exeunt* Widdrington and Parliament: "Buzz, buzz! Distinct at last!" — and the huge buzzing of the public mind falls silent, that of the Kingship being now ended; — and this Editor and his readers are delivered from a very considerable weariness of the flesh.

"The Protector," says Bulstrode, "was satisfied in his pri-

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 533; as reported by Speaker Widdrington, on Tuesday, the 12th. Reported too in *Somers* (pp. 400, 401), but in the form of coagulated nonsense there. The *Commons Journals* give it as here, with no variation worth noticing, in the shape of sense.

vate judgment that it was fit for him to accept this Title of King, and matters were prepared in order thereunto. But afterwards, by solicitation of the Commonwealth's-men," by solicitation, representation and even denunciation from "the Commonwealth's-men" and "many Officers of the Army," he decided "to attend some better season and opportunity in the business, and refused at this time."[1] With which summary account let us rest satisfied. The secret details of the matter are dark, and are not momentous. The Lawyer-party, as we saw, were all in favor of the measure. Of the Soldier-party, Ex-Major-Generals Whalley, Goffe, Berry are in a dim way understood to have been for it; Desborow and Fleetwood strong against it; to whom Lambert, much intriguing in the interim, had at last openly joined himself.[2] Which line of conduct, so soon as it became manifest, procured him from his Highness a handsome dismissal. Dismissal from all employment; but with a retiring pension of £2,000: which mode of treatment passed into a kind of Proverb, that season; and men of wooden wit were wont to say to one another, "I will *lambertize* you."[3] The "great Lord Lambert," hitherto a very important man, now "cultivated flowers at Wimbledon;" attempted higher things, on his own footing, in a year or two, with the worst conceivable success; and in fact had at this point, to all reasonable intents, finished his public work in this world.

The rest of the Petition and Advice, so long discussed and conferenced upon, is of course accepted;[4] a much improved Frame of Government; with a Second House of Parliament; with a Chief Magistrate who is to "nominate his successor," and be King in all points except the name. News of Blake's victory at Santa Cruz reach us in these same days,[5] whereupon is Public Thanksgiving, and voting of a Jewel to General

[1] Whitlocke, p. 646. [2] Godwin, iv. 352, 367.

[3] *Heath's Chronicle.*

[4] *Commons Journals*, vii. 358 (25th May, 1657); Whitlocke, p. 648. — See, in Appendix, No. 30, another Speech of Oliver's on the occasion; forgotten hitherto. (*Note of* 1857.)

[5] 28th *May* (*Commons Journals*, vii. 54; Burton, ii. 142).

Blake: and so, in a general tide of triumphant accordance, and outward and inward prosperity, this Second Protectorate Parliament advances to the end of its First Session.

SPEECH XV., LETTERS CCXVIII.–CCXXIV.

THE Session of Parliament is prosperously reaching its close; and during the recess there will be business enough to do. Selection of our new House of Lords; carrying on of the French League Offensive against Spain; and other weighty interests. Of which the following small documents, one short official Speech, and seven short, mostly official Letters, are all that remain to us.

SPEECH XV.

PARLIAMENT has passed some Bills; among the rest, some needful Money-Bills, Assessment of £340,000 a month on England, £6,000 on Scotland, £9,000 on Ireland;[1] to all which his Highness, with some word of thanks for the money, will now signify his assent. Unexceptionable word of thanks, accidentally preserved to us,[2] which, with the circumstances attendant thereon, we have to make conscience of reporting.

Tuesday morning, 9th June, 1657, Message comes to the Honorable House, That his Highness, in the Painted Chamber, requires their presence. They gather up their Bills; certain Money-Bills "for an assessment towards the Spanish War;" and "divers other Bills, some of public, some of more private concernment," among which latter we notice one for settling Lands in the County of Dublin on Widow Bastwick and her four children, Dr. Bastwick's widow, poor Susannah, who has long been a solicitress in this matter: these Bills the Clerk of the Commons gathers up, the Sergeant shoulders his Mace; and so, Clerk and Sergeant leading off, and Speaker Widdrington and all his Honorable Members following, the whole House

[1] *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 151; *Commons Journals*, vii. 554–557.

[2] *Commons Journals*, vii. 551, 552.

in this due order, with its Bills and apparatus, proceeds to the Painted Chamber. There, on his platform, in chair of state sits his Highness, attended by his Council and others. Speaker Widdrington at a table on the common level of the floor "finds a chair set for him, and a form for his clerk." Speaker Widdrington, hardly venturing to sit, makes a "short and pithy Speech" on the general proceedings of Parliament; presents his Bills, with probably some short and pithy words, such as suggest themselves, prefatory to each: "A few slight Bills; they are but as the grapes that precede the full vintage, may it please your Highness." His Highness in due form signifies assent; and then says:—

"Mr. Speaker,—I perceive that, among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of the Commonwealth by those Bills for the levying of Money, now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto. Understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been Chief Governors to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons their care and regard of the Public, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein."[1]

The Parliament has still some needful polishing up of its Petition and Advice, other perfecting of details to accomplish: after which it is understood there will be a new and much more solemn Inauguration of his Highness; and then the First Session will, as in a general peal of joy-bells, harmoniously close.

LETTER CCXVIII.

Official Letter of Thanks to Blake, for his Victory at Santa Cruz on the 20th April last. The "small Jewel" sent herewith is one of £500 value, gratefully voted him by the Parliament; among whom, as over England generally, there is great rejoicing on account of him. Where Blake received

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 552: Reported by Widdrington in the afternoon.

this Letter and Jewel we know not; but guess it may have been in the Bay of Cadiz. Along with it, "Instructions" went out to him to leave a Squadron of Fourteen Ships there, and come home with the rest of the Fleet. He died, as we said above, within sight of Plymouth, on the 7th of August following.

[*To General Blake, at Sea.*]

"WHITEHALL, 10th June, 1657.

"SIR, — I have received yours of [the 20th of April last];[1] and thereby the account of the good success it hath pleased God to give you at the Canaries, in your attempt upon the King of Spain's Ships in the Bay of Santa Cruz.

"The mercy therein, to us and this Commonwealth, is very signal; both in the loss the Enemy hath received, and also in the preservation of our [own] ships and men;[2] — which indeed was very wonderful; and according to the goodness and loving-kindness of the Lord, wherewith His People hath been followed in all these late revolutions; and doth call on our part, That we should fear before Him, and still hope in His mercy.

"We cannot but take notice also how eminently it hath pleased God to make use of you in this service; assisting you with wisdom in the conduct, and courage in the execution [thereof]; — and have sent you a small Jewel, as a testimony of our own and the Parliament's good acceptance of your carriage in this Action. We are also informed that the Officers of the Fleet, and the Seamen, carried themselves with much honesty and courage; and we are considering of a way to show our acceptance thereof. In the mean time, we desire you to return our hearty thanks and acknowledgments to them.

"Thus, beseeching the Lord to continue His presence with you, I remain,

"Your very affectionate friend

[OLIVER P.]."[3]

[1] Blank in MS.: see antea, p. 177.

[2] "*50 slain* outright, 150 wounded, of ours" (Burton, ii. 142).

[3] *Thurloe*, vi. 342. "Instructions to General Blake," of the same date, *ibid.*

Land-General Reynolds has gone to the French Netherlands, with six thousand men, to join Turenne in fighting the Spaniards there; and Sea-General Montague is about hoisting his flag to co-operate with him from the other element. By sea and land are many things passing; — and here in London is the loudest thing of all: not yet to be entirely omitted by us, though now it has fallen very silent in comparison. Inauguration of the Lord Protector; second and more solemn Installation of him, now that he is fully recognized by Parliament itself. He cannot yet, as it proves, be crowned King; but he shall be installed in his Protectorship with all solemnity befitting such an occasion.

Friday, 26th June, 1657. The Parliament and all the world are busy with this grand affair; the labors of the Session being now complete, the last finish being now given to our new Instrument of Government, to our elaborate Petition and Advice, we will add this topstone to the work, and so, amid the shoutings of mankind, disperse for the recess. Friday at two o'clock, "in a place prepared," duly prepared with all manner of "platforms," "cloths of state," and "seats raised one above the other," "at the upper end of Westminster Hall." Palace-yard, and London generally, is all a-tiptoe, out of doors. Within doors, Speaker Widdrington and the Master of the Ceremonies have done their best: the Judges, the Aldermen, the Parliament, the Council, the foreign Ambassadors, and domestic Dignitaries without end; chairs of state, cloths of state, trumpet-peals, and acclamations of the people — Let the reader conceive it; or read in old Pamphlets the "exact relation" of it with all the speeches and phenomena, worthier than such things usually are of being read.[1]

"His Highness standing under the Cloth of State," says Bulstrode, whose fine feelings are evidently touched by it, "the Speaker in the name of the Parliament presented to him: First, a *Robe* of purple velvet; which the Speaker,

[1] An exact Relation of the Manner of the solemn Investiture, &c. (Reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 152–160).

assisted by Whitlocke and others, put upon his Highness. Then he" the Speaker, "delivered to him the *Bible* richly gilt and bossed," an affecting symbolic Gift: "After that, the Speaker girt the *Sword* about his Highness; and delivered into his hand the *Sceptre* of massy gold. And then, this done, he made a Speech to him on these several things presented;" eloquent mellifluous Speech, setting forth the high and true significance of these several Symbols, Speech still worth reading; to which his Highness answered in silence by dignified gesture only. "Then Mr. Speaker gave him the Oath;" and so ended, really in a solemn manner. "And Mr. Manton, by prayer, recommended his Highness, the Parliament, the Council, the Forces by land and sea, and the whole Government and People of the Three Nations, to the blessing and protection of God."—And then "the people gave several great shouts;" and "the trumpets sounded; and the Protector sat in his chair of state, holding the Sceptre in his hand:" a remarkable sight to see. "On his right sat the Ambassador of France," on his left some other Ambassador; and all round, standing or sitting, were Dignitaries of the highest quality; "and near the Earl of Warwick stood the Lord Viscount Lisle, stood General Montague and Whitlocke, each of them having a drawn sword in his hand,"—a sublime sight to some of us![1]

And so this Solemnity transacts itself;—which at the moment was solemn enough; and is not yet, at this or any hollowest moment of Human History, intrinsically altogether other. A really dignified and veritable piece of Symbolism; perhaps the last we hitherto, in these quack-ridden histrionic ages, have been privileged to see on such an occasion.—The Parliament is prorogued till the 20th of January next; the new House of Lords, and much else, shall be got ready in the interim.

[1] Whitlocke, p. 661.

LETTER CCXIX.

SEA-GENERAL MONTAGUE, whom we saw standing with drawn sword beside the chair of state, is now about proceeding to co-operate with Land-General Reynolds, on the despatch of real business.

"*For General Montague, on board the Naseby, in the Downs.*

"WHITEHALL, 11th August, 1657.

"SIR, — You having desired by several Letters to know our mind concerning your weighing anchor and sailing with the Fleet out of the Downs, we have thought fit to let you know, That we do very well approve thereof, and that you do cruise up and down in the Channel, in such places as you shall judge most convenient, taking care of the safety, interest and honor of the Commonwealth. I remain,

"Your very loving friend

[OLIVER P.]."[1]

Under the wax of the Commonwealth Seal, Montague has written, *His Highness's letter, Aug^st^ 11, 1657, to comand mee to sayle.*

LETTER CCXX.

"*For my loving Friend John Dunch, Esquire.*

"[HAMPTON COURT,] 27th August, 1657.

"SIR, — I desire to speak with you; and hearing a report from Hursley that you were going to your Father's in Berkshire, I send this express to you, desiring you to come to me at Hampton Court.

"With my respects to your Father,[2] — I rest,

"Your loving friend,

"OLIVER P."[3]

[1] *Cromwelliana*, p. 168: "Original Letter, in the possession of Thomas Lister Parker, Esq.," is now (1846) in the British Museum (Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 12,098). Only the Signature is Oliver's, — tragically physiognomic: — in letters long, thin, singularly straight in direction, but all notched and tremulous.

[2] *Father-in-law, Mayor.*

[3] Harris, p. 515.

This is the John Dunch of Pusey; married, as we saw, to Mayor's younger Daughter, the Sister-in-law to Richard Cromwell: the Collector for us of those Seventeen Pusey Letters; of which we have here read the last. He is of the present Parliament, was of the former; seems to be enjoying his recess, travelling about in the Autumn Sun of those old days,—and vanishes from History at this point, in the private apartments of Hampton Court.

LETTER CCXXI.

GENERAL MONTAGUE, after a fortnight's cruising, has touched at the Downs again, "28th August, wind at S.S.W.," being in want of some instruction on a matter that has risen.[1] "A Flushinger," namely, "has come into St. Maloes; said to have twenty-five ton of silver in her;" a Flushinger there, and "six other Dutch Ships" hovering in the distance; which are thought to be carrying silver and stores for the Spaniards. Montague has sent Frigates to search them, to seize the very bullion if it be Spanish; but wishes fresh authority, in case of accident.

[*For General Montague, on board the Naseby, in the Downs.*]

"HAMPTON COURT, 30th August, 1657.

"SIR,—The Secretary hath communicated to us your Letter of the 28th instant; by which you acquaint him with the directions you have given for the searching of a Flushinger and other Dutch Ships, which, as you are informed, have bullion and other goods aboard them belonging to the Spaniard, the declared Enemy of this State.

"There is no question to be made but what you have directed therein is agreeable both to the Laws of Nations and [to] the particular Treaties which are between this Commonwealth and the United Provinces. And therefore we desire you to con-

[1] His Letter to Secretary Thurloe (Thurloe, vi. 439).

tinue the said direction, and to require the Captains to be careful in doing their duty therein.

"Your very loving friend,

"OLIVER P."[1]

LETTER CCXXII.

BY the new and closer Treaty signed with France in March last,[2] for assaulting the Spanish Power in the Netherlands, it was stipulated that the French King should contribute twenty thousand men, and the Lord Protector six thousand, with a sufficient Fleet; which combined forces were straightway to set about reducing the three Coast Towns, Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk; the former when reduced to belong to France, the two latter to England; if the former should chance to be the first reduced, it was then to be given up to England, and held as cautionary till the other two were got. Mardike and Dunkirk, these were what Oliver expected to gain by this adventure. One or both of which strong Haven-towns would naturally be very useful to him, connected with the Continent as he was, — continually menaced with Royalist Invasion from that quarter; and struggling, as the aim of his whole Foreign Policy was, to unite Protestant Europe with England in one great effectual league.[3] Such was the French Treaty of the 23d of March last.

Oliver's part of the bargain was promptly and faithfully fulfilled. Six thousand well-appointed men, under Commissary-General Reynolds, were landed, "in new red coats,"[4] "near Boulogne, on the 13th and 14th days of May" last; and a Fleet under Montague, as we observe, sufficient to command those seas, and prevent all relief by ships in any Siege, is actually cruising there. Young Louis Fourteenth came down to the Coast to see the English Troops reviewed; expressed his

[1] Thurloe, vi. 489.

[2] 23d March, 1656–7: Authorities in Godwin (iv. 540–543).

[3] *Foreign Affairs in the Protector's Time* (in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 329–339), by some ancient anonymous man of sense, is worth reading.

[4] Antea, vol. xvii. p. 152; vol. xviii. p. 87.

joy and admiration over them; — and has set them, the Cardinal and he have set them, to assault the Spanish Power in the Netherlands by a plan of their own! To reduce not "Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk," on the Coast, as the Treaty has it, but Montmédi, Cambray, and I know not what in the Interior; — the Cardinal doubling and shuffling, and by all means putting off the attack of any place whatever on the Coast! With which arrangement Oliver Protector's dissatisfaction has at length reached a crisis; and he now writes, twice on the same day, to his Ambassador, To signify peremptorily that the same must terminate.

Of "Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France" in these years, there were much more to be said than we have room for here. A man of distinguished qualities, of manifold adventures and employments; whose Biography, if he could find any Biographer with real industry instead of sham industry, and above all things with human *eyes* instead of pedant *spectacles*, might still be worth writing in brief compass.[1] He is Scotch; of the "Lockharts of Lee" in Lanarkshire; has been in many wars and businesses abroad and at home; — was in *Hamilton's Engagement*, for one thing; and accompanied Dugald Dalgetty or Sir James Turner in those disastrous days and nights at Preston,[2] though only as a common Colonel then, and not noticed by anybody. In the next Scotch War he received affronts from the Covenanted King; remained angrily at home, did not go to Worcester or elsewhither. The Covenanted King having vanished, and Lockhart's connections being Presbyterian-Royalist, there was little outlook for him now in Scotland, or Britain; and he had resolved on trying France again. He came accordingly to London, seeking leave from the Authorities; had an interview with Oliver, now

[1] Noble (ii. 233–273) has reproduced, probably with new errors, certain MS. "Family Memoirs" of this Lockhart, which are everywhere very vague, and in passages (that of Dunkirk, for example) quite *mythological*. Lockhart's own Letters are his best Memorial; — for the present drowned, with so *much* else, in the deep slumber-lakes of *Thurlos*; with or without chance of *recovery*.

[2] Antea, vol. xvii. p. 333.

newly made Protector, — who read the worth of him, saw the uses of him, advised him to continue where he was.

He did continue; married "Miss Robina Sewster," a Huntingdonshire lady, the Protector's Niece, to whom, in her girlhood, we once promised "a distinguished husband;"[1] has been our Ambassador in France near two years now;[2] — does diplomatic, warlike, and whatever work comes before him, in an effectual and manful manner. It is thought by judges, that, in Lockhart, the Lord Protector had the best Ambassador of that age. Nay, in spite of all considerations, his merits procured him afterwards a similar employment in Charles Second's time. We must here cease speaking of him; recommend him to some diligent succinct Biographer of insight, should such a one, by unexpected favor of the Destinies, turn up.

[*To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France.*][3]

"WHITEHALL, 31st August, 1657.

"SIR, — I have seen your last Letter to Mr. Secretary, as also divers others: and although I have no doubt either of your diligence or ability to serve us in so great a Business, yet I am deeply sensible that the French are very much short with us in ingenuousness[4] and performance. And that which increaseth our sense [of this] is, The resolution we [for our part] had, rather to overdo than to be behindhand in anything of our Treaty. And although we never were so foolish [as] to apprehend that the French and their interests were the same with ours in all things; yet as to the Spaniard, who hath been known in all ages to be the most implacable enemy that France hath, — we never could doubt, before we made our Treaty, that, going upon such grounds, we should have been failed [towards] as we are!

[1] Antea, vol. xvii. p. 254. — "Married, 22 Feb. 1654, William Lockhart, Esq. and Robina Sewster, spinster, both of this Parish." (*Register of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London.*)

[2] Since 30th December, 1655 ("Family Memoirs" in *Noble*, ii. 244).

[3] Now with the Court at Peronne (Thurloe, vi. 462, 487); soon after at Paris (ib. 496).

[4] "*ingenuity*," as usual, in orig.

"To talk of 'giving us Garrisons' which are *inland*, as Caution for future action; to talk of 'what will be done next Campaign,' — are but parcels of words for children. If they will give us Garrisons, let them give us Calais, Dieppe and Boulogne; — which I think they will do *as* soon as be honest in their words in giving us any one Spanish Garrison upon the coast into our hands! I positively think, which I say to you, they are afraid we should have any footing on that side [of the Water], though Spanish.

"I pray you tell the Cardinal from me, That I think, if France desires to maintain its ground, much more to *get* ground upon the Spaniard, the performance of his Treaty with us will better do it than anything appears yet to me of any Design he hath! — Though we cannot so well pretend to soldiery as those that are with him; yet we think that, we being able by sea to strengthen and secure his Siege, and [to] reinforce it as we please by sea, and the Enemy [being] in capacity to do nothing to relieve it, — the best time to besiege that Place will be *now*. Especially if we consider that the French horse will be able so to ruin Flanders as that no succor can be brought to relieve the place; and that the French Army and our own will have constant relief, as far as England and France can give it, without any manner of impediment, — especially considering the Dutch are now engaged so much to Southward [1] as they are.

"I desire you to let him know That Englishmen have had so good experience of Winter expeditions, they are confident, if the Spaniard shall keep the field, As he cannot impede this work, so neither will he be able to attack anything towards France with a possibility of retreat.[2] And what do all *delays* signify but [even this]: The giving the Spaniard opportunity so much the more to reinforce himself; and the keeping our men another Summer to serve the French, without any color of a reciprocal, or any advantage to ourselves! —

[1] Spain-ward: so much inclined to help the Spaniard, if Montague would let them; a thing worth Mazarin's consideration too, though it comes in *irregularly* here!

[2] You may cut off his retreat, if he venture that way.

"And therefore if this will not be listened unto, I desire that things may be considered of To give us satisfaction for the great expense we have been at with our Naval Forces and otherwise; which out of an honorable and honest aim on our part hath been incurred, thereby to answer the Engagements we had made. And [in fine] That consideration may be had how our Men may be put into a position to be returned to us; — whom we hope we shall employ to a better purpose than to have them continue where they are.

"I desire we may know what France saith, and will do, upon this point. We shall be ready still, as the Lord shall assist us, to perform what can be reasonably expected on our part. And you may also let the Cardinal know farther, That our intentions, as they have been, will be to do all the good offices we can to promote the Interest common to us.[1]

"Apprehending it is of moment that this Business should come to you with speed and surety, we have sent it by an Express.

"Your very loving friend,

"OLIVER P."[2]

LETTER CCXXIII.

SAME date, same parties; an afterthought, by the same express.

[*To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France.*]

"WHITEHALL, 31st August, 1657.

"SIR, — We desire, having written to you as we have, that the Design be *Dunkirk* rather than Gravelines; and much *more* that it be: — but one of them rather than fail.

"We shall not be wanting, To send over, at the French charge, Two of our old regiments, and two thousand foot more, if need be, — if Dunkirk be the design.[3] Believing

[1] "thereof" in orig.

[2] Thurloe, vi. 490.

[3] Gravelines is to belong to *them*; Dunkirk to *us*: Dunkirk will be much *preferable*.

that if the Army be well entrenched, and if La Ferté's Foot be added to it, we shall be able to give liberty to the greatest part of the French Cavalry to have an eye to the Spaniard, — leaving but convenient numbers to stand by the Foot.

"And because this action will probably divert the Spaniard from assisting Charles Stuart in any attempt upon us, you may be assured that, if reality may with any reason be expected from the French, we shall do all reason on our part. But if indeed the French be so false to us as that they would not have us *have* any footing on that side the Water, — then I desire, as in our other Letter to you, That all things may be done in order to the giving us satisfaction [for our expense incurred], and to the drawing off of our Men.

"And truly, Sir, I desire you to take boldness and freedom to yourself in your dealing with the French on these accounts.

"Your loving friend,

"OLIVER P."[1]

This Letter naturally had its effect: indeed there goes a witty sneer in France, "The Cardinal is more afraid of Oliver than of the Devil;" — he ought indeed to fear the Devil much more, but Oliver is the palpabler Entity of the two! Mardike was besieged straightway; girt by sea and land, and the great guns opened "on the 21st day of September" next: Mardike was taken before September ended; and due delivery to our General was had of Mardike. The place was in a weak state; but by sea and land all hands were now busy fortifying and securing it.

LETTER CCXXIV.

HERE has an old dim Letter lately turned up, — communicated, for new editions, by the distinguished General Montague's Descendant, — which evidently relates to this operation. *Resuscitated* from its dim Archives, it falls with ready fitness

[1] Thurloe, vi. 489.

into rank here; kindling the old dead Books into pleasant momentary light and wakefulness at this point, and sufficiently illuminating itself also thereby. A curious meeting, one of those curious meetings, of old Letterpress now forgotten with old Manuscript never known till now, such as occasionally cheer the learned mind! — Of "Denokson," clearly some Dutch Vauban, or war *timmerman* on the great scale; of him, or of "Colonel Clerke," whom I take to be a Sea-Colonel mainly, the reader needs no commentary; — and is to understand withal that their hasty work was got accomplished, and Mardike put in some kind of fencible condition.

"*For General Montague, on board the London, before Dunkirk: These.*

"WHITEHALL, 2d October, 1657.

"SIR, — This Bearer, Christian Denokson, I have sent to you, — being a very good artist, especially in wooden works, — to view the Great Fort and the Wooden Fort, in order to the farther strengthening of them.

"I hope he is very able to make the Wooden Fort as strong as it is capable to be made; which I judge very desirable to be done with all speed. I desire you will direct him in this view; and afterwards speak with him about it, that upon his return I may have a very particular account about what is fit to be done, and what Timber will be necessary to be provided. I have written also to Colonel Clerke, the Governor of the Fort, about it. I pray, when he has finished his view, that you will hasten him back. I rest,

"Your very affectionate friend,

"OLIVER P."[1]

An attempt to retake Mardike, by scalado or surprisal from the Dunkirk side, was made, some three weeks hence, by Don John with a great Spanish Force, among which his Ex-Royal Highness the Duke of York, with Four English-Irish emigrant

[1] Original in the possession of the Earl of Sandwich, at Hinchinbrook (February, 1849). Only the Signature is Oliver's; hand, as believe, "very shaky."

Regiments he has now got raised for him on Spanish pay, was duly conspicuous; but it did not succeed; it amounted only to a night of unspeakable tumult; to much expenditure of shot on all sides, and of life on his Royal Highness's and Don John's side, — Montague pouring death-fire on them from his ships too, and "four great flaming links at the corners of Mardike Tower" warning Montague not to aim *thitherward*; — and "the dead were carried off in carts before sunrise." [1]

Let us add here, that Dunkirk, after gallant service shown by the six thousand, and brilliant fighting and victory on the sandhills, was also got, next summer; [2] Lockhart himself now commanding there, poor Reynolds having perished at sea. Dunkirk too remained an English Garrison, much prized by England; till, in very altered times, his now Restored Majesty saw good to sell it, and the loyalest men had to make their comparisons. — On the whole, we may say this Expedition to the Netherlands was a successful one; the six thousand, "immortal six thousand" as some call them, [3] gained what they were sent for, and much glory over and above.

These Mardike-and-Dunkirk Letters are among the last Letters left to us of Oliver Cromwell's: — Oliver's great heroic Day's-work, and the small unheroic pious one of Oliver's Editor, is drawing to a close! But in the same hours, 31st August, 1657, while Oliver wrote so to Lockhart, — let us still spare a corner for recording it, — John Lilburn, Freeborn John, or alas only the empty *Case* of John, was getting buried; still in a noisy manner! Noisy John, set free from many prisons, had been living about Eltham lately, in a state of Quakerism, or Quasi-Quakerism. Here is the clipping from the old Newspaper:

"*Monday*, 31*st August*, 1657. Mr. John Lilburn, commonly known by the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburn, dying on Saturday at Eltham, was this morning removed thence to London; and his corpse conveyed to the House called the

[1] 22d October (*Heath's Chronicle*, p. 727; Carte's *Ormond*, ii. 175).

[2] 13th June, 1658, the fight; 15th June, the surrender; 24th, the delivery to Lockhart (Thurloe, vii. 155, 173, &c.). Clarendon, iii. 853–858.

[3] Sir William Temple, *Memoirs*, Part iii. 154 (cited by Godwin, iv. 347).

Mouth," old, still extant *Bull-and-Mouth* Inn, "at Aldersgate, — which is the usual meeting-place of the people called Quakers, to whom, it seems, he had lately joined in opinion. At this place, in the afternoon, there assembled a medley of people; among whom the Quakers were most eminent for number: and within the house a controversy was, Whether the ceremony of a hearse-cloth [pall] should be cast over his coffin? But the major part, being Quakers, would not assent; so the coffin was, about five o'clock in the evening, brought forth into the street. At its coming out, there stood a man on purpose to cast a velvet hearse-cloth over the coffin; and he endeavored to do it: but the crowd of Quakers would not permit him; and having gotten the body upon their shoulders, they carried it away without farther ceremony; and the whole company conducted it into Moorfields, and thence to the new Church-yard adjoining to Bedlam, where it lieth interred."[1]

One noisy element, then, is out of this world: — another is fast going. Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, over here once more on Insurrectionary business, scheming out a new Invasion of the Charles-Stuart Spaniards and English-Irish Regiments, and just lifting anchor for Flanders again, was seized "in the Ship *Hope*, in a meaṅ habit, disguised like a countryman, and his face much altered by an overgrown beard;" — before the Ship *Hope* could get under weigh, about a month ago.[2] Bushy-bearded Sexby, after due examination by his Highness, has been lodged in the Tower; where his mind falls into a very unsettled state. In October next he volunteers a confession; goes mad; and in the January following dies,[3] and to his own relief and ours disappears, — poor Sexby.

Sexby, like the Stormy Petrel, indicates that new Royalist-Anabaptist tumult is a-brewing. "They are as the waves of the Sea, they cannot rest; they must stir up mire and dirt," — it is the lot appointed them! In fact, the grand Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on the anvil; and they will try it, this year, even without the Preface of Assassination.

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 168).

[2] 24th July (Newspapers, in *Cromwelliana*, p. 167).

[3] *Ibid. pp.* 169, 170.

New troubles are hoped from this new Session of Parliament, which begins in January. The "Excluded Members" are to be readmitted then; there is to be a "Second House:" who knows what possibilities of trouble! A new Parliament is always the signal for new Royalist attempts; even as the Moon to waves of the sea: but we hope his Highness will be prepared for them! —

Wednesday, 11th November, 1657. "This day," say the old Newspapers, "the most Illustrious Lady, the Lady Frances Cromwell, youngest Daughter of his Highness the Lord Protector, was married to the most noble Gentleman Mr. Robert Rich, Son of the Lord Rich, Grandchild of the Earl of Warwick and of the Countess-Dowager of Devonshire; in the presence of their Highnesses, and of his Grandfather, and Father, and the said Countess, with many other persons of high honor and quality." At Whitehall, this blessed Wednesday; all difficulties now overcome; — which we are glad to hear of, "though our friends truly were very few!" — And on the Thursday of next week follows, at Hampton Court, the Lady Mary's own wedding.[1] Wedding "to the most noble lord, the Lord Fauconberg," lately returned from his Travels in foreign parts: a Bellasis, of the Yorkshire kindred so named, — which was once very high in Royalism, but is now making other connections. For the rest, a brilliant, ingenuous and hopeful young man, "in my opinion a person of extraordinary parts;"[2] of whom his Highness has made due investigation, and finds that it may answer.

And now for the new Session of Parliament, which assembles in January next: the Second Session of Parliament, and indeed the last of this and of them all!

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 169).

[2] Lockhart's report of him to Thurloe, after an interview at Paris, as ordered on Fauconberg's return homeward, 21st March, 1657 (Thurloe, vi 134, 125).

J.L.

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